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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES

KARL BRUGMANN

Vol. II

CHOWKHAMBA PUBLICATION

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TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

In the two years that have followed the translation of the First Volume of the *Grundriss der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft* by Dr. (now Professor) Joseph Wright, the difficulty of the task has sensibly diminished. The methods and the nomenclature of the scientific school of Comparative Philology have found their way more and more into the work of English teachers, and it has become far easier to decide what innovations can, and what cannot be reconciled with established usage. Such words, for example, as 'thematic', 'ablaut', 'analogical', 'contamination, 'proethnic' are completely naturalised. The last we have universally adopted as the clearest equivalent of the German *ur-* prefixed to the name of a group of languages: 'proethnic Greek' is Greek older than the rise of its various dialects; 'proethnic Indo-Germanic', or more simply where there is no ambiguity, 'the proethnic language' is the parent of the various families of Indo-Germanic speech.

On the other hand the new subject-matter of the present volume involves new difficulties. On almost every other page of the original the word *Grundform* is used to denote the original form from which any particular word has been developed by phonetic change, and considering the frequency of its occurrence we could see no alternative but to adopt it bodily into English. Again some such expressions as 'fertile' *(produktiv)* and 'extended' *(erweitert)* were indispensable to describe the history of the different suffixes. The process of deriving a feminine form

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from the masculine stem of an adjective (Germ. *Motion*) we have called 'differentiation'. To express the change by which a substantival compound becomes an adjective, or in terms of Sanskrit grammar, by which a *karma-dhāraya*-compound becomes a *bahu-vrīhi* German scholars have created a new verb *mutieren*, i. e. the Lat. *mutare*; the word 'epithetised' which is used for the first time in this translation is an attempt to describe the nature of the change a little more explicitly. Thus in English *blackbird* is a simple or 'non-epithetised' compound, *Greatheart*, *rosy-fingered*, in Latin *magnanimus*, in Greek ῥοδοδάκτυλος are 'epithetised' (see p. 92). The ambiguity of the word 'formation' which like the German *Bildung* does double duty, to denote sometimes an abstract process and sometimes its concrete result, is a source of considerable difficulty, which might well be avoided by using such a term as 'formate' to express the second meaning; and the convenience of words like *trans-formate*, *re-formate* *afformate* *(Umbildung, Neubildung, Nachbildung)* is at once obvious. But the change is not absolutely necessary and therefore, since this is a book of general reference, it seems fairer to the reader to suggest it in the Preface rather than to introduce it directly into the text; perhaps however we may assume the licence in the following volumes.

A small but perpetually recurring difficulty of which the reader should be warned, has been the translation of the preposition *zu* in its technical sense, for which we have no exact equivalent in English, except such phrases as 'directly related to', 'connected in accidence with' and these would be, to say the least, a little wearisome, if they appeared twenty times on a page. It really covers several shades of meaning; in '*amāvī* zu *amō*' '*tulī* zu *ferō*' it means *used as a tense of*; in '*ansātus*' zu *ansa*', *a derivative of*; in '*modestus* zu *modus*', *used as a derivative of;* in 'Lat. *inclutus* zu Gr. *κλύω*', *containing the root of*; and so on. The nearest English equivalent in the first two cases would be the preposition *from*, in which there is a more serious ambiguity, used as it is to denote both historical and logical connexion, '*tulī* from the root *tel-*', '*tulī* from *ferō*'.

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Sometimes of course the two coincide, but only in the case of words of which the first was in use in the form in which we quote it before the second came into existence. *suavior* 'comes from' *suavis* historically as well as logically because it is a special formation in Latin (in place of the Indo-Germanic stem **sṷād-iios-*); whereas the genitive *patris* can only be said to 'come from' the nominative *pater* in the logical sense, not the historical, since both are descended from proethnic forms. The rule therefore that we have adopted has been to write *from* in the logical sense only where there can be no possible doubt that that is its meaning; where there would have been any danger that the reader should infer from it a historical, derivative relation that was not implied in the German, we have used *beside*. Thus in the examples given above we should render '*tulī* from *ferō*' but '*modestus* beside *modus*' (see p. 418). The line is of course hard to draw, but for safety's sake, we have used *beside* in all cases of doubt. To do so universally, i. e. to have written always '*patris* beside *pater*' instead of 'from *pater*' seemed a little pedantic. On the other hand *from* has of course its proper derivative significance in such phrases as '*ansātus* from *ansa*', where in German *von* and *zu* are used indifferently. The German *aus* connecting a form with its immediate phonetic antecedent, e. g. 'Lat. *fissus* aus **fid-to-s*' we have followed prevailing usage in rendering by *for*, '*fissus* for **fid-to-s*'. The reader will find that *for* is used only in this sense of direct phonetic connexion; to describe an analogical substitution (Germ. *für*) we have regularly kept to 'instead of'.

In minor matters, such as abbreviations, and details of printing we have followed English rather than German precedent. For obvious reasons however we have retained the order of the original in such phrases as 'Gr. Att. ἵππος' 'Skr. Ved. *śray-iṣṭha-*' (cf. p. 244), where they occur in a list of forms from different languages. But we have ventured to retain the symbol : which occurs on every page, and denotes that the forms that it connects stand in a definite relation to one another, and this, when it is not otherwise explained by the context, is always

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one or regular phonetic correspondence; for instance it is invariably used to connect an Indo-Germanic form with the words which represent it in the derived languages e. g. Idg. **klu-tó-s* : Skr. *śru-tá-s*, Gr. *κλυ-τό-ς* etc. A modification of this symbol, for which it was equally impossible to find a substitute, ': cp.' means 'partly related to' 'in some respects to be compared with'; it is employed where the forms compared are not completely parallel, but only to some extent, e. g. on p. 39, § 23 'Skr. *án-āpta-s* : cp. Lat. *in-eptu-s*'; here the two words are parallel, but not identical, as the Latin form is derived from **ap-tó-*, the Sanskrit from **āp-tó-*, see Vol. I § 97, 3 p. 91. Similarly on p. 60, § 34 'Lat. *sim-plex* : cp. Gr. *ά-πλόος*' implies that the compounds are parallel, but identical only in their first member; p. 193, § 75 Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* : cp. Lat. *nos-ter*', that the use of the suffix is the same in both. It would be difficult to enumerate all the varieties of positive meaning that may be implied by this practically colourless symbol; to remove it altogether would be to re-edit the whole Grammar, not to translate it. The symbol : is also placed at the end of a general statement which is immediately followed by a list of illustrative examples, but otherwise it is not used as a mark of punctuation. On the other hand where the scientific brevity of the original made the connexion of the argument a little difficult to follow, so that sometimes the meaning of a whole paragraph turned on the significance of a comma or a bracket, we have felt less scruple in giving it more explicit expression.

In the first hundred pages and in the sections on the Meaning of the Suffixes, the reader will find a few additions to the text for which the translators are responsible. With Prof. Brugmann's permission we have inserted illustrations from Modern English beside his own from Modern German, where the latter are given to illustrate some general principle. These interpolations are all enclosed in square brackets.

At his request we have departed from Dr. Wright's usage in one important respect by using Old Church Slavonic instead of Old Bulgarian as the name of the language of the

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Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius. We hesitated for some time between 'Welsh' and 'Cymric', but decided on the whole to keep the latter in conformity with the first volume. The Corrections and Additions' of the German edition are embodied in the text, together with several other minor alterations, mainly of misprints, which Prof. Brugmann has sent us. To him we would offer our hearty thanks for his constant help in matters of difficulty. We owe to Dr. Wright's courtesy a list of Corrigenda in Volume I.

The translation is a joint work throughout, but Mr. Conway is everywhere responsible for its final form, as Mr. Rouse will be in the remaining volumes, which we hope will follow the parts of the German edition as they appear, at much shorter intervals than has been possible so far.

The present volume has demanded a year's continuous work and a good deal of anxious consideration from us both. But we shall be more than rewarded if it can do anything to extend the share which English-speaking students can claim in the marvellous increase of exact knowledge which the book itself records. It is the boast of modern discovery to have made the world more thinkable and human life more full of meaning in a thousand ways; and before the century reaches its close, Comparative Philology, that is, the History of Language, will have attained no mean rank in the great sisterhood of sciences whose task is to explore the history of man.

R. Seymour Conway.
W. H. D. Rouse.

Cambridge, Aug. 1. 1890.

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CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

P. 112 l. 6 Read *the variation* instead of *the opposite.*
P. 350 last line but one. Remove the comma after *cases.*
P. 529 Rem. 2 l. 2. Read *velars palatals and dentals* instead of *lingual palatals.*
See also the footnotes to pp. *118, 167, 274, 367, 432, 434, 441* in Vol. II.

VOLUME II.

P. 153 l. 5 read *should perhaps* for *must ultimately.*

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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

* prefixed to a form indicates that it is not on record, but only inferred from other forms in the same or kindred languages. Prefixed to a root it implies that that form of the root does not occur in any word of which we have record.

√ = root.

: = 'to be directly compared with'.

: cp. = 'to be in part compared with' (see the Preface, p. XII).

... after a form denotes that its final sounds cannot be exactly determined, (e. g. in **mēn-s-r*... p. 186 all that is said of the suffix is that it began with *r*).

a^x denotes a sound which was either *a*, *e*, or *o* but cannot at present be more closely identified.

A small figure added to the name of a book denotes the edition referred to; e. g. Paul, Princip.^{2}

Hom. A, B, ... Ω = Hom. Il. book 1, 2, ... 24.

Hom. α, β, ... ω = Hom. Od. book 1, 2, ... 24.

cp. = compare.

lit. = literally.

orig. = original, or originally.

esp. = especially.

scil. or sc. = scilicet, i. e. the word which follows it is to be supplied in the preceding phrase.

ib. = ibidem.

loc. cit. = in loco citato.

Pr., O., Mid., Mod. prefixed to names of languages denote Proethnic, Old, Middle, and Modern respectively.

poss. = possessive (adjectives).

dimin. = diminutive (adj. or subst.).

denom. = denominative (noun or verb).

There remain the usual abbreviations of Gender (m. f. n.), Number (sg. du. pl.), Case (nom. gen. etc.), Degree (pos. comp. superl.), Mood (ind. impv. etc.), Voice (act. med. pass.), Tense (pres. impf. etc.) and Part of Speech (subst. adj. partc. sup(ine) ger(und) etc.).

It is unnecessary to add a list of the abbreviations for the names of the languages. The latter are fully enumerated in the Introduction to the First Volume (p. 4 ff.). Observe only that A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, O.Sax. = Old Saxon.

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MORPHOLOGY: STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION.

§ 1. All the developements of language denoted by the terms Stem-formation and Inflexion are based upon one common principle, the juxta-position and more or less intimate fusion of elements which were originally independent[1]. The units of speech produced by this kind of composition became in later ages the types on which new words were made; and many such standard forms, which were in use long before the dissolution of the proethnic Indo-Germanic community, still serve as models for new words. But this process of blending groups of independent words into single forms has been continually repeated all through the centuries; and thus new types have been successively evolved, to be in their turn the means of further developement. Yet these new types have never brought about any material change in the general method of forming words which had been adopted by the Indo-Germanic language in its proethnic stage. Certain primitive types, which were characteristic of the morphology of this family of languages, remained in constant use wherever they were spoken; and the forms which have arisen in later times, from the coalescence of words grouped in some syntactic relation, have always been cast in the mould of one or other of these prescribed models.

1) See Vol. I § 13. 14.

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It is therefore the business of the grammarian, in this division of his subject, to exhibit these processes of composition, and the new formations to which their analogy gives rise.

In this department of the history of language, the main line of division is that which separates Noun and Pronoun on the one hand from Verb on the other. In dealing with the former class, we have to discuss terminations of Case, and the many different methods by which nouns or pronouns form their stems; in the latter class, we have to consider terminations of Person, and the equally numerous methods by which verbal stems are formed. These two departments, however, constantly overlap. Verbs are formed from noun-stems, as Gr. *τῑμάω* 'I honour' from *τῑμή* 'honour' Lat. *plantō* from *planta* ("Derivative Verbs"); and, on the other hand, nouns often contain verbal stems (for example, the so-called participles, gerunds, infinitives, and supines, e. g. Gr. part. *δώσων* inf. *δώσειν* as compared with *δώσω* 'dabo'). Forms of this double nature are accordingly discussed in both divisions of Morphology.

In either case we shall begin with those words whose structure exhibits most clearly the principle of composition, which is the basis of the whole formative system of the Indo-Germanic languages; we shall begin, that is, with compounds in the common acceptation of the term, such as Gr. *ἱππό-δαμο-ς* 'horse-taming' *ἀπο-βάλλω* 'I cast away'. Last of all will be treated those elements of words whose original independence is now least obvious, i. e. the signs of the cases on the one hand and the personal-endings on the other.

Throughout our discussion we shall consider both the forms as such and the meaning attached to them. Here we shall meet with questions of Syntax, which however includes too many heterogeneous elements to be fully treated in connexion with Morphology.

It is necessary first to offer a few remarks on the general principles of formation whose action can be traced in the history of Indo-Germanic. To a certain extent these will merely repeat in greater detail what has been already said in the General

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Introduction (I § 13. 14) to explain the use of hyphens, and of a few special terms, which will be found in this work.

§ 2. When a group of words connected in some syntactical relation is fused into a single form, it is called a 'compound'; e. g. Gr. *Διόσκουροι* 'sons of Zeus' from *Διὸς κοῦροι*, Mod.H.G. *hungersnot* 'pressure of hunger' from Mid.H.G. *hungers not*, [Eng. *commonwealth* from *common wealth*]. The compound — to restrict the term for the moment to those consisting of two members — becomes a simple word when either its first or its second member has lost its connexion in the mind of the speaker with kindred words which are uncompounded, and consequently the comparative independence which it formerly had. This process may give rise to a word which to the speaker's consciousness is absolutely simple, e. g. Lat. nom. sing. *qui* for **quoi*[1]) i. e. **quo* 'who' + *ī* (deictic particle, cp. Umbr. *po-ei* sing. 'qui' *pur-i* pl. 'qui'), O.Pers. nom. sing. *hauv* 'this' from **ha* = Skr. *sá* + the particle *u* = Skr. *ú*, Lith. *bú-k* 'be it, as though' which contains the particle *-ki -k*, Lat. *s-ub* no doubt for **(e)x-ub* (I § 568 p. 425); or else the element in question loses its full meaning, and being used with the same value in a considerable number of words is reduced to what is called a suffix or a prefix; as *-heit*, a suffix which forms substantives denoting a quality, found e. g. in *schönheit*, which originally meant 'beautiful condition' (in O.H.G. and Mid.H.G. *heit* is still an independent word), [Germ. *heit* = A.S. *hād* Mid. Eng. *hōd* Mod. Eng. *-hood* in *maiden-hood* etc.], Lat. *-iter*, a suffix used in forming adverbs, e. g. *breviter*, which originally = *breve iter* 'short-way' (*iter* 'way'), O.H.G. *ala-* ('omni-') an intensive prefix, e. g. in *ala-festi* 'firmissime', Mod.H.G. *stock-*, also intensive, e. g. *stock-finster* 'pitch dark' *stock-dumm* utterly stupid' [cp. Eng. *stone-deaf, stone-blind*] (see Tobler, Uber die Wortzusammensetzung p. 116 ff.). If a word is compounded with itself the process is called reduplication, e. g. Gr. *πάμ-παν* en-

1) It is a moot question whether *qoi* in the Duenos-inscription is *qui* or *cui*; see Zvetaieff, Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris, 1886, p. 80 sqq.

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tirely'. Here also either of the two parts may be degraded by a process similar to that which gives rise to a suffix or a prefix; e. g. on the one hand Mod.H.G. *mur-mel* 'murmur' (Lat. *mur-mur*), where the termination *-mel* has the character of a suffix, and or the other hand Skr. *ci-kit-* 'comprehending, aware', where *ci-* is a kind of prefix.

§ 3. No hard and fast line can be drawn between a phrase or group of words connected in some syntactical relation, and a compound.

It is no doubt a fair definition of a compound to say that it is fully formed when the whole becomes in any way isolated from the parts of which it is composed as used independently (I § 13 p. 14). Lat. *māgnōpere*, for instance, was isolated from its component elements *māgnō opere* by its vowel contraction; Lat. *dēnuō*, from *dĕ novō*, by the weakening of *-ov-* to *-u-* due to its enclitic position; and Hom. *πἄν-ημαρ* 'all day long' by the circumstance that the neuter **πἄν* (for **παντ*) when used independently took a long *ᾱ* from *πᾶς πᾶσα*. In Gr. *Διός-κουροι*, in Lat. *plēbīscītu-m*, und in Mod.H.G. *gross-vater* grandfather', *süssholz* 'licorice' the isolation was caused by the meaning of the whole being more definite and limited than the meaning conveyed by the mere syntactical grouping of the parts [cp. Eng. *best man*, *blackbird*]. Again in Attic Greek *ἀπο-βαίνω* 'I go away' *ἐκ-βάλλω* 'I throw out' Lat. *ab-eō*, *ē-jiciō* the cause (or rather one of the causes) was the restriction of each one of the prepositional adverbs to use within a particular series of combinations. Thus the causes of isolation, and of the accompanying change of a phrase into a compound, are very diverse and quite easy to appreciate. But isolation is a matter of very gradual developement; and we cannot fix a point at which the phrase passes into the compound, least of all in ancient languages, where we cannot appeal for help to the consciousness of any living speaker. At every stage in the developement of language we find compounds in process of formation; and, naturally enough, it is often impossible to decide whether in any given instance a compound

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is completely formed or not. Thus opinions may and do differ whether the spelling to be adopted is *διΐφιλος* or *διὶ φίλος*, *καρηκομόωντες* or *κάρη κομόωντες*, and so forth, in Homer (see La Roche, Hom. Textkr. 311 ff.), *senātūscōnsultum* or *senātūs cōnsultum* in later Latin, and in Mod.H.G. *aus himmelshöhn* or *aus himmels höhn* (in Schiller, compare his phrase *an ufers rand*), *möglicherweise* or *möglicher weise*, *wenngleich* or *wenn gleich*.

Remark. According to a very common view, if a phrase is included under one accent, it is proved *eo ipso* to be a compound; but this is incorrect. In that case every syntactical combination of two words where the second word is an enclitic (cp. I § 669 p. 534 § 672 p. 538 and elsewhere) would be a compound, which no one would maintain. Nor can the formation of derivatives from a given phrase by means of secondary suffixes be taken as a certain proof that the group is a true compound (e. g. Gr. *Διοσκούρειον* from *Διὸς κοῦροι*). For the need of a derivative often creates a compound where the original is only a phrase; cp. Gr. *καλοκἀγαθία* from *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, Mod.H.G. *langweilig* from *lange weile*, [Eng. *freetrader* from *Free Trade*], Gr. *ἐγκέφαλος* adj. 'in the head' from *ἐν κεφαλῇ*, *παραθαλάσσιος* 'situated by the sea' from *παρὰ θάλασσαν*, Skr. *anuṣṭyá-s* 'consistent with truth' from *ánu satyám* (cp. § 15), O.C.Sl. *obonŭpolĭnŭ* 'situated on the further shore' from *obŭ onŭ polŭ* (§ 47). Thus a derivative of this kind, itself a true compound, may be formed while the original phrase is only on its way towards becoming one: cp. also Lat. *Sacravīēnsēs* as compared with *sacra via*; *quartadecumānī* as compared with *quarta decuma*, O.C.Sl. *pętĭnadesętĭnŭ* 'fifteenth' compared with *pętĭ na desęte* 'fifteen'; Avest. *aspa-vīra-jan-* 'striking horses and men down to the earth' compared with *aspa vīra* (a Dual combination, cp. § 27).

Where a compound consists of parts each of which can be used as an independent word, the following are the surest signs that it is a true compound: 1. If the termination of one member of the phrase is transferred to words which are incapable of taking it when uncompounded; e. g. when Gr. *διόσ-δοτος* (*διός* gen. sing.) gives rise to such a form as *θεόσ-δοτος* (cp. § 17). 2. If the case-ending or other inflexion of the first member, which was essential to the meaning of the original compound, loses its force in analogical formations; when for instance *Ἀρηΐ-λυκος* (Hom.) *Ἀρει-θύσανος* 'fimbria Martialis' (Aeschyl.) are formed in imitation of *ἀρηΐ-φατος ἀρεΐφατος* 'slain in war'. 3. If the phrase is 'epithetised' (§ 50), as *ἀερί-οικος* 'having one's dwelling in the air', not 'a dwelling in the air'.

§ 4. It is equally impossible to draw a hard and fast line between a compound and a simple word. One part of a compound is reduced or degraded to a suffix or prefix,

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or generally to an inflexional element, by losing in some way or other its connexion with the simple word in the consciousness of the speaker. This isolation may affect the meaning only; take e. g. the Lat. suffix *-iter* in *breviter longiter* and the like, which were originally compounds (for *breve iter*, *longum iter*, see p. 3 above), the O.Ir. intensive prefix *bith-* (originally 'world-' cp. *bith* 'world') in such forms as *bith-beo* 'semper vivus, immortalis' *bid-slān* 'semper salvus' etc.; or it may affect only the form, e. g. Mod.H.G. *-tel* in *drittel viertel* etc. as contrasted with *teil*; or it may affect both at once, e. g. Mod.H.G. *-lich* in *weiblich* (orig. = 'having woman's form') beside *leiche leich-dorn* [= Eng. *-ly* in *wife-ly* A.S. *lic*, Eng. *lych-gate*. The suffixes in *hat-red, friend-ship bishop-ric* etc. were independent words in Old English]. Isolation is most complete when the simple word passes out of use altogether, e. g. Gr. *ποδ-από-ς* Lat. *long-inquo-s prop-inquo-s*, the second part of which is the Skr. *-añc-* 'directed somewhither' (§ 163), Mod.H.G. *schön-heit*, whose second part was still an independent word in Mid.H.G.; the same thing has happened in the first part of a compound e. g. in Germ. *ala-*, as in Goth. *ala-mans* pl. 'all men' O.H.G. *ala-wār* 'quite true' (the only form used independently is *alla-*, for **al-no*). Thus even in the proethnic Indo-Germanic period the temporal adverb **e*, seen in such phrases as **é bherom* 'I bore' **é dṛ̆kom* 'I saw' (Skr. *ábharam ádṛśam*, Gr. *ἔφερον ἔδρακον*), had no doubt sunk to the level of an inflexional prefix, because it was no longer used except in these combinations with enclitic preterite forms. Sometimes the conscious connexion with the simple word is lost because one member of the compound chances to resemble some common suffix in sound; the compounded word is then treated as equivalent to this suffix, and the whole becomes a simple word: for instance, Gr. *καθ-ίζω* 'I set down' (*ἵζω* for **si-zd-ō*, √*sed-*) was associated with verbs in *-ιζω*, as *πολεμίζω*, hence the fut. Att. *καθιῶ* Dor. *καθιξῶ*; O H.G. *gom-man* (gen. *gom-mannes*) 'married man, man' was associated with simple nouns like *eban zeihhan*, hence such new formations as gen. sing. *gommanes* nom. acc. pl. *gommana*.

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But in all these cases the change of function is very gradual; in every period we find compounded words in course of becoming simple inflexional elements. Compare further Skr. *úd-añc-* 'upwards' *praty-áñc-* 'backwards' *prâñc-* 'forwards' and the like (see § 163, and observe their later association with the suffix *qo-*, § 86); Armen. *-a-vor* in *lus-a-vor* 'clear' etc., corresponding to the Gr. *-φόρο-ς* (§ 28); Gr. *-ειδής* in *θεο-ειδής* 'godlike, divine' etc.; Lat. *-gn-o-* (cp. *gen-us*) in *benīgnu-s, malīgnu-s* and similar forms, *-ig-ā-* (cp. *agere*) in *nāvigāre lītigāre flammigāre* and so forth (Leo Meyer, Bezzenberger's Beitr. VI 130 ff.); O.Ir. *-mār* (*mār* 'great') in *ardd-mār* 'very high' Mod Ir. *buadh-mhar* 'victoriosus' (Glück, Kelt. Namen 77. 80 ff.), ~~O.Ir.~~ *-lach* (*slōg* 'troop') in *teg-lach* 'household, familia' *lucht-lach* 'the gens *in toto*, the district community' etc. (Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 25 ff.); Mid.H.G. *nīt-hart lüg-hart*, Mod.H.G. *aller-hand gewisser-massen* and *aller-best aller-meist.*

Remark. The reverse process does not often occur, i. e. when an element once a suffix or a prefix is raised in the speaker's consciousness to the dignity of a compounded word; but we find it e. g. in Mod.H.G. *leu-mund* 'repute, character' (popularly connected with *mund* 'mouth') = Skr. *śrŏ-mata-* (§ 82), *brō-sāme* 'the crumb of the loaf' (influenced by *sāme* 'seed') from O.H.G. *brōsma*, Avest. *yuvaẹ-ca tāitẹ̄*, where the latter form was abstracted from *yuvaẹ-tāt-*, and shows how the suffix *-tāt-* was regarded in the speaker's mind. (§ 102 Rem.). A further example is Mod.H.G. *wahn-sinn wahn-witz*, whose first part was the prefix *wan-* pr. Germ. **ɣana-* 'lacking, without'. [So the suffix in Eng. *wed-lock* has nothing to do with the verb *to lock*, nor that in *cray-fish* (from Fr. *écrevisse*) with *fish*. Similarly *rounde-lay* = Fr. *rondelet*].

It has already been pointed out in § 2 that the transition from a compound to a simple word does not always give rise to an element of the nature of a suffix or prefix. The following conditions are necessary for the production of an element of this kind: 1. the principal member of the compound must be etymologically clear; it must be associated with a kindred word or a kindred group of words: 2. the part so degraded must appear not in isolated words only but in a group of words, and in all of them it must have the same meaning: 3. this meaning must be more or less abstract and general

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(Paul Princip.[2] 294). When these conditions are not fulfilled, the resultant forms may be called obscured compounds. To the speaker's consciousness they may appear absolutely simple words (apart from the endings of declension or conjugation which were ultimately affixed), as Mod.H.G. *welt* for O.H.G. *wer-alt* [Eng. *world*, A.S. *woruld*], Lat. *surgō* for **sub-regō*. Or even if they produce the impression of a word containing a suffix or prefix, it is only because their initial or final part has become associated with real suffixes and prefixes through some phonetic resemblance, e. g. Mod.H.G. *adler* for O.H.G. *adal-ar* ('noble bird of prey'), Mod.H.G. *wimper* 'eye-lash' for O.H.G. *wint-brāwa* 'wind-brow', Mod.H.G. *albern* 'foolish' for O.H.G. *ala-wāri*, 'very friendly' whose terminations resemble those of such words as *sattler*, *schneider*, *silbern* and the like [cp. Eng. *righteous* for *right-wise*, as though its formation were the same as that of *duteous plenteous*, *window* from Icel. *vind-auga* 'wind-eye' compared with *meadow fallow*, *scabbard* whose second part is identical with *-berk* in *hau-berk*, Mod.H.G. *berg-en*, not with the *-ard* of *poniard petard* etc.]. A third group consists of polysyllabic words like Mod.H.G. *bräutigam* (O.H.G. *brūti-gomo* 'bride-man') Lat. *ūsūrpō* 'I use' for **ūsū-rapō* [cp. Eng. *nightingale* A.S. *nihte-gale* 'singer of the night', *wiseacre* = H.G. *weissager*, *watershed* whose second part is Mid.E. *scheden* A.S. *sceādan* Mod.H.G. *scheiden*]. Here the second element has not become clearly associated with previously existing suffixes, while on the other hand such words as these are not conceived as absolutely simple. No general definition can express the way in which the instinct of the speaker regards them; each case must be treated by itself.

Obscured compounds undoubtedly existed as early as the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic; and in its later stages they are nowhere rare. The following examples may be assigned to the proethnic vocabulary: *su̯ék̑uro-* 'father-in-law' (Skr. *śváśura-* Gr. ἑκυρό-ς Goth. *svaíhra*), **su̯ésor-* 'sister' (Skr. *svásar-*

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Lat. *soror* etc.)[1]), **u̯īkṃti-* 'twenty' (Skr. *vi̯śati-* Gr. *Ϝίκατι εἴκοσι* etc.), no doubt also **nizdo-* i. e. **ni-zd-o-* (√*sed-*) 'settling place, nest' (Skr. *nīḍá-s* Armen. *nist* etc.), **per-ut(-i)* loc. 'last year', connected with Gr. *Ϝέτ-ος* (Skr. *parut* Gr. *πέρυσι* etc.), **pr̥-sto- *pr̥-sti- *per-sti-* 'prominence, something prominent' beside √*sta-* 'stand' (Skr. *pr̥ṣṭhá-m* 'prominent ridge, height, peak, top' L.Germ. and Dutch *vorst* f. O.H.G. *first* m. A.S. *first fyrst* f. roof-ridge'), **so u̯* 'this' i. e. **so* + the particle *u* (O.Pers. *hauv* Gr. *οὗ* in *οὗ-τος*), **ne i̯* 'not' i. e. **ne* + the deictic particle *ī* (Avest. *naę-ciš* 'no one' Lat. *nī* Lith. *neĩ*, cp. § 15). Even where this obscuration is found in more than one language it may often have arisen during the individual developement of the languages in question: e. g. Skr. *pīḍáyāmi* 'I press' (pf. *pipīḍé*) for **pi-zd-*, Gr. *πιέζω* 'I press' for **pi-sed-*, originally sit upon'; Lat. *crēdo* O.Ir. *cretim* 'I believe' beside Skr. *śrád dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' (cp. § 160, 1). Examples peculiar to single groups of languages are: Skr. *nédīyas-* Avest. *nazd-yah-* nearer' for **na-zd-*, originally either 'ἐφίζων, προσημενος' (√*sed-* sit') or 'approaching' (√*sed-* 'go, move', Gr. *ὁδό-ς*). Skr. *bhiṣáj-* physician', no doubt to be resolved into *bhi-ṣáj-* 'conjuror, magician', cp. *abhi-ṣajati* 'he bewitches, curses'. Gr. *ἑκατόμ-βη*, cp. Skr. *śata-gu-* 'having a hundred cows'. *δεσ-πότη-ς* originally 'lord of the house', *δά-πεδο-ν* originally 'house-floor', see § 160, 2. *ὠκεανό-ς* probably to be resolved into *ὠ-κεανό-ς* 'lying around', and compared with Skr. *á-śētē*, see § 66. *ὅππως ὅπως* 'how (soever)', *ὅττι ὅτι* 'what (soever)' for **σϜόδ πως, σϜόδ τι*, cp. H.G. *sō hwēo, swie* 'howsoever' *sō hwer, swer* 'whosoever'. Lat. *sub super* for orig. **(e)ks-upo *(e)ks-uper*, cp. Gr. *ἐξ-ύπερθε*. *ap-eriō op-eriō* beside Skr. *ṛ-ṇóti* 'he moves something, makes away with it', with *apa* 'he makes away with, removes, opens'. *pergō* for **per-regō*. *surpuī* for **sub-rapuī*. *prōmō* for **pro-emō*. *noenum nōn* for **ne-oinom*. *superbu-s* for **super-fu̯-o-s*, √*bheu̯-*, cp. Gr. *ὑπερ-φ-ίαλο-ς* I § 165 p. 147. Goth. preterite *frēt*

1) The *-sor-* in **su̯esor-* seems to have been a root-syllable, but the word appears to have attached itself to nouns like **bhrā́tor-* 'brother' **dŏ̄tor-* 'giver' (§ 119 ff.), just as Gr. *καθ-ίζω* was associated with *πολεμίζω* etc. (p. 6).

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O.H.G. *frāz* 'he devoured' from pr. Germ. **fra-ēti*, O.H.G. *hiutu* O.Sax. *hiudu* 'to-day' beside O.Sax. *hiudiga* A.S. *heódæȝ* for **hiu-dgu* = Goth. *hia daga* 'on this day' (cp. Kluge, Paul Braune's Beitr. XII 376 f.). Mid.H.G. *bange* adv. 'anxiously' for **bi-ango*. Mid.H.G. *gunnen* for O.H.G. *gi-unnan* 'to give freely'. Mid.H.G. *niht* 'nothing' for O.H.G. *niwiht*. Goth. *ni vaíhts* 'not a whit'. Mod.H.G. *umt*. Goth. *and-bahti*, [Eng. *huzzy* O.E. *hūs-wīf*.]

Obscured compounds of this kind will be treated along with the rest, although no doubt by this method words will often be classed together which were very differently regarded by the speakers of any given period.

Lastly, it should be observed that the terms Suffix and Prefix, particularly the latter, are sometimes used in the science of language with a far wider sense than that which has been here assigned to them. One of the members of a compound may be called suffix or prefix, as the case may be, simply because it appears with the same meaning in each one of a group of words. Thus we meet with such phrases as 'the compound *ἀπο-βαίνω* with the prefix *ἀπο*'.

§ 5. When one member of a compound has become a prefix or a suffix, the group of words which contains it generally creates similar forms, and is thus enlarged by analogy. The more general the significance of such an element, the more readily are words of the same type formed; take for example the extent to which *-heit -lich (mann-heit männ-lich)* have spread in Mod.H.G., and in Latin the future ending *-bō* (*calē-bō*), which is derived from Idg. **bhu̯-ō* (√ *bheu̯-* 'become').

If a suffix or a prefix at a given epoch can be employed to produce new forms on the analogy of those already in existence, it is called fertile or living, and if not, barren or dead. Suffixes or prefixes which once had great vitality may die out, to be perpetuated only by memory in a certain number of examples, and no longer used for the formation of similar words. Thus the suffix *-ti-* (§ 99. 100), used in all the Indo-Germanic languages to form *nomina actionis*, was still fertile in proethnic Germanic, but in the High German period was restricted to a

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limited group of nouns, such as *zucht* 'breeding, discipline' *ankunft* 'advent' *geburt* 'birth'; its place has been taken principally by *-ung* (as in *schenkung* 'donation'), which still maintains its vitality. [In English it has been largely replaced by *-ness*, e. g. *drought dryness, dearth dearness, sloth slowness*]. In like manner the same suffix was dead in Latin by the beginning of the literary period (e. g. *messi-s, mors* stem *morti-*), and its place had been taken by *-tiōn-* (as *fissiō nātiō captātiō*), which is fertile even in late Latin. Again, *-o-*, in Homer still a living conjunctive suffix for verbs in *-μι* (ἴο-μεν, ἄλε-ται) came down to Attic Greek only in a few forms which had a future meaning, such as ἔδομαι χέω; in its place we find *-ω-*, which remained in active use throughout the classical period.

In a historical account of Indo-Germanic morphology this point must always be kept in view; and we are further bound to look for the reasons why one element used in forming words has died out and another taken its place. Thus for instance the suffix *-ti-* just mentioned fell out of use because it had split into several different forms by phonetic change; cp. Goth. *ansti- ga-baúrþi- ga-mundi- ga-dēdi-* (pronounced *ga-dēdi*) *us-stassi-* (cp. § 100 under Germanic); so that the unity of het group was destroyed. But language always seeks like phonetic expression for like functions; and thus new suffixes of other and usually fuller form were preferred, and encroached more and more upon the old ones.

An adequate consideration of this aspect of Indo-Germanic Morphology is here impossible. Unfortunately the present position of the science of language precludes such an attempt, and, in any case, regard must be had to the due limits of this work.[1])

1) In monographs on Word-Formation full justice has been done to it; see e. g. K. von Bahder in his work 'Die Verbalabstracta in den german. Sprachen', 1880. I may record my complete agreement with the principles laid down in his Introduction (pp. 1—9).

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§ 6. In § 2 reduplication was mentioned as one of the factors in the formation of words in Indo-Germanic. This subject also calls for a few preliminary observations.[1])

Here too we start from the juxta-position of two originally independent words. The same word is repeated twice or still oftener, to express repetition or lengthened duration of a process, or such ideas as universality and intensity. At every stage of the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages, so far as they can be traced, we find this process going on; and it is undoubtedly as old as human speech itself. Now no hard and fast line can be drawn between the mere repetition of a word independently and the new single word arising from the coalescence of the original with its echo, if only because the aim of the repetition is nearly always such that the resulting form has the nature of a compound. Cp. Skr. *píba-piba* 'drink!' (Rgv. II 11, 11 *píbā-pibéd indra śūra sómą* 'drink, drink the soma, mighty Indra'), *divé-divē* day by day', *prá-pra* on and on', *yáthā-yathā* 'howsoever'; Gr. *πάμ-παν* 'altogether', *προ-προ-κυλινδόμενος* 'rolling on and on' (Hom.), *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον* 'magis magisque', *πλέον πλέον* 'more and more'; Lat. *mane mane, audī* (Plaut. Asin. 229);

1) Compare: A. F. Pott, Doppelung (Reduplication, Gemination) als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprachen, beleuchtet aus Sprachen aller Welttheile, Lemgo und Detmold 1862. — G. Gerland, Intensiva und Iterativa und ihr Verhältniss zu einander, Leipz. 1869. — The Author, Über die sogenannte gebrochene Reduplication in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Curtius' Stud. VII. 185 ff. 273 ff. — H. Osthoff, Über *λαλ-* und *lul-*, zwei Fälle gebrochener Reduplication, ibid. VIII 449 ff. — Id., Zur Reduplicationslehre, Paul und Braune's Beitr. VIII 540 ff. — A. Bezzenberger, Zur Beurtheilung der attischen Reduplication, in his Beitr. III 309 ff. — H. Collitz, Über eine besondere Art vedischer Composita ['Iterativcomposita'], Verhandl. des 5. internat. Orientalisten-Congresses II, Berlin 1882, p. 287 ff. — Leo Meyer, Vergl. Gramm. d. griech. und lat. Spr. I² 1093 ff. — Hainebach, De Graecae linguae reduplicatione praeter perfectum, Gissae 1847. — R. Fritzsche, Quaestiones de reduplicatione Graeca, Curtius' stud. VI 277 ff. — C. Jacoby, Die Reduplication im Lateinischen, Danzig 1878. — E. Wölfflin, Die Gemination im Lateinischen, Sitzungsber. der bair. Akad. 1882, p. 422 ff. — Fr. Diez, Gemination und Ablaut im Romanischen, Höfer's Zeitschr. für die Wissensch. der Sprache, 1851, p. 397 ff. — A. Bezzenberger, Zur Lehre von der Reduplication im Litauischen, in his Beitr. I 252 f.

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jam jam, semper semper, quis-quis, ut-ut, Ital. *colpo colpo, piccolo piccolo.*

In this way repeated words had been fused into single forms even before the inflexional period of the Indo-Germanic parent language; and there is nothing to prevent our referring immediately to this oldest type of reduplication any words in the descendant languages in which the whole root is repeated; e. g. Skr. *gár-gar-a-s* 'eddy' *dár-dar-ti* 'he shatters, breaks up', Gr. *βάρ-βαρ-ο-ς* 'speaking unintelligibly' *ἀγ-αγ-εῖν* 'lead on', Lat. *quer-quer-u-s murmur*, O.C.Sl. *glagolŭ* 'noise, word' for **gol-gol-ŭ* (I § 281 p. 224).

Where, however, the reduplication is part of the structure of a simple word, full reduplication ('reduplicatio integra') is comparatively rare. As a rule there is hardly more than a suggestion of the repetition, 'reduplicatio mutila', e. g. in the perfect forms Skr. *ri-rĕč-a* Gr. *λέ-λοιπ-ε* 'he has left', Lat. *tu-tud-it*, Goth. *ga-raí-rōþ* 'he applied himself', and in Skr. *śí-śir-a-s* 'cold, frost', O.H.G. *fi-faltra* 'butterfly'.

It is usually the former of the two syllables which has this abbreviated form. It is then regarded in the speaker's consciousness as a prefix, like the adverb *é*, the so-called 'augment' (cp. Gr. *ἔ-φευγον* : *πέ-φευγα*) and other degraded initial elements of compound words ('reduplicatio praefixa'). This mode of regarding it was supported by the unreduplicated forms which usually existed side by side with it; these the speaker's thought connected into one group (e. g. *πέφευγα* beside *φεύγω φεύξομαι φυγή* etc.). Where the simple form corresponding to a reduplicated form had died out, or if it survived had lost all connexion with it in the mind of the speaker, the reduplication had not so clearly the stamp of a prefix; e. g. Skr. *jā-gar-mi* 'I watch', Gr. *Γῑ-γᾱς* (*Γῑ-γαντ-*), Lat. *me-mor me-moria*, Skr. *da-dru-* A.S. *te-ter* Lith. *de-dervinĕ* 'pustular eruption'.

Less frequently the second element of the reduplicated form is debased ('reduplicatio suffixa'). The commonest example is what is called 'broken reduplication', e. g. Skr. *dar-d-ū-* 'eruption on the skin' Lat. *derbiōsu-s* for *der-d-u-* (I § 170 p. 150) beside Skr. *dar-dar-a* 'burst' and the Skr. *da-dru-* etc. already mentioned,

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Gr. *μορ-μ-ώ* 'bogie' beside *μόρ-μορ-ο-ς* 'fear', *πόρ-π-η* 'needle, clasp' beside *περόνη* 'clasp' *περάω* 'I pierce', Lat. *bal-b-u-s* beside Skr. *bal-balā-karōmi* 'I speak stammeringly', *gur-g-es* beside *gur-gul-iō*, Lith. *mùr-m-iu* 'I growl' beside Lat. *mur-mur*. Here nothing of the nature of a suffix could arise because there were no clearly defined groups of words with which these single forms might have become respectively connected, as was the case in the reduplication of the perfect. Only where there was some accidental phonetic resemblance to an already existing suffix did the element of reduplication assume the character of a suffix; e. g. Goth. *val-v-ja* 'I roll' (resembling *ufar-skad-v-ja*) cp. Gr. *ἑλ-ελ-ίζω*; and this often occurred in examples of *reduplicatio integra* and of *reduplicatio praefixa* as well, if the last element happened to sound like some suffix: e. g. Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. *murmeln* = O.H.G. *murmulōn mur-mur-ōn* (Lat. *mur-mur-āre*) like *lisp-eln schauk-eln hand-eln*; Skr. *cakrá-m* 'circle, wheel' Gr. *κύκλο-ς* 'circle' A.S. *hweowol* 'wheel' (Idg. **qe-ql-o-*) like Skr. *abh-rá-m* 'cloud' Gr. *ἄθ-λο-ς* 'contest' A.S. *tunȝ-ol* 'star'; Mod.H.G. *zittere zittre* (for pr. Germ. **ti-trō-mi*) like *schnatt-ere schnatt-re zimm-ere zimm-re*; Mod.H.G. *thät* (for O.H.G. *te-ta*, reduplicated perfect) like *schau-t'*.

Remark. How are the types *de-der-* (*di-der-*) and *der-d-* related in their origin to the full form *der-der-*? First as regards *de-der-*, Pott and other scholars may be right in assuming that this is not a phonetic corruption of *der-der-*, but a mere 'suggestion' of the complete syllable, which was felt to be enough. *de-der-*, they maintain, is equivalent to *der-der-* in intention though not in fact, and there is no need to assume that such a form as *der-der-* preceded it. They point to such words in colloquial French as *mé-mère* 'little mother' *bé-bête* 'beastie' *Ba-barpe* 'Bab' (dimin. of 'Barbara') *Cha-chale* 'Charlie' as examples of the same principle. In single instances, however, phonetic change may have produced this type of formation, such a form as *der-dr-o-* becoming *de-dr-o* by dissimilation. Again, in the process of broken reduplication different agencies may have been at work, and in any case the examples of this kind have not all the same history. Here too dissimilation may sometimes have been the cause; *der-d-o-* may stand for *der-dr-o-*. And sometimes *der-der-o* may have been unconsciously resolved into *derd-ero-*, and thus being associated with words of the same type as Skr. *pat-ara-* 'flying', may have given rise to new formations in which *derd-* was taken as the 'root'.

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It should be remembered that we are here discussing only the ultimate origin of these different kinds of reduplication. When for instance such a form a *de-der-* had once been evolved it became a creative type, and the later examples (e. g. all extant reduplicated perfect forms) are — directly or indirectly — mere analogical formations, made on the model of those in which the genuine process of developement had taken place.

We have still to mention one more resemblance between these forms and compounds in the strict sense. In reduplicated words, as well as compounds, the real nature of the form may be obscured in some way or another, especially by phonetic change, and the result is a word which the speaker supposes to be absolutely simple (disregarding of course derivative suffixes, and any case-endings that may be in existence at the time); e. g. Skr. *sēd-* (in the perf. indic. 1. pl. *sēd-imá* opt. 3. sing. *sēd-yā́-t* = Avest. *ha-zd-yā-p̌* etc.) Lat. *sēd-* (in *sēd-imus sēd-āre*) for Idg. **se-zd-* i. e. **se-sd-* from √*sed-* 'sit'; Lat. *ser-ō* 'I sow' for **si-sō* cp. Gr. *ἵημι* for **σι-ση-μι*, √*sē-*; Mod.H.G. *beb-t* = O.H.G. *bibē-t*, Skr. *bí-bhē-ti* 'he fears'; another example which must be as old as the proethnic period is the perfect stem **ēd-* (1. pl. Skr. *ād-imá* Lat. *ēd-imus* Goth. *ēt-um*, Lith. part. *ėd-ęs*) for **e-ed-* from √*ed-* 'eat'.

§ 7. Lastly, we must consider Vowel-Gradation (Ablaut, see I § 307 ff. p. 244 ff.) as a factor in the formation of Indo-Germanic words.

This appears in elements of all kinds: in root syllables, e. g. *i- eį̆-* 'go' Gr. *ἴ-μεν εἶ-μι*; in suffixes used to form noun-stems, e. g. *-tr- -ter-* Gr. *πα-τῆρ-ός πα-τέρ-ες*, or verb-stems, e. g. the present suffix *-nu- neu̯-* Skr. *ci-nu-más ci-nṓ-mi*; in case-endings, e. g. the genitive ending *-s -es -os* Skr. *sūnṓ-ṣ* O.C.Sl. *nebes-e* (for **-es*) Gr. *νεφέ-ος*; in personal endings, e. g. 3. sing. *-ti -taį̆* Gr. *δίδω-σι δίδο-ται*; and in the *reduplicatio praefixa*, e. g. Skr. pres. imper. act. *ci-kiddhi* indic. med. (intens.) *cḗ-kitē* from *cit-* 'perceive'.

We saw in vol. I (loc. cit.) that vowel-gradation, a mechanical consequence of shifting accent, has quite as little to do with morphological differences of function as any other phonetic variations which arose within a given group of forms through

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the action of what is called phonetic law. For instance, the *o*-form of ablaut which appears in the root-syllable of perfect forms like **de-dorḱ-e *le-loiq-e* (Gr. *δέδορκε λέλοιπε*), as distinguished from **derḱ- *leiq-* and **dṛk- *liq-* in other forms of the verbal system, had originally no more connexion with the meaning of the perfect, nor had the *e*-form of ablaut, found in the formative suffix in the accusatives **pə-ter-m̥ *mā-ter-m̥* (Gr. *πατέρα μητέρα*) etc., as distinguished from *-tr- -tṛ-* in other cases, originally any more connexion with the notion conveyed by the accusative, than (say) the *σ* of the second persons *οἶσ-θα ἴσ-τε*, as contrasted with the *δ* of the 1. and 3. persons *οἶδα ἴδμεν οἶδε*, had to do with the distinction of persons. But the arbitrary phonetic differences produced by ablaut in the various groups of forms often acquired in time a special meaning, the particular phases of ablaut becoming closely attached to the particular idea conveyed by the whole word, and appropriated to this or that function in connexion with it. This is most clearly seen when such formative elements as had served, either solely or primarily, to distinguish the meaning of a particular form from that of other members of the same group, have been lost, thus leaving only the ablaut to indicate the meaning; e. g. Mid.H.G. 1. pl. pres. *binden* 'we bind' pret. *bunden* we bound' = Goth. *bindam bundum*, Idg. present stem **bhendho-* preterite stem **bhebhn̥dh-*; Goth. acc. *aúhsan* dat. (loc.) *aúhsin* (nom. *aúhsa* 'ox') = Skr. *ukṣáṇ-am* (*ukṣáṇ-am*) *ukṣáṇ-i*; Goth. acc. *fadar brōþur* dat. *fadr brōþr* cp. Gr. *πατέρ-α πατρ-ί*. Thus even in proethnic Indo-Germanic the vowel-grade *-tēr-* e. g. **pətḗr* 'father' (Gr. *πατήρ*) had become in the nom. sing. the chief exponent of the special meaning of the case, as opposed to the voc. sing., Gr. *πάτερ*, and differences of ablaut like *δέρκοιτο δρᾰκοι, λείποι λίποι* had become connected with different kinds of action (continuous as opposed to momentary). In the same way other phonetic differences which had arisen accidentally became the exponents of different meanings. For example, in the masculine *i*-declension in Old High German it so happened that the whole plural had come to have the modified vowel: *gesti* etc. as opposed

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to the sing. *gast*. The cases of the plural had originally been sufficiently distinguished from the singular by other means. But later on final *-e* was lost in Upper Germany, and partly so in Central Germany; and hence the modified vowel became, and still is, the sole sign of the distinction of number in the nom. and acc.: sing. *gast* pl. *gest (gäst)*. Afterwards on this analogy *täg* was formed as a plural for *tag*, and *ärm* for *arm* etc.

In this way a definite phase of vowel-gradation in the Indo-Germanic languages has often become the mark of some definite meaning; so that the relations of Ablaut are of special importance in any account of their morphology.

In accordance with what has been previously said (I § 310) we distinguish 'Strong' and 'Weak' forms in the elements of which words are built up. The weak form shows the vocalism of the Lower or Weak Grade of Ablaut, the strong form that of the Higher or Strong Grade, and in each class again there are differences, which in forms of the strong grade may be very considerable (cp. e. g. I § 311).

The simplest of all the phenomena of vowel-gradation are those which appear in the terminations denoting case and person.

In the formation of stems, especially those of nouns, very complicated relations have sometimes arisen, chiefly because the original differences of gradation have been readjusted in course of the various processes of 'levelling' which the forms have undergone in one direction or another. Some such readjustments must have taken place soon after the differences in gradation had first appeared, i. e. long before the proethnic language had broken up; and since then the process has been continually repeated. In this branch of our enquiry we can scarcely hope for anything like complete success in investigating the original distribution of the different phases of Ablaut.

Yet in a considerable number of groups of forms we have attained to a fair degree of certainty, and can even now reproduce, in all essential points, the vowel-gradation shown by the stem at the period of the first separation of the tribes. In many classes of noun-stems the formative suffix had Strong-Grade vocalism in

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the nom. acc. voc. loc. sing., in the nom. acc. du., and in the nom. (no doubt also acc.) pl., e g. Gr. *πα-τήρ πα-τέρ-α πά-τερ πα-τέρ-ι, πα-τέρ-ε, πα-τέρ-ες πα-τερ-ας*; and in the other cases that of the Weak Grade, e. g. *πα-τρ-ός, πα-τρ-ῶν πα-τρά-σι*. And similar distinctions hold good to some extent in the stem-syllable of root-nouns, e. g. Skr. *pā́t pā́d-am pā́d-as* as opposed to *pad-ḗ pad-ás* etc. The terms used to distinguish these forms are Strong and Weak Cases respectively; a more detailed account is reserved for the sections dealing with Case-formation. In the verbal system, the three singular persons of the active generally had the strong form, and the plural and dual of the active with the whole of the middle had the weak form; and indeed this difference appears equally in root-syllables, e. g. Gr. *εἶ-μι ἴ-μεν*, in suffixes of Tense, e. g. Gr. *δάμ-νη-μι δάμ-να-μεν*, and of Mood, e. g. Gr. *ε-ἴη-ν ε-ἶ-μεν* (**ἐσ-ιη-ν *ἐσ-ῑ-μεν*).

§ 8. We have seen in the foregoing pages that the Indo-Germanic formative system in all its branches is really based upon composition. This being the case, the task of systematic morphology is to exhibit, first the processes of composition which gave rise both to what are usually known as compounds, and to all formations containing elements of the nature of suffixes or prefixes; and secondly, the developement of the analogical formations which are associated with these. It is clear however that this task can only be very imperfectly accomplished.

The furthest point to which we can trace the past history of Indo-Germanic speech, without entering upon a region of the merest conjecture, is an epoch when, so far as we can judge, many elements originally independent had become so completely lost in composition as to show no vestige of their original character either in meaning or in form. The instinct of the language for the particular kind or kinds of composition by which these elements had assumed the shape in which we find them had by that time completely died out, and it is hence very probable that there had already been a good deal of shifting and displacement. It is therefore impossible for us to say whether any given formative element ever existed independently in

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precisely the form which it has when we remove it from its surroundings, or whether one or other of its sounds may not have been a later accretion which originally formed no part of it (cp. Mod. HG. *-keit*, I § 14 p. 16, [Eng. *-ology* in *ge-ology*, cp. *theo-logy*], Lat. *-cētu-m* in *būcētu-m busticētu-m*, which was abstracted from such forms as *nuc-ēu-m ūlic-ētu-m*). By that time, too, hundreds of complex forms may have become simple units both in use and in appearance, so that, strictly speaking, we cannot be sure that any one formative element which we regard as a unit in morphology was really a simple form to start with. In modern times we are not in a position to determine what the actual processes of composition may have been — they were certainly many in number — whose work began and ended before the proethnic community was dissolved: all that can be done is to accept as data their after effects, direct and indirect. I would take this opportunity of once more calling attention to a point on which I have already laid stress (vol. I p. 17 f.). The formative elements which date from the proethnic period we call by such names as 'root', 'suffix', 'prefix'; but this does not imply that they were originally independent words. Thus the division of a word by hyphens, e. g. **seq-e-taị* (Gr. ἕπ-ε-ται Skr. *sác-a-tē*), merely indicates the parts which the speaker probably regarded respectively as the kernel of a whole group of forms (*seq-*), or as a formative element used in different words with the same special function (*-e-* and *-taị*).

Among the forms that serve to show the method of formation which prevailed in the parent language there are comparatively few in which we can feel sure that our analysis actually agrees with the original process of composition, so that the hyphen really marks the point where the word originally divided. We feel most confidence in analysing reduplicated formations like Skr. *dár-darti*; next, in the case of the augment, e. g. **é-dr̥kom* 'I saw' (Gr. ἔ-δρακον); and the same may be said of some of the personal endings, as *-mi -maị, -ti -taị*, e. g. *eị-mi* 'I go' (Gr. εἶ-μι), since these are no doubt connected with **me-* 'I' **to-* 'the, that'.

The case is different with later compounds formed after

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the first division of the language had taken place; c. g. Skr. *ēkacittī-bhavanti* 'they become of one mind' Lat. *calē-bō* for **calē fuō*. Here, unless the contrary is expressly stated, our hyphens always imply the assertion that in the case of the oldest examples of any formation which gave the type for the whole group, each of the parts thus separated was once really an independent word

Remark 1. Of late years much labour and ingenuity has been spent in the attempt to determine the original form of Indo-Germanic 'roots', especially since the publication of de Saussure's suggestive Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles (Leipz. 1879). This subject, important as it undoubtedly is, I must dismiss with only a reference in passing, because of the grievous uncertainty of the theories hitherto advanced; nor do I wish to suggest to the beginner that he need at the outset give any special attention to the question. I still feel wholly uncertain whether Idg. **aĝe-aĝo-* (Gr. pres. *ἄγε-τε ἄγο-μεν*, subst. *ἀγέ ἀγό-ς*) was earlier or later than **aĝ-* (Gr. *ἐπ-ακ-τό-ς*) and Idg. **ĝenə-* (Skr. *jani-tár-*) than **ĝen-* (Skr. *ján-man-*), whether the shorter form came from the fuller or whether the latter was derived from the former by the addition of *-e- -o-* and *-ə-*. The relation of Idg. **plī-* (Lat. *ple-nu-s*) to **pel-* (Goth. *fil-u* Skr. *pi-par-ti*) is also quite obscure. **plē-* may be regarded as standing for an older form **pelē-*, and its *-ē-* as an element not originally belonging to the root. But we may equally well regard **pelē-* as the original simple root-word from which all shorter forms have been derived. The authorities are cited by Hübschmann, Das indogerm. Vocalsystem p. 181 ff., Johansson, De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae p. 82 sqq. 93 sqq., Bezzenberger, Götting. gel. Anz. 1887 p. 417.

Remark 2. Another question much discussed is that of the so-called 'root determinatives'. Certain consonants frequently appear as the final sound of roots in a larger or smaller number of the words which belong to them. E. g. *-dh-* in Skr. *rā-dh-a-ti* 'brings about, prepares, satisfies' Goth. *ga-rē-d-an* 'to reflect upon something' O.C.Sl. *ra-d-iti* 'to reflect upon, care for' beside Lat. *rē-rī*, *ra-tiō* Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'; Gr. *πύ-θ-ω* 'putrefy' beside *πύ-ον* 'pus'; O.C.Sl. *i-d-ǫ* 'go' beside Gr. *εἶ-μι* 'I go'; further, in the suffixes *-dh-ro- -dh-lo- -dh-mo-* (see § 77). *-s-* in **k̑leu-s-* 'to hear' Skr. *śru-ṣ-ṭi-ṣ* 'courtesy, readiness' part. *śrō-ṣ-a-māṇa-s* O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) A.S. *hlu-s-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *slu-ch-ŭ* 'act of hearing, hearing' beside **k̑leu-* Skr. part. *śru-tá-s* Gr. *κλυ-τό-ς* etc., and in **ten-s-* 'extend, stretch out' Skr. *tasáyati* 'he pulls this way and that' *vi-tasti-ṣ* 'span' O.H.G. *dinsan* 'to drag, trail' Lith. *tęsiù* 'I stretch' beside *ten-* Skr. fut. *taniṣyá-ti* Gr. *τενεῖ* etc. The use of this *-s-* became widely extended in the Aorist and Future and also in Desiderative formations; it may also be etymologically connected with the *-es-* in Gr. *ξ-εσ-* (*ξέω* 'I scrape, smooth' aor. *ἔξεσ-σα*) beside *ξ-υ-* (*ξύω*) and *qes-* (Lith. *kas-aũ* 'I scratch' O.C.Sl. *čes-ati* 'to comb, curry'); in *σβ-εσ-* (*σβέσ-σαι* 'to quench') beside *σβ-η-* (*ἔ-σβη* 'was quenched') and *seg-* (Lat. *sēgni-s* etc.); in *u̯-es-* (Lat. *ves-ti-s*) beside *eu̯-* (Lat. *ind-uō*

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Lith. *au-nù au-ti*, and many similar forms. *-eu- -u-* may sometimes be regarded in the same way, e. g. in *sreu-* 'flow' (Skr. *sráv-a-ti* Gr. *ῥεῖ*) beside *ser-* 'move forward' (Skr. *sár-a-ti* 'goes, flows' Gr. *ὀρ-μή* 'haste, impulse'). There need be no hesitation in assuming that in such instances we are dealing with elements which were not originally integral parts of the primitive word, or 'root', and that therefore, in parallel forms which we find without them, they have not been lost, but simply never existed. The name we give them — determinatives, formative suffixes, or what not — is a matter of no importance. Their origin and their original value are obscure. Where, as *-s-* in the aorist, they have a definite grammatical function, they may be named accordingly. Thus I describe *-s-* in *ἔδειχ-σ-α* as an aorist-suffix, although I take it for granted that this element had originally nothing to do with the meaning of the aorist; but in doing so I imply no more than in calling e. g. *-minī* in Lat. *legiminī* (= *λεγό-μενοι* § 71) a suffix of the second person plural.

FORMATION AND INFLEXION OF NOMINAL (AND PRONOMINAL) STEMS.

§ 9. Our discussion so far has led us to the conclusion, that in the Indo-Germanic languages the first step towards a complete inflexional system is to be seen in the nominal compounds whose first member is an uninflected stem, and reduplicated nouns in which neither of the two members has sunk to the level of an inflexional element; that is, if we consider them apart from their case-suffixes and from any further derivative elements or other particles which may have become attached to them. It seems appropriate, then, to begin our account of the Morphology of Nouns, by treating first of Compound Words and of Reduplicated Forms.

COMPOSITION OF NOUNS (NOUN-COMPOUNDS).[1])

THE COMPOUNDS CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR FORM.

§ 10. We may distinguish four classes of compound forms:

I. Compounds whose first part is the stem of an inflected noun or pronoun, e. g. Gr. *μονο-γενής* compared with *μόνο-ς*;

1) F. Bopp, Vergleich. Gramm. III³ § 962 ff. F. Justi, Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina in den idg Sprachen, Göttingen 1861.

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II. Compounds whose first part is a word which never admits of inflexion in any period of the history of the Indo-

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L. Tobler, Über die Wortzusammensetzung nebst einem Anhang über die verstärkenden Zusammensetzungen, Berlin 1868. F. Meunier, Les composés syntactiques en Grec, en Latin, en Français etc., Paris 1872. G. Meyer, Beiträge zur Stammbildungslehre des Griech. und Latein., Curtius' Stud. V 1 ff.; Die Dvandva-Zusammensetzung im Griech. und Latein., Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 1 ff. L. Schroeder, Über die formelle Unterscheidung der Redetheile im Griech. und Latein. mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nominalcomposita, Leipz. 1874; Die Accentgesetze der homer. Nominalcomposita, dargestellt und mit denen des Veda verglichen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 101 ff. H. Osthoff, Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition im Deutsch., Griech. Slav. und Roman., Jena 1878. The Author, Erstarrte Nominative, Curt. Stud. IX 259 ff. — Aryan: W. D. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar § 1246 ff. R. Garbe, Das Accentuationssystem des aind. Nominalcompositums, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 470 ff. F. Knauer, Über die Betonung der Compp. mit *a* priv. im Sanskrit, ibid. XXVII 1 ff. F. Spiegel, Gramm. der altbaktr. Sprache p. 102 ff. F. Justi, Handb. der Zendsprache p. 377 ff. F. Spiegel, Altpers. Keilinschr.[2] p. 171. — Greek: D. Pezzi, La lingua greca antica, 1888, p. 169 sqq. R. Roediger, De priorum membrorum in nominibus Graecis compositis conformatione, Leipz. 1866. W. Clemm, De compp. Graecis quae a verbis incipiunt, Giessen 1867; Die neuesten Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der griech. Compp., Curt. Stud. VII 1 ff. F. Heerdegen, De nominum compositorum Graecorum inprimis Homericorum generibus, Berl. 1868. G. Meyer, De nominibus Graecis compositis, Breslau 1871; Zur griech. Nominalcomposition, Curt. Stud. VI 247 ff. K. Zacher, De prioris nominum compositorum Graecorum partis formatione, Halle 1873; Zur griech. Nominalcomposition, Breslauer philol. Abhandlungen I, Breslau 1886. F. Fügner, De nominibus Graecis cum praepositione copulatis capita selecta, Leipz. 1878. O. Neckel, De nominibus Graecis compositis quorum prior pars casuum formas continet, Leipz. 1882. R. Schroeter, Quas formas nominum themata sigmatica in vocabulis compositis Graecis induant, Köthen 1883. For other references see E. Hübner's Grundr. zu Vorlesungen über die griech. Syntax, p. 29 ff. — Latin: R. Kühner, Ausführl. Gramm. d. latein. Sprache I p. 693 ff. F. Stolz, Die latein. Nominalcomposition in formaler Hinsicht, Innsbruck 1877. F. Ulrich, Die Composita bei Plautus, Halle 1884. F. Skutsch, De nominum Latinorum compositione quaestiones selectae, Neisse 1888. For other references see E. Hübner's Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die latein. Gramm.[2] p. 43 f. — Keltic: J. C. Zeuss, Gramm. Celt.[2] p. 853 sqq. — Germanic: J. Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. II (1878) 303 ff. F. Kluge, Verbalpartikeln in der Zusammensetzung, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 68 ff. und 328, Lautverschiebung in zusammengesetzten Worten, ibid. 82 ff. J. Kremer, Behandlung der ersten Compositionsglieder im german. Nominalcompositum, Paul und Braune's

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Germanic languages accessible to our investigation, and only appears in compounds, e. g. Gr. ἄ-βατος:

III. Compounds whose first part is an old adverbial word (with or without case-ending), which was also used uncompounded, e. g. Gr. ἐπί-θετος compared with ἔπι (ἐπὶ);

IV. Compounds whose first part is either a case-form which when it first entered into composition was a living member of some case-system, or an adverb which had only become such during the developement of the separate languages, and had the force of an adverb at the time when it was compounded; e. g. Gr. Διόσ-κουροι and παν-αίολος.

No differences in principle are implied by this classification. It is chiefly intended as a convenient means of survey. In the course of the developement of the different languages, the boundaries of the various classes often wavered considerably, and here and there new formations arose which departed widely from the type originally proper to their particular class.

Classe I and IV are often contrasted as 'genuine' and 'spurious' compounds. The latter are also called Juxtaposita.

Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

§ 11. Class I. This type of formation was certainly represented by a large number of examples in the Indo-Germanic period, although there are not many compounds which occur simultaneously in different branches of the derived lan-

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Beitr. VIII 371 ff. Th. Storch, Angelsächs. Nominalcomposita, Strassb. 1886. — Balto-Slavonic: J. Kremer, Behandlung der Suffixe in der Fuge nominaler Zusammensetzungen im Litauischen, Bezzenberger's Beitr. VII 8 ff. C. Pauli, Die Composition [in Prussian], Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 209 ff. A. Alexsandrow, Litauische Studien I, Nominalzusammensetzungen, Dorpat 1888. — F. Miklosich, Vergleich. Gramm. II 347 ff.; Die nominale Zusammensetzung im Serbischen, Denkschr. der Wiener Akad. XIII 1 ff. Baudouin de Courtenay, Wortformen und selbst Sätze, welche in der polnischen Sprache zu Stämmen herabgesunken sind, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 204 ff.

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guages, and therefore may reasonably be classed here. Several have a numeral for their first member; e. g. Skr. *dvi-pád-* Gr. *δί-πους* Lat. *bi-pēs* A.S. *twi-fēte* 'two-footed'; Skr. *tri-dant-tri-dánt-* Lat. *tri-dēns* 'three-toothed'; Skr. *śata-pád-* Lat. *centi-pēs* 'hundred-footed'. O.Pers. *hama-pitar-* Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ ὁμο-πάτριος* O.Icel. *sam-fēðr* 'having the same father, a common father'; Gr. *ὁμό-γνιος* Goth. *sama-kunja-* see I § 142. ↄ 128. Avest. *pouru-nar-* Gr. *πολυ-άνωρ* 'rich in men'; Skr. *puru-dáṣas-* 'rich in wondrous deeds' Gr. *πολυ-δήνεα· πολύβουλον, πολύμητιν* (Hesych.). Gr. *ὠκύ-πους* Lat. *acu-pedius* 'swift-footed'; Skr. *āśu-pátvan-* Gr. *ὠκυ-πέτης* 'swiftly flying' Lat. **acu-piter,* which popular etymology changed to *accipiter,* as though from *accipiō,* and even to *acceptor.* Skr. *nṛ-mánas-* 'having the mind of a man', Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μέν-ης.* Skr. *nāvājá-* i. e. *nāva* + *ajá-* 'driving ships, seaman', Lat. *nāvigō* 'I navigate' from **nāvi-igo-* 'driving ships'. It is to be noticed that these formations scarcely ever correspond exactly; we have usually to suppose that analogy has modified the forms in the separate languages (e. g. Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μέν-ης* instead of **ἀνδρα-*, see § 29).

§ 12. The termination of the first member.

Stems in *-o-* had *-o-,* cp. Gr. *ἱππό-δαμος* 'taming horses', Gall. *Dēvo-gnāta* (*dēvo-* 'god'), Goth. *garda-valdands* 'master of the house', Lith. *gera-dėjis* O.C.Sl. *dobro-dějĭ* 'benefactor'. Whether *-e-* occurred as well as *-o-* (cp. Gr. *Ἀγέ-λαος* beside *ἀγό-ς,* see § 29. 30) is doubtful. The final vowel of the stem seems to have remained unchanged even where the second part of the compound began with a vowel: Skr. Ved. *yuktá-aśva-* 'who has horses yoked', O.C.Sl. *bělo-okŭ* 'white-eyed' (cp. also Pruss. *dago-augis* 'young sprig of a tree' *deina-algenika-mans* dat. pl. 'to day-labourers'), see I § 600 p. 453.

Stems in *-ā-*, in compounds formed in the separate families of language, sometimes end in *-ā-*, and sometimes have the same form as the *o*-stems. The former is frequent in Aryan and Greek, rare in Latin and Lithuanian: Skr. *urvarā-jít-* 'gaining arable land' Avest. *daęnā-vazah-* (proper name) from

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dạźnā- 'law, faith', Gr. *βουλη-φόρος* 'giving counsel', Lat. *fabā-ginus* 'proceeding from beans', Lith. *szikszno-sparnis* 'bat' (properly 'leather-winged creature'). The *-o*-form is not uncommon in Aryan and Greek; it preponderates in Latin and Lithuanian; and in Keltic, Germanic and Slavonic it is the only form found: Skr. Ved. *ukha-chíd-* 'breaking the pot' from *ukhá-*, Avest. *gaδa-vara-* 'wielding a club' from *gaδa-* (= Skr. *gadá-*), Gr. *ὕλο-τόμος* 'felling timber' from *ὕλη*, Lat. *āli-pēs* from *āla*, Gall. *Teuto-bōdiācī* beside O.Ir. *tuath* f. 'people' ground-form **teutā*, Goth. *airþa-kunds* 'of earthly origin' from *airþa*, Lith. *galvā-raisztis* 'headband' from *galvà*, O.C.Sl. *glavo-bolije* 'headache' from *glava*. From these data I do not venture to draw any definite conclusion for the proethnic period. It seems to me, however, improbable that the transition from *-ā-* to *-o-* took place independently in all the different languages. Indeed it is certain that the latter was the regular form in proethnic Indo-Germanic when the compound consisted of an adjective + a feminine substantive: Skr. *priya-bhāryā* 'beloved wife', Gr. *ἀκρό-πολις* 'upper part of a city', O.Ir. *sen-mathir* 'old mother, grandmother' from **seno-* (cp. however § 39), O.H.G. *junc-frouwa* 'young lady' for **jungo-*, Lith. *jaunā-martė* 'young woman' *sen-motė* 'old mother, grand-mother' for **sena-* (cp. O.Ir. *sen-mathir*), O.C.Sl *plŭno-luna* 'full moon'.

Stems in *-ī-* and *-ū-* had *-ī-*, *-ū* before consonants and *iį-*, *-uų-* before sonants. Skr. *dhī-jávana-s* 'exciting devotion. inspiring', *bhrū-kuṭi-ṣ* 'frown'. Skr. *śriy-āditya-* (man's name) from *śrī-*, Gr. *σύ-αγχος* 'choking swine' from *σῦ-ς*. Compare Skr. instr. pl. *dhī-ṣú* beside instr. sing. *dhiy-á*.

Stems in *-i-*, *-u-*, nasals, liquids, and such of the stems in explosives as were declined with vowel-gradation had regularly the weak form of ablaut, from the proethnic period onwards, in compounds as well as in derivatives (e. g. Gr. *βαρυ-δαίμων* like *βαρύ-της*, Skr. *pitṛ-dēva-s* like *pitṛ-tva-m*).

Stems in *-i-* and *-u-* had *-i-*, *-u-* before consonants. Skr. *tri-pád* Gr. *τρί-πους* Lat. *tri-pēs* A.S. *ðri-fēte* 'three-footed', Gall. *tri-garanus* 'with three cranes', Lith *tri-kójis* 'creature with three

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feet' O.C.Sl. *trĭ-zębŭ* 'trident, three-prong'. Skr. *agni-dhāna-m* receptacle for fire', Lat. *īgni-fer*. Proper names containing **u̯esu-* 'good': Skr. *vásu-rōciṣ-* Avest. *vohu-raocah-*, Gall. *Visu-rīx* (woman's name) O.H.G. *Wisu-rīch* Skr. *paśu-pá-s* 'cattle-keeper' Goth. *faihu-friks* 'covetous' Gr. *ἡδυ-(ϝ)επής* 'speaking sweetly' Skr. *svādu-rāti-ṣ* 'bestowing beautiful gifts', Lat. *manu-festus*, Gall. *Catu-rīges* ('battle-kings') O.Cymr. *Cat-mōr*, O.H.G. *Hadu-mār*, Lith. *virszù-kalnis* 'mountain peak'. Before sonants we find sometimes *-i(i̯)-*, *-u(u̯)-*, sometimes *-i̯-*, *-u̯-*, cp. I § 120 p. 111 ff. The first form is certainly original in such words as **tri-* 'three', **dru-* 'wood': cp. Skr. Ved. *tríi̯(y)-aruṣa-* 'marked with red in three places', Gr. *τρί-οζος* 'three-branched', Lat. *tri-ennium*, Gall. *Tri-obris*, O.H.G. *dri-ortēr* triangulus'; Skr. Ved. *drú(v)-anna-s* 'having wood for food', Gr. *Δρύ-οψ*. Cp. further Skr. Ved. *hári(y)-aśva-s* 'having golden-yellow steeds' *kṛṣṭi(y)-ōjas-* 'vanquishing the nations' beside *ahy-árṣu-ṣ* 'falling upon dragons', *puru(v)-anīka-s* 'having many semblances' *madhu(v)-ád-* 'eating sweet things' *bāhu(v)-ōjas-* n. 'strength of arm' beside *pulv-aghá-s* 'harming much' (examples with *-y-*, *-v-* — which alone occur in classical Sanskrit — are rare in Veda; see Edgren, Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 71); Gr. *βωτι-άνειρα* fem. 'nourishing men', *πολύ-ιππος* 'rich in horses'; O.C.Sl. has an isolated example, *medv-ědĭ* 'bear' ('honey-eater') from *medŭ* = Lith. *medù-s* 'honey'.

Stems in *-n-* may have sometimes had forms in *-u̯-*, before consonants, and forms in *-n-* or *-u̯n-*, before sonants. *-u̯-* may be inferred from Greek compounds like *κρή-δεμνον* 'head-band' for **κρᾱ(α)-α-*, *ὀνομά-κλυτος* 'with famous name' (I § 224 p. 192). We may set beside them Lat. *nōmen-clātor nōmen-culātus* and Skr. compounds like *śīrṣa-bandhanā* f. 'head-band' *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giver', and also *vṛ́ṣaṇ-vasu-ṣ* 'strong as an ox' (cp. *vṛ́ṣaṇ-vant-* and *vṛ́ṣan-yáti-* for **u̯ṛsu̯-* I § 225 p. 192). As examples of *-n-* before sonants might be given Gr. *ἀρν-ῳδός* 'singing for the prize of a lamb' (late), *κυν-ῶπις* 'dog-eyed', Lith. *szùn-obůlei* pl. 'hawthorn ('dog-apples'), and for *-u̯n-* Ved. *vṛ́ṣaṇ-aśvá-* 'having stallions for steeds, drawn by stallions' (said of a chariot). Yet it is very uncertain whether those forms are the direct representatives

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of original types. What we most commonly find is a substitution of *o*-stems for the stems in *-n-*, and this mode of representing the *n*-stems in composition appears to me undoubtedly prothnic. Gr. *κιό-κρανον* 'capital of a column' from *κίων*, *ἀκμό-θετον* 'anvil-block' from *ἄκμων*, *αἱμο-βαφής* 'dipped in blood' from *αἷμα*, Lat. *homi-cīda*, *sangui-sūga*, *numi-cbatori* (inscr.). Mid. Ir. *talam-chumscugud* 'earthquake' from *talam* gen. *talman* (§ 37), Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' from *guma* gen. *gumins*, *áuga-daúrō* n. 'window' ('eye-door') from *áugō* gen. *áugins*; Skr. compounds like *śīrṣa-bandhanā* may also be classed here, and all the more confidently because such forms as Skr. *ukṣáṇna-* = *ukṣa-anna-* 'devouring oxen' (from *ukṣan-*) Avest. *zrvāyu-* = *zrva-āyu-* 'specified time' (from *zrvan-*) clearly show the type of the *o*-stems (cp. *yuktáśva-*). This substitution of *o*-stems for stems in *-n-* is obviously connected with a similar change in the final members of compounds, as Skr. *tṛi-parva-s* 'with three edges' from *párvan-*, *priyá-dhāma-s* 'occupying a charming position' from *dhāman-*, Gr. *ἀ-πειρο-ς* 'boundless' beside *ἀ-πείρων* (stem **πειρϝον-*), *ἄν-αιμο-ς* 'bloodless' beside *ἀν-αίμων*, Lat. *ex-sangui-s* for an older **ex-sanguo-s* (see § 93, under Italic) from *sanguen*, *sublīmu-s*, later *sub-līmi-s* (properly 'reaching up to the lintel') from *līmen*.[1])

Stems in *-m-*. Skr. *sa-kṛt* 'once' Gr. *ἁ-πλόος* 'single' Lat. *sim-plex*, Idg. **sm̥-*, from **sem-* 'unus' Gr. *ἑῖς* neut. *ἓν*. Gr. *δά-πεδον* 'floor in a house', then 'ground' generally, for **dm̥-*, from **dem-* 'house', see § 160, 2.

The Indo-Germanic type of formation in *r*-stems is shown in Skr. *pitṛ-śrávaṇa-s* 'gaining glory for one's father' and *pitr-artham* 'for one's father's sake'. Cp. also Gr. *τετρά-γυο-ς* 'containing four measures of land', from the Idg. stem **qetuer-* (*τετρα-* = Idg. **qetur̥-*, cp. I § 285), Goth. *brōþru-lubō* 'brotherly

1) No inference can be drawn from such Germanic examples as Goth. *háuh-hairta-* 'haughty' beside *hairtan-* n. 'heart'. For even granting that stems like these had always been *n*-stems, the *a*-inflexion must in any case have been forced upon them by the analogy of the strong declension of adjectives. Cp. Leo Meyer, Got. Spr. p. 247.

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love' (? see § 40) and Gr. *πατρ-ωνύμιο-* 'named from the father', *ἀνδρ-άγρια* 'spoils of an enemy'.

Stems in *-nt-* had *-ŋt-*: Skr. *bṛhad-rathá-* 'having a great car', Idg. **bhṛĝhŋt-*.

Stems in *-s-*. Gr. *μῡσ-φόνος* 'killing mice', Lat. *mūs-cipula* 'mouse-trap', Idg. **mūs-*. Stems in *-es-* no doubt had *-es-*: Gr. *σακεσ-φόρος* 'shield-bearer', Goth. *sigis-láun* 'prize of victory', Skr. *rajas-túr-* 'hastening through the sky'. *-s-* no doubt occurred as well, cp. Skr. *mardhātár-* 'thoughtful, devout person' for **mánz-dhātar-*, beside *mánas-* Gr. *μένος*. The use of *-o*-stems in their place, which is found in Greek, Latin, Keltic, and Slavonic (§ 29. 34. 37. 47, cp. also the Germanic, § 40 Rem. 5) may be an independent developement of the separate languages.

§ 13. The action of analogy produced many changes in what we must assume to have been the original forms of the initial members of compounds.

On the one hand, we find one kind of stem taking the place of another, e. g. a stem in *-o-* replacing a stem in *-i-*, as Slav. *gosto-* instead of *gostĭ-* (§ 47). We have just seen (in § 12) that changes of this kind arose even in proethnic Indo-Germanic. Thus it may well be the case that **dui-* 'two' (beside nom. acc. du. **dṷōṷ*: Skr. *dvāú* etc.) was formed in this period to correspond with **tri-* 'three' (cp. e. g. **dṷi-pod-* 'two-footed' beside **tri-pod-*) just as Gr. *διᾱ-κόσιοι* was modelled on *τριᾱ-κόσιοι*, *πεντά-πους* (for *πεντέ-πους*) on *ἑπτά-πους*, and so forth; a different explanation of **dṷi-*, which does not seem to me convincing, is given by Bartholomae (Ar. Forsch. III 39). In the developement of the separate languages the use of *-o-* as the connecting link in compound words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the 'vowel of composition' ('Compositionsvocal').

On the other hand, the stem is sometimes replaced by a case-form (the compound thus passing into Class IV). Of this kind are new formations like Skr. *agrē-gá-s* (loc. sing.) beside

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the more archaic *agra-ga-s* 'going at the head', Gr. *Πυλοιγενής* (loc. sing.) 'born in Pylos', Mod.H.G. *befehls-haber lands-mann* (gen. sing.) for the older forms *befelch-haber land-mann*. In this class also a few examples may be proethnic, cp. Skr. *aṣṭá-pad- aṣṭā-pada-* Gr. *ὀκτώ-πους* 'eight-footed', Lat. *octō-jugis* (Goth. *ahtáu-* seen in *ahtáu-dōgs* 'eight-day' (adj.) for **ahtō-*, following the uncompounded *ahtáu*) with the form of the nom. acc. du., and similarly, with the form of the nom. acc. sing., Gr. *ἑκατόμ-πους -ποδος* Lat. *centum-pedа* beside the more archaic Skr. *śata-pád-* Lat. *centi-pēs -peda* (cp. also Goth. *handa-faþs* 'centurio' Lith. *szimta-kójis* 'hundred-footed').

Remark. Cp. the occurrence of the *-ō-* of the nom. acc. du. in the case-endings Skr. *-ā-bhyām* Lat. *-ō-bus* (*duōbus*). Skr. *aṣṭa-* (seen in Ved. *aṣṭa-karṇá-* etc.) and Lat. *octi-* (seen in *octi-pēs* etc.) do not represent the Idg. stem **oḱto-*, from which the dual was formed, but they follow the analogy of *sapta-* and *septi-*, cp. Gr. *ὀκτα-* beside *ὀκτω-* in imitation of *ἑπτα-*.

The same substitution of case-form for stem is seen in certain derivatives formed by means of suffixes; examples of this are Skr. *tad-ī́ya-s* 'belonging to that' *tad-vant-* 'provided with that' (*tá-d* nom. acc. neut.) *ki-yú-ṣ* 'desiring what?' (*ki-m* nom. acc. neut.), Skr. *divá-tana-s* 'diurnus' (*dívā* instr. sing. 'by day', § 69), Skr. *uccāis-tará-m* 'higher' (*uccāíṣ* instr. pl. 'high', § 75), Gr. *μυχοί-τατος* 'furthest back in the corner' (*μυχοῖ* loc. sing. 'in the corner, within', § 75). Gr. *ἴφιο-ς* 'powerful' (*ἰ-φι* instr. sing. 'with power, with might'), Lat. *extrē-mu-s* (**extrē-* adv., § 72, 2), Goth. *jái-n-s* 'that' (m.) (**i̯oi̯* loc. sing., § 66).

§ 14. Class II. Idg. **n̥- *n̥n-* 'un-', connected with **ne- *nē* 'not' (Skr. *ná nā* etc.): Skr. *a-mṛta-s á-martiya-s* 'immortal' *an-aśvá-s* 'without horses', Armen. *an-gēt* 'unknowing', Gr. *ἄ-μβροτος ἀ-μβρόσιο-ς* (cp. I § 120 p. 111) *ἄν-ιππος*, Lat. *in-somnis* (Skr. *a-svapná-s* 'sleepless'), O.Ir. *ē-tromm* 'not heavy, light', O.H.G. *un-ende-n.* 'endlessness' (Skr. *an-antá-s* 'endless'), cp. I § 227 p. 194; and the parallel form **n̥-* 'un-' = Gr. *να- νη-* etc., see I § 253 p. 207. Idg. **dus-* 'mis- ill-': Skr. *dur-manas-* 'illwill, malevolence', Armen. *t-gēt* 'unknowing', Gr. *δυσ-μενής* 'ill-disposed', O.Ir. *do-chruth* 'deformed, ugly' (from *cruth* 'form', the *c* being

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changed to *ch* on the analogy of *so-chruth* 'beautifully formed', see I § 658 p. 510 f.), O.H.G. *zur-lust* 'wilfulness, illwill'.

These initial members of compound words may once have been independent adverbial words which were restricted even in the proethnic period to use in composition; just as Idg. **su* 'well' and **s̥mi* 'half', which in Aryan still occur as independent words, in the other branches of Indo-Germanic only survived in compounds.

§ 15. Class III. This class may be split up into numerous subdivisions; only a few of them can be noticed here.

Adverbs used in the separate languages as verbal prepositions are compounded with verbal nouns. Idg. **épi-dhəto-s* 'added': Skr. *ápi-hita-s* 'shut, enveloped' Gr. ἐπί-θετος 'added'. Idg. **ápo-qiti-s* 'expiation, punishment': Skr. *ápa-citi-ṣ* Gr. ἀπό-τισις. Idg. **ni-zdo-s* 'place for sitting down' (√*sed-*): Skr. *nīḍá-s*, Arm. *nist*, Lat. *nīdu-s*, O.Ir. *net*, O.H.G. *nest*, see I § 590 p. 447. Idg. **peri-sroṷo-s* 'a flowing round': Skr. *pari-srāva-s*, Gr. περί-ρροος. It was not before the period of separate developement that adverbs of this kind were closely united with the finite verb, as in Gr. ἐπι-τίθημι, and it is clear that the older practice of compounding them with nouns gave considerable impulse to this tendency.

Remark. The group of purely verbal compounds then reacted upon the class of nominal compounds. It is true enough to say that e. g. Gr. ἔξοχος 'eminent, prominent' is not a compound of ἐξ and ὄχος, nor Goth. *afletis* 'remission, forgiveness' a compound of *af* and *letis*, but that those words are simple derivatives from the verbs ἐξέχω and *afletu* (J. Grimm, D. Gr. II [1878] 694, Zacher, Zur griech. Nominalcomp. 8); and there is after all good reason for adopting Zacher's name for them, 'pseudo-compounds'. But it must not be forgotten that in creating such forms the language is merely adding new examples to old classes, whose types have come down from the proethnic period, and that by far the greater number of the so-called compounds in the Idg. languages were certainly not formed by any real process of composition, but merely through analogical imitation of old typical forms; that is to say, they are only 'pseudo-compounds'.

Adverbs, used in the separate languages as prepositions governing a case, are compounded with nouns which are found governed by them; ἐγκέφαλο-ς = ἐν κεφαλῇ ὤν. In the proethnic

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period, when this group of forms began to develope, prepositional phrases like Skr. *ánu satyám* 'conformably to truth' Gr. *ἐν κεφαλῇ* 'in the head' Lat. *ante portam* can hardly, as yet, have become a recognised construction. The need of derivatives, however, had already given rise to compounds, exactly in the same way as in Mod.H.G. *lang-weilig* is derived from *lange weile*, in Lat. *Sacraviēnsēs* from *sacra via* etc. (cp. § 3 Rem. p. 4 f.). Then, the more firmly the prepositional construction established itself in the separate languages, the easier was it to form corresponding compounds, and the more freely were they coined. Skr. *api-karṇá-m* 'that which is situated by the ear, the region of the ear', Gr. *ἐπί-γαιος* adj. 'on the earth'. Skr. *upári-martya-s* 'rising above mortals', Gr. *ὑπερ-άνθρωπος ὑπερ-ήνωρ* (the same). Lat. *inter-vallum* 'that which is situated between two palisades (*inter vallos*), intermediate space', Skr. *antar-hastá-s* adj. 'in the hand'. Goth. *uf-áiþeis* 'under an oath, bound by an oath', Skr. *upa-kakṣá-s* 'reaching to the armpit'. Lith. *pér-galvė* f. 'that which is laid over or around the head, cowl', Gr. *περι-κέφαλον περι-κεφαλαία* 'head-covering'. It is noteworthy that Sanskrit and Greek agree in using as adverbs the acc. sing. neut. of these adjectival compounds, e. g. Skr. *praty-ákṣa-m* from *praty-ákṣa-s* 'lying before the eyes', *ati-mātrá-m* from *ati-mātrá-s* 'exceeding the proper measure', Gr. *ἔμ-πεδον* from *ἔμ-πεδος* 'situated on the earth, firm', *ὑπέρ-μορον* from **ὑπέρ-μορος* 'beyond destiny'.

The negative particles **ne*, **nei̯* (cp. O. Brugmann, Über den Gebrauch des condicionalen *NI* in der älteren Latinität, 1887, p. 32 f.), **mē* are compounded with the pronominal stems **ḳi-* **ḳo-*. **ne*: *ná-ki-š* 'no one, nothing, nor' (*ki-* instead of the regular *ci-*, see I § 448 Rem. p. 333). **nei̯*: Avest. *naē-ci-š* 'none', Lith. *nẽ-kas* O.C.Sl. *ni-kŭto* 'none'. **mē* (prohibitive) Skr. *mā́-ki-š*, Gr. *μή-τις*.

§ 16. Class IV. Compounds of this kind do not appear in any great numbers until the later periods of the history of the languages. Of these, too, by far the greatest number are due to no real process of composition, but merely to the ana-

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logy of already existing types. The following may be regarded as formations which had the character of compounds as early as the proethnic period.

The words for the tens from thirty upwards, as Gr. *τριᾰ-κοντα, τεττορά-κοντα,* which have a nom. acc. pl. neut. as their initial member.

Idg. **dṷó-dekṃ *duṷó-dekṃ* 'twelve': Skr. *dvá-daśa duvā-daśa,* Avest. *dva-dasa* (with *a* instead of *ā*, following *dva*), Gr. *δώ-δεκα δυώ-δεκα,* Lat. *duo-decim* (with *o* instead of *ō*, following *duo*); compare Skr. *dvādaśama-s* Lat. *duodecimu-s* 'twelfth'. Idg. **tréi̯es-dekṃ* 'thirteen': Skr. *tráyō-daśa*, Lat. *trēdecim* (I § 594 p. 450), Mid.H.G. *drī-zehen* (the sounds at the junction of the two words have been modified on the analogy of the two uncompounded forms, for *-zd-* would have become *-st-* in Germanic).

Remark. We may generalise so far as to assume that in proethnic Indo-Germanic there already existed compounds for all the numbers 11—19. Yet it must be noticed that the names of the numbers up to nine are not all genuine case-forms, e. g. Idg. **penge* 'five' seen in Skr. *páñcadaśa* Lat. *quindecim* Goth. *fimftaihun.*

Possibly there were also in the Indo-Germanic period compounds containing case-forms of **diu̯-* 'heaven'; cp. Skr. *divō-rúc-* 'shining from heaven' Gr. *Διόσ-δοτος* 'given by Zeus', Skr. *divi-já-s divi-jāta-s* 'born in heaven'. The Greek compound *δεσ-πότης* 'master of the house', whose first member was the Idg. gen. **dem-s* (I § 204 p. 171 and § 160 below) may also have been inherited from the parent language.

To this class also belong such forms as Skr. *tad-vaśá-s* 'having a desire for that', Gr. *ποδ-από-ς* 'whence coming?' with the form of the nom. acc. sing. neut. See I § 228 p. 195 and § 163 below.

§ 17. The forms of this class, like those of Class I, gave rise to many analogical innovations. The most noteworthy of these is that the case-ending of the first member of the compound ceased to be regarded as a case-ending, and was used in composition with nouns which could not be joined with

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it uncompounded; e. g. Gr. *θεόδοτος* (beside *θεό-ς*, gen. *θεοῦ*) on the analogy of *διόδ-οτος*, Mod.H.G. *hilfstruppen* 'auxiliary force' (beside *die hilfe*, gen. *der hilfe*) on the analogy of forms like *hungers-not*. See § 24. 32. 44. 47.

§ 18. Compounds of all classes have been used from the earliest period as personal names[1]), and it must be assumed that even in the parent language this was the commonest method designating of persons.

It remained in living use amongst all the Indo-Germanic peoples except the Italic[2]). Examples are: Skr. *áśva-mēdha-s* (*aśva-* 'horse'), *dur-mitrá-s* (*duṣ-* 'mis-'), *upa-diśa-s* (*upa* 'hither, this way'), *divō-dāsa-s* (*divás* gen. of *div-* 'heaven'); Gr. *Ἱππό-μαχος, Ἄ-δμητος, Ὑπό-δικος, Ἀρηί-λυκος*; Gall. *Dēvo-gnāta* (*dēvo-* 'god'). *Su-carus Su-caria* O.Bret. *Hu-car Ho-car* (*su-* 'well'. Skr. *sú, su-*, cp. I § 573 p. 430), *Ro-smerta* (*ro*: Gr. *πρό*); Goth. *Austro-valdus* with Latinised termination (*austro-* 'east'), O.H.G. *Wolf-bote* (*wolf-* 'wolf'), O.H.G. *Un-forht* (*un-*: Gr. *ἀ-*); Lith. *Vaisz-nor-s*, *Nor-buta-s*, *But-vila-s* (**vaiẽza-s or *vaiszu-s* 'guest' cp. *vaiszinù* 'I receive as a guest, entertain', *nora-s* 'will', *bùta-s* 'house')[3]), Pruss. *Buti-labes* (*buta-* 'house') *Austi-gaudis* (*austa-* 'mouth') *Na-bute* (*na* 'after, in accordance with'), Serv. *Vuko-mir* (*vuk* O.C.Sl. *vlŭkŭ* 'wolf'), *Ljubo-mir* (O.C.Sl. *ljubŭ* 'dear').

These compounds had in many respects a peculiar history.

Amongst the Greeks and the Germanic peoples, it was a custom to insert in a child's name one of the words which were found compounded in the name of the father or the mother:

1) See in particular A. Fick, Die griech. Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt, mit den Namensystemen verwandter Sprachen verglichen und systematisch geordnet, Göttingen 1874.

2) And perhaps the Armenians. On the subject of personal names in Armenian I have received communications from Prof. Hübschmann, and I am satisfied that in the present state of our knowledge it can neither be affirmed nor denied that this people retained any genuine Indo-Germanic compound names. In the case of geographical names, however, the old principle of nomenclature may be said to be still fully in force.

3) In Lithuanian this mode of forming family names is now obsolete.

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e. g. *Δῖνο-κράτης* son of *Δῖνο-κλῆς*, *Εὐ-κράτης* son of *Εὐρυ-κράτης*, *Ἰνδρό-νικος* son of *Νῖκο-κλῆς*; in the 8th century A. D. we have *Walt-bert* son of *Wald-ram*, *Wald-bert* and *Wolf-bert* sons of *Hram-bert*, *Wine-gaudus* son of *Wine-burgis* (Stark, Die Kosenamen der Germanen, p. 159)[1]. This explains the fact that words of the most heterogeneous meaning were often combined to form one name, as Gr. *Ἱππό-λᾱς*, *Ῥόδ-ιππος*, O.H.G. *Wolf-dag*, *Fridu-gundis*.

One of the two compounded words was sometimes used alone as an abbreviation for the whole name (these are called 'Kurznamen' 'short names'), and suffixes expressing endearment were often added at the same time to this single stem. This practice of abridgement, which shows the same kind of linguistic thrift as we see e. g. in Mod.H.G. *bahn* = *eisenbahn*, *lager* = *lagerbier*, *soda* = *sodawasser*, *kilo* = *kilogramm*, *ein viertel neuen* = *ein viertel liter neuen weines*, in London slang phrases such as *zoo* = *zoological garden*, *pops* = *popular concerts*, *bus* = *omnibus*, and in Gr. *πᾰ́*, *μᾱ́* from *πατήρ*, *μᾱ́τηρ*[2], may be regarded as unquestionably belonging to the proethnic period. Skr. *dēva-s dēvaka-s dēvika-s dēviya-s dēvala-s dēvila-s* = *dēva-datta-s dēva-kṣatra-s dēva-śravas-* etc. Gr. *Ζεῦξις Ζευξίᾱς* = *Ζεύξ-ιππος Ζευξί-δᾱμος Ζευξί-θεος* etc. Gall. *Toutus Toutius Toutillus* = *Touto-bocio* O.Cymr. *Tut-ri* (cp. Gall. *Toutio-rīx*) etc. O.H.G. *Wolfo Wolfilo* (Goth. *Vulfila*) *Wolfing* = *Wolf-brand Wolf-braht Wolf-gang* etc. Pruss. *Bute Butil Buteko* = *Buti-labes* etc. Serv. *Vuk Vukoj Vukel Vukolin* = *Vuko-voj Vuko-mir* etc. (*vuk* = O.C.Sl. *vlŭkŭ* 'wolf'). This shortening was also effected by dropping the first member of the compound,

1) In Greek the influence of the father's name may be observed even in names consisting of single stems, the formative suffix being taken over to the new name, e. g. *Βρᾰ́χ-υλλος* son of *Βᾰ́θ-υλλος*, *Παρμέν-ῑσκος* son of *Φιλ-ῑσκος*. See J. Baunack, Stud. auf dem Gebiete des Griech., I 1, 57.

2) The psychological side of this practice of abbreviation has been examined by Behaghel (Die Deutsche Sprache, p. 68 f.). It springs from the general tendency to leave unspoken whatever can be understood, or is at once suggested by the immediate context.

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c. g. Gr. *Κλῆτος* = *Ἀνάκλητος* (a bishop in the first century), *Vulfus* = *Hun-ulfus*, Scirorum primas, sacc. V, Jornandes c. 54.

Where this kind of abbreviation took place the feeling for the etymological structure of the compound was sometimes lost, and so the initial consonant or consonants of the second member remain in the curtailed form. Gr. *Νῑκο-μᾶς* = *Νῑκο-μήδης*, *Δημο-σθᾶς* = *Δημο-σθένης*, *Εὖ-χρις* = *Εὔ-χρηστος*, *Πολυ-ξώ* = *Πολυ-ξένη*. O.H.G. *Adal-bo* = *Adel-bero* and *Adel-boldus*, *Sibo* = *Sibold Sigi-bald*, *Rat-po* = *Rat-poto*, *Thiemo* = *Thiet-mārus*, *Ercam-bius* = *Ercam-bertus*.

Remark. I do not know what view to take of the frequent strengthening of a medial consonant in abbreviated names in Greek and in Germanic; e. g. Gr. *Ξεννώ*, *Ἀγαθθώ*, *Δικκώ*, *Καλλο-ννώ*, *Κλεό-μμις*, *Θεο-κκώ*, *Ντκο-ττώ*, *Κλεο-θθίς*, O.H.G. *Itta* = *Ita-berga*, *Sicco* = *Sige-rīch Sig-bertus Sig-fridus*, *Aggo* = *Ago-bardus*. Cp. Fick, Die griech. Personennamen p. LIX sq. and Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 277 f., Baunack, Studia Nicolitaina (Lips. 1884) p. 47 f., and Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griech. I 1, 60, Stark, Kosenamen p. 19 ff.

The student should compare the examples of abbreviated names in other languages collected by R. Mowat, in his essay De la déformation dans les noms propres (Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. I, 171 ff.).

§ 19. Accentuation of Compounds. In languages where the free Indo-Germanic accentuation can still be observed, the position of the accent in compounds varies considerably in many ways, and it is certain that even in the proethnic period a complicated system had been developed. Certain principles, however, can be everywhere recognised, and must probably be assumed as holding good for that period.

1. Where the meaning was not 'epithetised' (§ 50) the compounds of Class I (see above) were usually oxytone if the second member was a *nomen agentis*: Skr. *radhra-cōdá-s* 'driving on the weary' (*cōdá-s* 'driving on') *aśva-hayá-s* 'driving on the steeds' (*hayá-s* 'driving on'), Gr. *ψῡχο-πομπός* 'conducting souls' (*πομπός* 'conductor') *παιδο-τρόφος* for **παιδο-τροφός* (I § 676 p. 542 f.) 'nourishing children' (*τροφός* 'nourisher'). On the other hand, where the meaning was 'epithetised', the first member usually

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bore the accent, no matter of what parts of speech the word was compounded: Skr. *hári(y)-aśva-s* 'having golden-yellow steeds' *hiraṇya-kēśa-s* 'golden-haired', Avest. *stehr-paęsah-* adorned with stars' = pr. Ar. **stŕ-paiśas-* (I § 260 p. 212, § 288 p. 229 f. § 674 p. 539), Gr. *βαθύ-κολπος* 'with deep, full bosom' *κλυτό-πωλος* 'having glorious steeds' *χαλκό-πους* 'bronze-footed' (as regards instances like *εὐρυ-ρείτης* 'with wide stream' for **εὐρύ-ρειθρος* see I § 676, 2 p. 541 and Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacc. 43 ff.), A.S. *fyðer-fēte* 'four-footed' for pr. Germ. **fiƀur-* (I § 529 p. 384 f.) like Skr. *cátuš-pad-*. Thus we find existing side by side forms like Skr. *rāja-putrá-s* 'king's son' and *rāja-putra-s* 'having kings for sons', Gr. *παντρόπος* 'turning all' (cp. *τρόπος* 'turner, strap by means of which the oar is turned') and *πολυτροπος* 'of many wiles' (cp. *τρόπος* 'a turn') with many similar examples.

Remark 1. The exceptions to these rules still need careful investigation. Thus for example, Sanskrit compounds of *-pati-* 'lord', though they belong to the *immutata* or unepithetised class, accentuate the first member, as *gaṇá-pati-š* 'lord of a troop' *púr-pati-š* 'lord of a stronghold', and the *d* of Goth. *-fadi-* in *hunda-fadi-* 'leader of 100 men' points to the same accentuation, pr. Germ. **χundá-faði-* (I § 530 p. 386 f.). May not this substantive have been originally a *nomen actionis* meaning 'rule, lordship' (cp. § 149), so that the compounds in question would originally have been *mutata* (epithetised)?

2. Compounds with **n̥-* **n̥n-* 'un-' accented this prefix they were the same part of speech as their final member. Skr. *á-kumāra-s* 'non-boy, matured youth' (*kumārá-s*), *á-dīrgha-s* 'no long' (*dīrghá-s*), *á-kšita-s* 'imperishable' (*kšitá-s*), *án-andha-s* 'no blind' (*andhá-s*). Gr. *ἄ-δωρα* 'gifts that are no gifts' (*δῶρα*), *ἄ-δηλος* 'not plain' (*δῆλος*), *ἄ-q̣θιτος* = Skr. *á-kšita-s*, *ἄν-αλτος* 'insatiable'.

Remark 2. If the phonetic law for *n̥*, which was laid down in I § 226, is correct, Skr. *án-* and Gr. *ἀν-* must once have been regular even where the next part of the compound began with a consonant. In that case the unaccented *a-* *ə-* of epithetised compounds like Skr. *a-mās-* 'without darkness' Gr. *ἀ-δ(ϝ)ειής* 'fearless', must have passed into more general use, thanks no doubt to the fact that before a sonant every **n̥-*, accented and unaccented alike, regularly became *an-* *ἀν-* (cp. *án-andhá-s* and *an-ēnás-* 'sinless', *ἄν-αλτος* and *ἀν-αιδής* 'shameless').

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3. Compounds consisting of adverbs + participles in *-to-*, abstract substantives in *-ti-*, or similar verbal nouns (Class III), had the accent upon the adverb, just as the corresponding forms of the finite verb in a principal clause threw back their accent upon the adverbs which qualified them (cp. I § 669 p. 534). Skr. *prá-tta-s* 'given up' Gr. *πρό-δοτος* 'abandoned', Skr. *prá-tti-š* Gr. *πρό-δοσις*; A.S. *frá-coð* Goth. *frá-kunþs* 'despised'. O.H.G. *frá-tāt* 'transgression'. In Greek the accentuation followed new rules; thus we have *ἀπο-τελεύτητος* instead of **ἄπο-τελευτᾱτος*, *ἀπό-τισις*, for **ἄπο-τισις*, cp. *εὐρυ-ρέεθρος* above, 1.

4. Cumulative numerals (*Dvandva*) had the accent on the first number, as Skr. *dvá-daśa* Gr. *δώ-δεκα* 'twelve'.

Aryan.

§ 20. In the proethnic period of Aryan the existing types of formation underwent no important changes.

In certain forms, as Skr. *áśvā-magha-s*, we find *-ā-* where we should expect *-a-*. These no doubt arose by analogy in proethnic Aryan, if they are due to the influence of Indo-Germanic stems in *-ā-*, or if they contain the form of the instr. sing. See § 22, with the Remark.

Examples of compounds which accurately represent the Indo-Germanic types are: Skr. *vīra-hán-* Avest. *vīra-jan-* 'slaying men'. Skr. *áva-hata-* Avest. O.Pers. *ava-jata-* 'beaten off, struck down, killed': cp. Lat. *au-*. Skr. *dūrē-śruta-* proper name, Avest. *dūraę-srūta-* 'far-famed', containing the loc. sing. of the stem *dūru-*.

§ 21. In Sanskrit, nominal compounds were freely developed. In the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa compounds containing more than two members appear but rarely; but in the classical language, especially in the artificial style, stem-and N[illegible]ounds (Class I) consisting of several members are quite 'making th[illegible] e. g. *sakala-nīti-śāstra-tattva-jña-s* 'knowing (*jña-*) *Διόσ-κουρ[illegible]va-*) of all (*sakala-*) manuals (*śāstra-*) of deport-'given of Zeus', [illegible]er poets created compounds which were ab-

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solute monstrosities; see the examples given by Justi, Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina, p. 17.

§ 22. Class I.

o-stems. *aśva-yúj-* 'yoking horses': Gr. *Ἱππό-ζυγος*. Ved. *yuktá-aśva-s* and *yuktāśva-s* 'for whom horses have been yoked'; in classical Sanskrit only the contracted form occurs. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the *-ā-* in Ved. *áśvā-magha-s* 'rich in horses' *gūrtá-vasu-ṣ* 'possessing agreeable things' and other similar examples.

Remark. Cp. *-ā-* beside *-a-* in Iranian (§ 25) Here we may conceivably have either 1. the feminine *-ā-* (cp. Gr. *θανατη-φόρος* beside *θανατο-φόρος* § 29); 2. Ar. *ā* = Idg. *o* in open syllables (I § 78 p. 69); 3. the effect of some principle of rhythm (cp. Avest. acc. *ver^{e}θrā-jan-em* beside gen. *ver^{e}θra-γn-ō* nom. *ver^{e}θra-ja -jā*); Gr 4. the instrumental in *ā* taking the place of the stem. The origin of the *ā* need not, of course, be the same in every instance. Cp. also Skr. *áśvā-vant-* and the like, § 127.

ă-stems. Ved. *jiyá-vāja-s* 'having the speed of the bow-string': Lith. *gijà* 'cord'. Parallel to these are forms with *-a-*, Ved. *ukha-chíd-* 'breaking the pot (*ukhá-*)' etc., see § 12 p. 24 f.

ī-, *ū*-stems. *śacī-vasu-ṣ* 'powerful', *tanū-tyáj-* 'abandoning life and limb'. Cp. § 12 p. 25.

i-, *u*-stems. *tri-pád-*, *paśu-pá-s*, *trí(y)-aruṣa-* etc. (§ 12 p. 25 f.). Cp. also *dyu-kṣa-* 'dwelling in the light of heaven' beside *div-ít-* 'going to heaven' (cp. instr. pl. *dyú-bhiṣ*: instr. sing. *div-á*): nom. sing. *dyáú-ṣ*, Gr. *Ζεύς*.

Nasal stems. *nāma-dhā-s* etc., see § 12 p. 26 f. *sa-kŕt* Gr. *ἁ-πλόος*, see ibid. p. 27.

r-stems. *pitṛ-śrávaṇa-s* 'bringing honour to a father', *pitṛ-artham* 'for a father's sake'. Cp. § 12 p. 27 f.

nt-stems. *bṛhát-kētu-ṣ* 'having a lofty banner': acc. sing. *bṛhánt-am*. Cp. § 12 p. 28.

es-stems. *rajas-túr-* 'hastening through the atmosph[illegible] Skr. nt. The *-ō-* in *rajō-mēgha-s* 'cloud of dust' *vacō-níd-* [illegible]sed into onant every hymns' (*vácas*: Gr. *ἔπος*), like the *-ō-* of the instr. *an-* *ἀν-* (cp. *án-* is taken from the nom. acc. sing. in *-ō* (*ŕśjō*), s 'shameless'). and § 24 below.

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It is not uncommon to find the types of Classes I and IV confused, a case-form taking the place of a stem. Examples are given in § 24.

§ 23. Class II. *á-gata-s* 'not gone, untrodden': Gr. *ἄ-βατος* 'untrodden'; *án-āpta-s* 'not reached, not reaching to, unskilful': cp. Lat. *in-eptu-s*. *duš-pāra-s* 'hard to make one's way over, hard to pass': Gr. *δύσ-πορος*, the same. The opposite of the latter form, *sú* 'well', was not restricted to use in compounds until the post-Vedic period (as in *su-śrávas-* 'famous'); cp. § 26.

Class III. *prá-tata-s* 'outspread' *prá-tati-š* 'an outspreading': Gr. *πρό-τασις* 'a stretching forward, assertion'.

ánti-gṛha-m 'the space over against (before) the house': Gr. *ἀντί-θυρον* 'the space over against (before) the door'. *anu-šatyá-s* 'conformable to truth (*ánu satyám*)'. *pari-hastá-s* 'placed round the hand (*pári hástam*)'. *á-dēva-s* 'going to the deity (*dēvám ā*)'.

§ 24. Class IV. *pitā-mahá-s* 'grandfather on the father's side' (gen. *pitāmahásya*) from *pitá mahá-s* 'pater grandis'; from which came the feminine derivative *pitāmahī* 'grandmother on the father's side'. Cp. Lat. *rōs-marīnus* gen. *rōsmarīnī* § 36.

divō-já-s 'child of heaven' (gen. of *div-*). *dāsyāḥ-putra-s* son of a slave-woman' (gen. of *dāsī*). *bṛáhmaṇas-páti-š* 'lord of prayer', *šubhás-páti-š* 'lord of adornment' (gen. of *bráhmaṇ-*, *šúbh-*). *yudhi-šṭhira-s* proper name, 'firm in battle' (loc. of *yúdh-*). *diva-kīrtya-* 'to be repeated by day' (instr. of *div-*).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged because case-forms were sometimes substituted for stems in compounds of the type of Class I; e. g. *divi-kšīt-* 'dwelling in heaven' (loc. of *div-*), *apsu-kšīt-* 'dwelling in the waters' (loc. pl. of *ap-*), *agrē-gá-s* 'going at the head' (loc. of *agra-*, *agra-ga-s* is also found), and *vāja-bhará-s* 'carrying off booty' (acc. of *vāja-*), *agnim-indhá-s* 'making the fire' (acc. of *agni-*). In such compounds as these there

Διόσ-δοτος no transition from a phrase to a compound word, 'given of Zeus', p[illegible]alogical imitation of compounds already in

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existence; for at the time when these were formed, their final members were no longer in use as independent words.

The same holds good of all such 'epithetised' compounds of this class as had that meaning as soon as they came into existence; cp. *rāyás-kāma-s* 'having desire for wealth' (gen.) from *kāma-s* 'desire' *dūrē-antas* 'ended, ending in the distance' (loc.) from *ánta-s* 'end' (compare *dūrē-śrutas*, a proper name, 'far-famed'), *śatám-ūti-ṣ* 'furnishing a hundred (acc.) aids' from *ūti-ṣ* 'help' (with the simple stem: *śatá-vāja-s* 'furnishing hundredfold sustenance').

It often happened that the case-ending of the first member was used in new formations after it had ceased to be recognised as such, so that one part of the new compound shows a case-form which does not appear when the word is independent: thus *vánas-páti-ṣ* 'lord of the wood' (stem *vána-*, gen. *vánasya-*) is formed on the analogy of compounds ending in *-as-pati-ṣ*, whose first member was the genitive of a consonantal stem, as *bráhmaṇas-páti-ṣ*; *vasun-dhara-s* 'concealing treasure' instead of **vasu-dhara-s* (cp. *vasu-dhāra-s*) from *vásu* n. 'treasure', on the analogy of forms like *dhuran-dhara-s* 'bearing a yoke' (acc. *dhur-am*) *kulan-dhara-s* 'sustaining one's family' (acc. *kula-m*).

A further consequence of the dull appreciation of these case-forms was their use in new formations without their proper meaning, i. e. as though they were simple stems. Thus e. g. *apsu-*, loc. pl. of *ap-* 'water' (*apsu-kṣít-*, see above), was used in place of *ap-* in *apsu-yogá-s* 'the binding effect of water' (Ath.-Vēda X 5, 5 beside *sōma-yogá-s* 'the binding effect of soma'), cp. the adjective *apsavya-s* 'situated in the water', which was formed from *ap-sú* as *madhavya-s* from *mádhu* ('sweet draught').

In imitation of old pronominal compounds like *tad-vaśá-s* containing the neuter element *-d* (§ 16), neuter pronominal fm. in *-m* were made to serve as the initial members of comp. Skr. as *idá-rūpa-s* 'having this form' beside masc. *ayám-* ...ed into *kāraṇa-s* 'having what cause?' beside masc. *ká-ān-* ...onant every parallel Vedic form *kád-artha-s* 'having w... shameless'). Lat. *quod*).

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From the proethnic Aryan period onwards combinations of two dual forms were common; e. g. *mitrá váruṇā*, 'Mitra and Varuṇa', properly 'Mitra and the other (sc. Varuṇa) and Varuṇa and the other (sc. Mitra)". Each dual form was inflected independently. Side by side with them, however, we find *mitrā-váruṇābhyām mitrā-váruṇayōš*, which should be compared with such forms as *dvā-daśabhiš trayō-daśabhiš*. In these the process of composition is complete, and the same may be said of the new compounds formed on the model of those whose first member is a dual form ending in *-ā*, as *agnāviṣṇū* 'Agni and Vishnu' (Ath.-Vēda) instead of *agnī-viṣṇū* (cp. *agnī-ṣṓmā* in the Rig-Veda); which is shewn also by the substitution of *-a-* for *-ā*, as the termination of the first member, on the analogy of Class I; as *parjánya-vātā* beside *parjányā-vātā* 'rain-cloud and wind'. Cp. also the derivatives in *-vant-*, *mitrá-váruṇa-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The compounds *pitā-putrāú* 'father and son' *mātā-pitarāu* mother and father' *hōtā-pōtārāu* 'summoner and purifier' must have been preceded by older phrases such as *pitā putrah*, *mātā pitā*, *hōtā pōtā*, which did not receive the dual inflexion until the process of composition was complete. Cp. O.C.Sl. *bratŭ-sestra* § 47.

When *anyō-'nyam* and *paras-param* 'alter alterum' had become compounds, the inflexion of the initial member was dropped and the form of the nom. sing. masc. was applied to all the cases; hence e. g. *anyōnyām* 'altera alteram' instead of **anyā anyām*, *tayōḥ ... kāmō 'bhūt ... anyōnyam prati* (Nala I, 17) 'eorum (in eis) amor enatus est alterius in alterum' instead of **anyasya anyam prati*. Cp. Gr. *ἀλλήλους* § 32, Mid.H.G. *ein-ander* § 44 and Lith. *kìts kìtą* § 46.

§ 25. Iranian.

and Class I. Stems in *-o-*. Avest. *ver°θra-ja-* 'victorious': 'making thén-'. Avest. *yuxta-aspa-* and *yuxtāspa-* 'for whom Διόσ-κουροι yoked': Skr. *yuktá-aśva yuktāśva-*. Avest. 'given of Zeus', p[illegible]ame) = *srīra* + *uxšan-*. O.Pers. *xšaša-*

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pavan- 'guardian of the land, satrap': Avest. *xšaþra-* Skr. *kṣatrá-* 'lordship, kingdom'. O.Pers. *xšayāršan-* (proper name) = *xšaya-* + *aršan-*. Sometimes *-ā-* is found in place of *-a-*, as Avest. *ašā-då* 'giving what is pure', acc. *ver^eþrā-janem* beside nom. *ver^eþra-ja-*, O.Pers. *ariyā-rāmna-* (proper name), perhaps also *uvā-maršiyu-* 'dying by suicide' (cp. Avest. *xwā-daęna-* 'having one's own faith'); on this point see § 22 Rem. In Avestic *-ō-* is often found instead of *-a-*, the form of the nominative being used instead of the stem (cp. the Author, Curt. Stud. IX 269, Bartholomae, Die Gāþā's 81); e. g. *daęvō-dāta-* 'made by the demons' (beside *daęva-yāza-* 'demon-worshipper'), even where the *o*-stem was neuter, as *xšaþrō-dāh-* 'bestowing lordship' (nom. *xšaþre-m*). This *-ō-* spread still further; see below.

Stems in *-ā-*. Avest. *daęnā-vazah-* (proper name), from *daęnā* 'faith'. At the same time we have forms with *-a-*, Avest. *gađa-vara-* 'wielding the club' (*gađā-*) etc. (see § 12 p. 24 f.) and with *-ō-* instead of *-a-*, compounds like *daęnō-disa-* 'teacher of the law'

Stems in *-i-* and *u*. Avest. *aži-ciþra-* 'sprung from the serpent', *þri-ayara-* 'space of three days'. Avest. *þouru-nar-* 'rich in men', *urv-āpa* 'with broad stream', *per^eþu-ainika-* 'with wide front', O.Pers. *parūv-zana-* (read *paruzana-*) 'rich in people'. Here too we sometimes find in Avestic the form of the nominative in place of the simple stem: e. g. *nasuš-pacya-* 'burning of corpses' or 'arising in the burning of corpses', *bāzuš-aojah-* 'strong-armed', *vaŋhuš-dāta-* 'well made'.

Nasal stems. Avest. *ašava-frazanti-* 'pious offspring' from *ašavan-*. Forms with *-ō-* instead of *-a-* on the analogy of the *o*-stems: Avest. *bar^esmō-zasta-* 'holding twigs for offering in the hand' from *bar^esman-*. Avest. *zem-fraþah-* 'encompassing the earth' from *zam-*.

Stems in *-r-*: Avest *stehr-paęsah-* 'adorned with ... *ner^e-bar^ezah-* 'man's height': Skr. *nṛ-bāhú-ṣ* 'man's a... pounds in which the strong form of the stem is ... *gar-* 'devouring men', *ātar^e-carana-* 'belongi... like them; cp. dat. abl. pl. *star^e-byō* besid...

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of the nom. sing. has replaced the simple stem in *ātarš-ciþra-* beside *ātar^{e}- ciþra-* 'sprung from fire, combustible'.

Stems in *-nt-*. Avest. *raęvas-ciþra-* 'of splendid family' (*-sc-* for *-tc-*, see I § 473 p. 349) from *raęvant-*. O.Pers *dāraya-vau-* (proper name) 'possessing property' (gen. *dāraya-vahauš*) for **dārayad-vahu-*: cp. Skr. *dhārayat-kṣitiṣ* 'sustaining the races of mankind'; cp. Hübschmann, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 603 f.

Avest. *vīs-pati-* 'lord of a village': Skr. *viś-páti-ṣ*. *zar^{a}z-dāh-* giving the heart' with *-zd-* for *-d* + *d-* (cp. I § 476 p. 351), from *zar^{a}d-*: Skr. *hṛd-*.

As examples of the nominative used in place of the simple stem we may notice here Avest. *vāxš-aęša-* 'the desire of the hymn' (stem *vāc-*), *afš-ciþra-* 'sprung from water' *awž-dāta* 'resting in water' (stem *ap-*), *ker^{e}fš-xwar-* 'eating flesh' (stem *kehrp-*).

Stems in *s-*. Avest. *vacas-tašti-* 'preparation of words, text', *temas-ciþra-* 'sprung from darkness', *aogaz-dastema-* 'most helpful'. Compounds with *-ō-*, which was taken from the nom. sing., are *ayō-zaya-* 'with iron weapon' *ayō-ver^{e}þra-* 'with offensive weapon of iron' *ayō-ayra-* 'iron arrow' (Skr. *ayō'gra-* 'pestle') from *ayah-*: Skr. *áyas-*. O.Pers. *vahyaz-dāta-* (proper name), like Avest. *vaňhaz-dāh-* 'giver of the best', beside the comparative Avest. *vaňhah-* 'better': Skr. *vásyas-*.

Remark. The student should compare the Avestic use of the nominative form instead of the stem in derivatives made by formative suffixes and even in the simple cases: *srīrō-tara-* 'more beautiful' (*srīra-*), *spentō-tema-* 'most holy' (*spenta-*), like *daęvō-dāta*; *huđānuš-tema-* 'wisest' (*hu-đānu-*) like *nasuš-pacya-*; dat. abl. *vāγž-byō* from *vāc-* like *vāxš-aęša-*. Cp. § 18 p. 29.

§ 26. Class II. Avest. *a-γru-* 'not pregnant, virgin': Skr. *á-gru-*; O.Pers. *a-kšata-* 'uninjured': Skr. *á-kṣata-*; Avest. *an-ašavan-* 'impious': cp. Skr. *án-ṛta-*. Avest *duš-manah-* 'think- and [illegible]ll' Skr. *dur-manas-* Gr. *δυσ-μενής*. The Idg. **su* 'well' 'making [illegible] *hu-ber^{e}ta-* O.Pers. *u-barta-* 'well born, well cherished': *Διόσ-κουρ[illegible]*), the opposite of Idg. **dus-*, appears in Avestic, 'given of Zeus', [illegible]eda, as an independent word (*hu*).

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Class III. Avest. *upa-yata-* 'subactus, married': Skr. *úpa-yata-*. O.Pers. *fra-tarta-* 'drawn away': cp. Skr. *prá-tīrṇa-*.

Avest. *paiti-biši-* 'directed against the enemy, conquering the enemy'. *antar^{e}-daxyu-* adj. 'within the country'. *pairi-daxyu-* 'lying around the country'. *upāpa-* 'adj. in the water'.

§ 27. Class IV. The use in Avestic of the form of the nom. sing. instead of the simple stem, as in *daęvō-dāta*, has been spoken of in § 25 p. 42.

The Avestic adjectives *aŋrōmainyava-* and *spentōmainyava-* were no doubt formed from the phrases *aŋrō mainyuš* 'the evil spirit' and *spentō mainyuš* 'the holy spirit': cp. Skr. *pitāmahī* § 24, Gr. *Νεᾱπολίτης* § 32. O.Pers. *aura-mazdā* (with acc. *aura-mazdām*) 'Ormuzd' should be regarded merely as a concretion of two nominative forms, not a compound of two stems (*aura-* 'lord', *mazdāh-* 'wise one'): Avest. *ahurō mazdå*.

Avest. *drujim-vanant-* 'overcoming the fiend' (acc. of *druj-* f.). *vīren-jan-* with the acc. sing. beside *vīra-jan-*, see § 20. *ahūm-mer^{e}nc-* 'life-destroying' with the acc. sing., beside *ahu-mer^{e}c-*. *vīspā-hišant-* 'able to do everything' (acc. pl. neut. of *vīspa-*). *dūraę-fraðāta-* 'made in the distance' (loc. of *dūra-*). *raþaę-štar-* 'standing in the chariot (loc. of *raþa-*), warrior': cp. Skr. *savyē-ṣṭhar-* 'standing on the left', *-sthar-* for **st-tar-*, see I § 316 p. 255. Epithetised compounds: *dar^{e}γem-jīti-* 'having one's life long (acc. sing. neut. of *dar^{e}γa-* used adverbially), long-lived'; *z^{e}mas-ciþra-* 'having an earthly origin' (*z^{e}mas-* gen. of *zam-*); *aγraę-raþa-* (proper name) 'whose chariot is at the head' (loc. of *aγra-*).

Avest. *aęvan-dasa-* 'undecimus' from **aęvan-dasa-* 'undecim'; the first half of the word is no doubt *aęvem*, the form of the neuter and of the masculine alike.

Combinations of two dual forms occur in Avestic as in Sansk[illegible] (§ 24 p. 41), e. g. *ahura miþra* and *miþra ahura* 'Or[illegible] and Mithra', *āpa urvairę̄* 'water and plants' (*ap-* 'wate[illegible] 'plant'), *pasu vīra* 'cow and man'. But the fu[illegible] elements is not by any means so close as [illegible]

Skr. [illegible]d into [illegible]nant every [illegible] ἀν- (cp. ἀν- [illegible]nameless').

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since the first member always retains its own inflexion, e. g. dat. *ahuraęibya miθraęibya*. Cp. Bartholomae, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 267 ff., XIII 57 f.

Armenian.

§ 28. Class I. Here the Indo-Germanic differences in the termination of the stem of the first word were largely obliterated. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find an *-a-*, the so-called 'vowel of composition', whose origin is as yet unexplained.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a sonant: *dr-and* 'door-post, threshold' from **dur-*, pl. *durk*. *hair-anun* 'having one's father's name' from *hair*, gen. *haur*. *skesr-air* 'mother-in-law's husband, father-in-law' from *skesur*, gen. *skesri*. *hing-ameay* adj. 'of five years', from *hing*.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a consonant: *dr-a-kiç* 'door-companion, neighbour'. *lsn-a-goin* 'whitish' from *lusn*, pl. *lusun-k*, 'λευκώματα' and *goin* 'colour'. *lus-a-vor* 'clear' from *lois*, gen. *lusoy*, 'light', *-vor* being a suffix which corresponds to the Gr. *-φόρος* 'bringing'; a later compound is *lus-a-ber* 'light-bringing, enlightener' (cp. I § 485 p. 358 for an account of Idg. *bh*). *ms-a-ker* 'eating flesh' from *mis*, gen. *msoy*, 'flesh'. *mi-a-cin* 'unigenitus', from *mi*, gen. *mioj*, 'one'. Combined with the termination of stems in *-io-*, *-a-* became *-e-*, e. g. *aye-vor* 'wearing a tail' from *agi*. This *-a-* was even introduced into compounds whose first member was the case of a noun; see below, Class IV.

Remark 1. This vowel of composition, *-a-*, no doubt formed the original ending of some one form or set of forms when used as the first member of a compound, and then became general. Phonetic laws, however, forbid our assuming that this represents the Idg. suffix *-o-*. I conjecture that it first occurred in words borrowed from the Iranian (e. g. *bar-a-pan* and *[illegible]seper'* = O.Iran. **dvara-pāna-* or **dvāra-pāna-*), and thence spead 'making th[illegible]e *albo-galērus*, § 34.

Διόσ-κουρ[illegible] it is not clear whether such compounds as *stn-di* 'sucking 'given of Zeus', [illegible] (*stin*, gen. *stean*, 'woman's breast') *akn-kal* 'in one's

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eye, visible' belong to Class I, but have never had the composition-vowel *-a-*, or whether they contain case-forms (Class IV).

Class II. *an-ban* 'carens ratione et verbo': cp. Gr. *ἄ-φωνος*; *an-kin* 'without a wife, widower': cp. Gr. *ἄ-γυνος*; *an-anun* '*ἀν-ώνυμος*'; *an-arg* 'unhonoured'. *t-gēt* 'not knowing' (beside *an-gēt*): Skr. *dur-vēda-* 'unlearned'; *t-zōr* 'not mighty, weak' (beside *an-zōr*). Its opposite, *h-* = Skr. *sú* 'well', is found only in composition; e. g. *h-zōr* 'excellent in strength, mighty'.

Class III. Excluding *ni-st*, which has become a simple word (§ 15 p. 30), I know of no compounds containing prepositional words that are certainly proethnic. I strongly suspect that *ham-* 'with, together' (e. g. *han-dart* 'quiet, soft': cp. Skr. *sạ-dhṛta-*; *han-dēs* 'proof': cp. Skr. *sạ-dḗśa-* 'information') was borrowed from Iranian (Avest. *ham-*).

Class IV. *haur-elbair* 'father's brother', *haur* gen. sing. of *hair*. *diuç-azn* 'divine race, he who is of divine race, demigod, hero', *diuç* gen. pl. of *dev*, which was borrowed from Iranian. The vowel of composition, *-a-* (see above, Class I), is inserted e. g. in *aṙn-a-kin* 'husband's wife', *aṙn* gen. sing. of *air*; *melṣ-a-sēr* 'loving sins', *melṣ* acc. pl. of *melk*.

air-ev-ji 'man and horse, knight' sometimes inflected both of its parts, e. g. gen. *aṙn-ev-jioy*, sometimes only the final noun, gen. *air-ev-jioy*; cp. Mod.H.G. *der wert deines grund und bodens*, 'the value of your estate'.

Greek.

§ 29. Class I.

Stems in *-o-*, where the second member began in a consonant, had *-o-*: *ἀγρο-νόμος* 'dwelling in the country' (*ἀγρό-ς*). It must be left an open question whether the *-ε-* in such compounds as *Ἀγέλāος* (from *ἀγό-ς* 'guide') *ἀρχέ-πολις* (fro *ἀρχό-ς* 'governor') was derived from Indo-Germanic stem-f... in *-e-*, or whether it was substituted by the Greeks ...d into older *-o-* in consequence of the association of the ...nant every with a verbal stem (for which see § 30). ...ἀν- (op. *ἀν-* ...nameless').

Where the second member began in ...

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the rule (I § 600. 603 p. 457): ἱππ-αγωγό-ς 'transporting horses' (ἵππο-ς). This elision dates from the proethnic period of Greek, and the type then established gave rise later to such forms as καχεξίᾱ 'ill condition' (ἔχω for *σεχω, I § 564 p. 421) φιλ-εργός 'loving work' (ἔργον for ϝέργον, I § 164 p. 145), by the side of which we also find phonetically regular forms like ῥαβδοῦχος 'holding a staff' (for *ῥαβδο-(σ)οχος) κακο-εργός κακοῦργος 'doing evil'. Forms like ἀραχνο-ϋφής 'woven by spiders' (Philo) are obviously new formations of a later date; cp. Lat. *multi-angulus* § 34, Goth. *galiuga-apaústaúlus* § 40.

The stem-final -ο-, as we shall soon see, was extended from ο-stems to others of the most widely different classes; monosyllabic stems were least affected by the tendency (e. g. χέρνιψ, πυγ-μάχος; see below).

-ᾱ- (Ion. Att. -η-) often appears instead of -ο-; e. g. θανατη-φόρος beside θανατο-φόρος 'death-bringing' (θάνατο-ς), ὀμβρη-γενής 'rain-born' (ὄμβρο-ς).

Remark. This -ᾱ- appears side by side with -ο- even where the latter was due to form-association, as ἀσπιδ-η-φόρος beside ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος stem ἀσπίδ-, see below.

As regards the origin of this -ᾱ-: the wide extent of its usage is certainly due to the action of analogy, and it is conceivable that its origin is to be found 1. in forms like νεᾱ-γενής (νεη-γενής) ὀλιγη-πελέων, which contained adverbs like Dor. ἅμᾱ ἁμᾶ, κρυφᾶ (Westphal, Meth. Gramm. II 8 f., Mahlow, Die lang. Voc. *A E O* 131 f.); 2. in a number of instances where ᾱ- and ο-stems existed side by side; 3. in such compounds as νῑκη-φόρος βουλη-φόρος, αἰθρη-γενής μοιρη-γενής, the terminations -ηφόρος -ηγενής being regarded as indivisible and thus coming into general use; just as in Attic, compounds like ῥαβδοῦχος (ῥάβδο-ς) and compounds like κακοῦργος (κακό-ν), being virtually analysed ῥαβδ-οῦχος κακ-οῦργος, gave rise to new formations, πολι-οῦχος παν-οῦργος and the like; and just as feminines from n-stems, such as τέκταινα i. e. *τεκταν-ι̯α (from τέκτων), suggested new formations like λύκ-αινα (from λύκο-ς) (§ 110). I feel certain that a great part at least of the instances where -ᾱ- is found in place of -ο- are to be explained in this last way. Cp. also -η-εις (-ᾱ-ϝεντ-) in § 127.

and N. Stems in -ᾱ-: followed by those whose nom. sing. ends 'making th... 109). νικη-φορος 'bringing victory' (νῑκη). ὑδριᾱ-φόρος Διόσ-κουρ... ter-vessel' (ὑδρίᾱ). Ion. μοιρη-γενής 'born to good 'given of Zeus', ... or *μορι̯ᾱ). By the side of -ᾱ- there are a few

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instances of -α-; as Ἀλκά-θοος, τῑμωρός for *τῑμα-ορος 'guarding a man's honour, protecting, helping' (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 263, XXVIII 132); the historical relation of -α- to -ᾱ- is obscure. -ο- frequently appears instead of -α-: Νῑκό-μαχο-ς: νίκη; πολῑτο-φθόρος 'destroying the citizens': πολίτη-ς; Dor. ἑστιο-πάμων 'house-owner': ἑστίᾱ; ἀελλό-πος 'storm-footed'; ἄελλα. The influence of ο-stems is seen also in the loss of the final vowel of the stem when the second member begins in a sonant, e. g. Νίκ-ιππος. Cp. § 12 p. 24 f.

Stems in -ῑ- and -ῡ-. An original type of formation may be preserved in such compounds as σύ-αγχος 'choking swine' (σῦ-ς). Cp. § 12 p. 25. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find the vowel short, thanks to the analogy of the preceding group: e. g. συ-φορβός 'swineherd'; in the same way we have loc. pl. συ-σί for *σῡ-σι following συ-ός συ-ῶν etc., see § 160, 4. Some forms insert -ο-: ὑ-ο-μουσίᾱ 'swine's music' συ-ο-κτόνος 'killing swine', ἰχθυ-ο-φάγος 'eating fish' beside ἰχθυ-βόλος 'striking fish': ἰχθῦ-ς.

Stems in -ι- and -υ-. μαντι-πόλος 'busied with prophecy': μάντι-ς. βωτι-άνειρα f. 'nourishing men': *βῶτι-ς 'act of nourishing'. ἀστυ-γείτων 'living near the city': ἄστυ. πολυ-ανθής 'with many blossoms': πολύ-ς. Cp. § 12 p. 25. With -ο-: φυσι-ο-λόγος 'investigator of nature': φύσι-ς.

ναυ-πηγός 'shipbuilder' for *nāu̯- (I § 611 p. 461): cp. Skr. nāu-cara-s 'going by ship'. From such forms ναυ- came to be used even where the following member began in a sonant, e. g. ναύ-αρχος 'ship's commander', instead of νᾱ(ϝ)- (cp. Lat. nāv-igō § 11), which is contained in Νέαρχος if this is for Νέᾱρχος, from *Νη-αρχος (cp. I § 611 ad fin.). Examples of inserted -ο-: νη-ο-σσόος 'preserving ships', which may be compared with βο-ό-κλεψ 'cattle-thief' (βο-η-νόμος 'pasturing cattle') beside βου-νόμος; hence the correspondence of νηο- βοο- with the Skr. form nāva- gava-, which appear as the initial members of compou[illegible] is an accident.

Stems in -n-. With α = Ing. n̥: ὀνομά-κλυτος '[illegible]- (cp. án-name'. We should no doubt compare κυνάπυια 'do[illegible]eless').

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form would be *κνα-μνια; the -ν- came from forms like κυν-ός κυν-ηγός; *κνα- = Skr. śuva- (instr. pl. śuvá-bhiš) Idg. *kuμ-. It is questionable whether such compounds as κυν-ῶπις 'dog-eyed' are the immediate representatives of any original type of formation.

With -ο- instead of the n-suffix: e. g. κῑ́ο-κρᾱνο-ν 'capital of a column'. See § 12 p. 27.

Compounds in which we have a strong form of the n-stem are a new formation in Greek. If their second part began in a consonant, -ο- or -ᾱ- was inserted. φρεν-ο-μανής 'mad'. κῖον-ό-κρᾱνον beside κῑ́ο-κρᾱνον (see above). ῥην-ο-φορεύς 'bearing a sheepskin'. ἀγων-ο-θέτης 'director of a contest'. λιμεν-ή-οχος 'closing in the harbour' (cp. πολι-ά-οχος) beside λιμεν-ο-σκόπος 'watching the harbour'. ἀκτῖν-η-βολίᾱ 'the shooting of rays' beside ἀκτῖν-ο-βολίᾱ. Probably the only example without -ο-(-ᾱ-) is φρέμ-πᾱρος 'with impaired understanding' Hesych. (the correct spelling is due to Lobeck), which appears beside φρεν-ο-μανής and the like as μελαγ-χροιής μελάγ-χροος beside μελαν-ό-χροος 'with dark skin' (μέλᾱς gen. μέλαν-ος, compar. μελάν-τερος), cp. also χέρ-νιψ beside χερ-ό-νιπτρον p. 50. Where the second member begins in a sonant: φρεν-ώλης 'distraught in mind'; τεκτόν-αρχος 'presiding over the artificers'; ἀγων-άρχης 'director of the contest'.

ἅ-παξ 'once': Skr. sa-kṛ́t 'once', Idg. *sm̥-. χθον-ο-τρεφής 'nourished by the earth', beside Skr. kṣam-, a new formation like κῖον-ό-κρᾱνον; as to ν instead of μ see I § 204 p. 172 and below, § 160, 2.

Stems in -r-. Whilst the Indo-Germanic type was faithfully followed where the second member began in a sonant, e. g. πατρ-ωνύμιος ἀνδρ-άγρια (§ 12 p. 28), where this began in a consonant it was the rule to insert -ο-, as πατρ-ο-φόνος 'patricide'. This was preceded by a form *πατρα-φονος, cp. loc. πατρά-σι and Skr. pitṛ-śrávaṇa-s. Thus we still find τετρά- 'making th' Idg. *qetur-, where α was preserved by the parallel Διόσ-κουρ- with ἑπτα- etc.[1]) The strong form of the stem is 'given of Zeus', I compare the first part of the pl. ἀνδρά-ποδα with

41 Gr. Gr.[2] p. 23), but I regard the word as a new for-

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often found instead of the weak, as *ἀστερ-ο-ειδής* 'star-like' from *ἀστήρ ἀστέρος*; this is regular in *nomina agentis* such as *λαμπτηρ-ο-φόρος* 'bearing lights' (*λαμπτήρ*) *ῥητορ-ο-διδάσκαλος* 'teacher of rhetoricians' (*ῥήτωρ*); the original type is shown by Skr. *hōtṛ-ṣádana-m* 'seat of the offerer' (*hôtar-*); see § 120. Monosyllabic *ρ*-stems sometimes have and sometimes have not *-ο-* or *-ᾱ-*: *χέρ-νιψ* 'water for washing the hands' and *χειρ-ό-νιπτρον χερ-ό-νιπτρον* wash-hand basin' (for the etymology of *χείρ* cp. § 132), *πυρ-καϊή* 'burning-place' and *πυρ-ο-ειδής* 'fire-like' *πυρ-η-τόκος* 'producing fire'.

Stems in *-nt-* show here as in their declension (§ 125. 126) their strong instead of their weak form. *δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος* 'with snaky locks', the weak form of the stem being **δρακατ-*. *ὀδοντ-ο-φυής* 'sprung from teeth'. *γιγαντ-ο-φόνος* 'killing giants'. *παντ-ο-μῑσής* 'all-hateful'. Before sonants: *πάντ-αρχο-ς* 'all-governing'.

Stems ending in other explosives. *πυγ-μάχος* 'pugilist'. *ποδ-ώκης* 'swift-foot, swift-footed'. These usually have *-ο-* or *-ᾱ-*: *φλογ-ο-ειδής* 'flame-like'; *νιφ-ό-βολος* 'pelted with snow'; *ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος* 'clattering with shields' *ἀσπιδ-η-φόρος* 'shield-bearing'.

Stems in *-s-*. *μῡσ-φόνος* 'killing mice': Lat. *mūs-cipula*.

es-stems have *-εσ-* in poetic diction, as *ἐπες-βόλος* 'hurling words, speaking boldly', *ἐγχεσ-φόρος* 'spear-bearing'. At the same time we find *-ο-* instead of *-εσ-*, sometimes even in Homer, and regularly in prose: *εἰρο-κόμος* 'spinning wool', *ἐπο-ποιός* 'epic poet', *ἀληθό-μαντις* 'prophet of truth'; similarly *ψευδ-άγγελος* 'messenger of falsehood', where the second part begins in a sonant. *-ο-* for *-εσ-* no doubt arose from the similarity of the nominative forms, *ἔπος*: *ἵππο-ς*. Examples with *-ᾱ-* instead of *-ο-*: *ξιφη-φόρος* 'sword-bearing' (beside *ξιφο-φόρος*), *θυη-πόλος* 'busied with sacrifice'.

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mation modelled upon *τετρά-ποδα* (Iw. Müller's Handbuch II 70 f.). Skr. ed into Of course it is conceivable that this form arose at a time when every *φονος* was still spoken and that afterwards the *-α-* in *ἀνδρ-ἀν-* (cp. *ἀν-* because it was supported by the *-α-* of *τετρα-ποδ-* 'fameless'). Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 298.

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Stems in *-ασ-* were treated in much the same way. *σελασ-φόρος* 'light-bringing', *κερασ-φόρος* 'horn-bearing' (cp. Skr. *jyótiṣ-pakṣa-s* 'winged with light', § 134, 2). At the same time we find forms with *-ο- -ᾱ-*, as *κερο-φόρος, κρεο-δόκος* and *κρεη-δόκος* 'holding or containing flesh'. There is no example amongst *-es*-stems analogous to Hom. *κερα-ο-ξόος* 'worker in horn' (with regard to the apparently similar Hom. *ἐλεό-θρεπτος* beside *τὸ ἔλος* see p. 34 ff. of R. Schroeter's treatise cited on p. 22).

§ 30. From the phrase *καλὸς κἀγαθός* was formed the abstract substantive *καλοκἀγαθίᾱ* 'character of a *καλὸς κἀγαθός*'. Cp. O.C.Sl. *osmo-na-desętŭ* § 47 and the use of the bare stem in Mod.H.G. phrases like *freund- und verwandtschaft, gold- und silberschmid.*

In Greek, as in Germanic and Slavonic (§ 41. 47), a large number of compounds came to be regarded in a new way. Their first member now appeared to the popular consciousness to have a verbal instead of a nominal force. This gave rise to many new formations in which real verbal stems were employed as the initial members of compound words.

Thus *ταν-γλωσσο-ς*, whose meaning originally was 'with outstretched (adj. **ταν-ς* = Skr. *tanú-ṣ*) tongue', was explained to mean 'stretching out the tongue' (and compared with *τάνυ-ται*), *φιλό-ξενος* 'to whom a stranger or guest is dear (*φίλος*)' was explained as 'loving one's guest' (and compared with *φιλέω*), *φυγο-πτόλεμος* 'unfriendly (**φυγο-ς*: cp. Lat. *lūci-fugu-s*) to war' as 'fleeing from war' (and compared with *ἔφυγο-ν*), and so forth. Hence arose new formations like *μῑσό-ξενος* (first modelled upon the form *φιλό-ξενος*, cp. *μῑσέω* : *φιλέω*) 'hating a stranger', *φαινο-κηρίς* 'showing the hips' (*φαίνω*), *ἐθελό-πονος* 'willing to work' (*ἐθέλω*). As to the *-ε-* of *Ἀγέ-λᾱος, ἀρχέ-κακος* etc. see § 12 and N. § 29 p. 46. If this is not the *e*-form of the suffix, 'making the' arrived from the pre-Greek period, we must assume *Διόσ-κουρ-* borrowed from forms like *ἄγε-ι ἄγε-τε* when the 'given of Zeus', [illegible] compounds came to be regarded as a verbal

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New formations of all kinds were introduced by compounds like *τερψί-μβροτος τανυσί-πτερος ἀρκεσί-γυιος*, the initial members of which were abstract nouns formed with the suffix *-ti-* (§ 100) *τέρψ-ις* 'delight' *τάνυσι-ς* 'outspreading' *ἄρκεσι-ς* 'help, strengthening', because these were associated with the aorists in *-σ-* (*ἔτερψα ἐτάνυσα ἤρκεσα*), and were consequently regarded as having a verbal force, 'delighting men' 'spreading the wings' 'strengthening the limbs'. The new verbal signification was all the more easily established in these forms because of compounds like *φυγο-πτόλεμος*, whose first member had been identified as an aorist-stem at an earlier stage of Greek. Thus in the first place, where the abstract noun and the σ-aorist showed different grades of ablaut in the root-vowel, that of the latter was introduced: by the side of *στασί-αρχος* (*στάσις*) arose *Στησί-χορος* 'bringing on the chorus' (on the model of *ἔστησα*); *φθῑσί-μβροτος* 'destroying men' (on the model of *ἔφθῑσα*) as contrasted with *φθίσις*. Next, the connexion of these aoristic compounds in the mind of the speaker with such others as *λειπο-ψῡχέω φυγο-πτόλεμος ἀρχέ-κακος φυγ-αίχμης* led to an imitation of the ending seen in the initial members of these latter forms. Hence compounds like *λειψό-θριξ* 'having lost one's hair' *περσέ-πολις* 'destroying cities' *Στησ-αγόρης* (contrast *στασί-αρχος* from *στάσι-ς*). But on the other hand the *-ι-* of compounds in *-σι-* crept into compounds whose initial member was the stem of a present or a strong aorist. Hence such forms as *ἀλεξί-κακος* 'keeping off harm' (*ἀλέξω*) *λαθι-κηδής* 'forgetting care' (*ἔλαθον*, cp. *λησί-μβροτος*). This process of mutual assimilation may have been aided by the double type of the σ-aorist, *ἔδειξα* and *ἶξον* existing side by side. Many other new formations were caused by the association of these *-σι-* compounds with those of Class IV whose initial member was a loc. pl. in *-σι*, as *ὀρεσί-τροφος* 'r on the mountains'; see Osthoff, Verb. i. d. Nominalc r. Lastly, we must notice certain other new formatio α into *-λᾱος* (beside *Πρωτό-λᾱος*, from *πρῶτος* 'first') ant every model of *Ἀγεσί-λᾱος Ἀρκεσί-λᾱος* and the meless').

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Ἑρμησι-άναξ Ἑρμιήσ-ανδρος (from *Ἑρμῆς*) modelled on such forms as *Ἀγησί-λᾱος Ἡγησι-άναξ Ἀγήσ-ανδρος*.

§ 31. Class II. *ἄ-γνωτο-ς* 'unknown': Skr. *á-jñātas* Lat. *īgnōtus* for **in-gnōtus* (I § 506 p. 370); *ἄν-υδρος* 'waterless': Skr. *an-udrá-s*. On the analogy of forms like *ἄ-υπνος* 'sleepless' *ἄ-οινος* 'wineless', in which the hiatus was due to the loss of some consonant (the older forms were **ἀ-συπνο-ς*, **ἀ-ϝοινο-ς*, though the latter can hardly have been developed regularly from a pre-Greek form **η-μοῐνο-*, see I § 225 p. 193), there were formed several other compounds like *ἄ-οδμος ἄ-οζος* (with *ὀδ-* cp. Lat. *od-or*; *ὄζος* = Goth. *asts*) by the side of the forms *ἄν-οδμος ἄν-οζος* which are also found. *δύσ-φορος* 'hard to bear'; cp. Skr. *dur-bhara-s* 'hard to bear, to nourish'.

Class III. *ὑπό-θετος* 'placed under' *ὑπό-θεσις* 'groundwork, foundation': Skr. *úpa-hitá-s* 'placed under, situated' Lat. *sub-ditus sub-ditiō* (*sub-* for **x-ub-*? see I § 568, 2 p. 424, II § 2 p. 3).

προσ-έσπερος 'towards evening': Skr. *prati-dōṣá-* 'towards evening'. *παρά-βακτρος* 'situated near one's staff', *παρά-νομος* 'contrary to law'. *ἀνά-λογος* 'corresponding to *λόγος*'. *ἐγ-κέφαλος* 'being in the head, brain'. These compounds generally end in the suffix *-ιο-*, as *ὑπ-ασπίδ-ιο-ς παρα-θαλάσσ-ιο-ς ἐν-αγών-ιο-ς*; see § 63.

οὔ-τις 'no one' beside *μή-τις*, no doubt took the place of an Idg. form **ne-qi-s* at the time when **ne* was driven out of use by *οὐ*, a form whose origin is still obscure (cp. § 15 p. 31). Later arose *οὐδ-είς* 'no one' and the like.

§ 32. Class IV. By the side of *δώ-δεκα* (§ 16) arose *ἕν-δεκα* 'eleven' (*ἕν-* nom. acc. neut.), *τρεισ-καί-δεκα* 'thirteen', *τετταρεσ-καί-δεκα* 'fourteen' (nom. pl. masc. fem.); another word for 'thirteen' is the Att. *τρῖσ-καί-δεκα* (acc. pl.), note also the form *τρεισκαιδέκατος* 'thirteenth', and others of the same sort.

From *Νέᾱ πόλις* ('Newtown') were formed gen. *Νέᾱς πόλεως* and *Νεᾱπόλεως*, and further *Νεᾱπολίτης*. Similarly *τριτημόριος* 'making the third part' was probably based on *τρίτη μόρᾱ*.

Διόσ-κουροι 'sons of Zeus', hence *Διοσκούρειον, διόσ-δοτος* 'given of Zeus', properly 'one given belonging to Zeus' (gen.

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of *Ζεύς*). *νεώσ-οικοι* 'ship's houses, arsenal' (gen. of *ναῦς*). *ὑοσ-κύαμος* 'pigs' bean' (gen. of *ὗς*). *Πελοπόννησος* for *Πέλοπος νῆσος* 'island of Pelops' (cp. I § 565 p. 422 f.). *διΐ-φιλος* or *διὶ φίλος* 'dear to Zeus' (loc. of *Ζεύς*). *δουρί-κτητος* 'won in battle' (loc. of *δόρυ*). *ἐαρί-δρεπτος* 'plucked in spring' (loc. of *ἔαρ*). *Ἀλκι-μέδων* 'ruling in might' (loc. *ἀλκ-ί*). *κηρεσσι-φόρητος* 'driven or impelled by the Kêres' (loc. pl. of *κήρ*). *πᾶσι-μέλων* 'of interest for all' (loc. pl. of *πᾶς*). *Ἴφι-μέδουσα* (proper name) 'ruling with might' (instr. of *ῑ́-ς* Lat. *vī-s*). *παν-ἦμαρ* 'the whole day' (acc. neut. of *πᾶς*). *νουν-εχόντως* 'in an intelligent way' (acc. of *νοῦς*).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged by the employment of case-forms instead of the first stem of the original stem-compounds (Class I). Among mixed formations of this kind are compounds whose final member has survived only in forms belonging to Class I, and no longer exists as an independent word, as *πυλοι-γενής* 'born in Pylos' (loc. of *Πύλο-ς*), *δορί-μαχος* 'fighting with the spear' (loc. of *δόρυ*), *Ἴφι-κράτης* proper name (cp. *Ἴφι-μέδουσα* above), *νουν-εχής* 'having intelligence, intelligent' (cp. *νουν-εχόντως* above), *δικασ-πόλος* 'administrator of justice' (acc. pl. of *δίκη*, cp. I § 204 p. 171).

As these words were formed not by any real process of composition but on the analogy of already existing compounds, so also were those which never had any but an 'epithetised' meaning; e. g. *ἀερί-οικος* 'having one's dwelling in the air' (*ἀέρ-ι*).

When the termination of the first member was a case-ending whose true character was no longer clearly perceived, it often happened that it was applied to stems with which it properly had nothing to do, as *θεόσ-δοτος* 'god-given' (also *θεό-δοτος*, from *θεό-ς*) on the analogy of *διόσ-δοτος*; *Λυκόσουρα* a town in Arcadia ('Wolf's-tail', from *λύκο-ς*) on the analogy of forms like *Κυνόσ-ουρα* ('dog's tail'); *ποεσιτρόφος* 'nourishing grass' and *ποεσίχροος* 'grass-coloured' (from *πόᾱ ποίη* 'grass, herb') on the analogy of forms like *ὀρεσί-τροφος* and *ἀνθεσί-χρως* (with loc. pl. of *τὸ ὄρος* 'mountain' and *τὸ ἄνθος* 'blossom').

A further consequence of the obscuration of the case-ending of the initial member, was the use of this ending in

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new formations as though it were only the ending of a simple stem, and therefore with no trace of the function properly belonging to the case; e. g. *ἀταλά-φρων* 'with untroubled mind' (cp. *ἀταλα-φρονέων, ἀταλὰ φρονέων*, acc. pl. neut. of *ἀταλό-ς*), *ἀρει-θύσανος* 'fimbria Martialis' (cp. *ἀρεί-φατος* 'slain in war', loc. of *Ἄρης*), *πυρι-ήκης* 'with fiery point' *πυρί-πνοος* 'breathing fire' *πυρί-παις* 'fire-child' (cp. *πυρί-καυστος* 'burnt with (in) fire', loc. of *πῦρ*), *Ἀλκί-νοο-ς Ἀλκί-φρων* (cp. *Ἀλκι-μέδων*), *χολοι-βόρος* 'consuming gall' or 'consuming like gall' (cp. *χολοῖ-βαφος* 'dipped in gall' beside *χολό-βαφος χολο-βαφής*), *κηρεσι-φόρος* 'death-bringing' (cp. *κηρεσσι-φόρητος* p. 54), *ἰχθυσι-λησιτήρ* 'fish stealer' (*ἰχθῦς*) etc.

Remark 1. Compounds containing real stems in *-ι-*, as *μαντι-πόλος*, may also have given the appearance of simple stems. to initial members of compounds which were locatives ending in *-ι-* like *πυρι-*. And in discussing those forms which contain locatives pl. in *-σι-*, stem-compounds like *τερψί-μβροτος ἀρκεσί-γυιος ταυυσί-πτερος* (see § 30 p. 52) must not be forgotten. Compare also the fact that the abbreviated form *Ἠρι-ς* was made from *Ἠρι-γένεια Ἠρι-γόνη* and the like, whose initial part was the loc. *ἦρι* 'early', no doubt on the analogy of *Ζεῦξι-ς : Ζευξί-δαμος*; and in the same way the abbreviated form *Ἴφι-ς* was made from *Ἰφι-άνασσα* and like, which contained the instr. *ἰ-φι*.

It should be observed, however, that a large proportion of the new formations we are now considering are only found in late poets whose diction contains much that is artificial.

The form *παν-*, found in use as well as *παντ-(ο-)*, is the neut. *πάν* which stands for **παντ*, and was used originally with the force of an adverb in compounds like *παν-αίολος* 'all-gleaming' *πάν-σοφος* 'all-wise' *πάμ-πρωτος* 'quite the first, the very first' From these forms it spread to others,with the same meaning as *παντ-(ο-)*, e. g. *Παν-έλληνες* 'the united Hellenes' *πάν-δημος* 'concerning the whole people' *πάμ-μηνος* 'lasting through all the months'. *παν-οῦργος* 'clever in any business' followed the type of forms like *κακοῦργος* i. e. *κακο-(ϝ)εργός*.

Remark 2. In some combinations, *παν-* may possibly be the regular phonetic representative of the stem *παντ-* (cp. *χερ-* beside *χερ-σ-* and the like). So much may be admitted; but it seems to me improbable that this was generally the origin of the form.

Other examples with adverbs: *ἀκαλα-ρείτης* 'flowing quietly'

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(acc. pl. neut.), *ἁμα-τροχιᾷ* 'collision of wheels' (instr.), *παλαί-φατος* 'told from of old, foretold' (loc.).

ἐγ-χειρί-θετος 'placed in the hand'; *ἐμ-πυρι-βήτης* 'standing in the fire' derived from the phrases *ἐν χειρὶ θεῖναι, ἐν πυρὶ βῆναι.*

ἀλλήλους 'each other', which was used as readily of two single things or persons as of two pairs or two larger contrasted groups, must imply a proethnic Greek phrase **ἄλλος-αλλον*, du. *ἄλλω-αλλω*, pl. **ἄλλοι-αλλονς.* **ἄλλᾱλλ-* arose by contraction in the combinations **ἄλλᾱ-αλλᾱν* **ἄλλα-αλλα*, and then spread through the other cases. Next the dual and plural inflexion was used even where only two single things were spoken of. Lastly *-ᾱλλ-* became *-ᾱλ-* Ion. *-ηλ-* (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 294 f.). A more detailed discussion may be found in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1887, p. 105 ff.

Similarly we have *αὐτοσ-αυτό-* (also *αὐσ-αυτό-*) in the Delphic dialect and elsewhere. Originally the phrase *αὐτοσ-αυτοῦ* was used only in reference to a nom. sing. masc. in the sense of 'ipse sui', with the parallel forms **αὐτᾱ-αυτᾶς* etc. But when the phrase passed into a single word, the first member became incapable of inflexion, and the form of the nom. sing. masc., as occurring most frequently, was used throughout. Hence e. g. Delph. inscr. *κυριεύονσα αὐτοσαυτᾶς* and *κυριεύοντες αὐτοσαυτῶν*, Heracl. inscr. *μετ' αὐτοσαυτῶν.*

The genuine forms *ποδ-από-ς ἀλλοδ-από-ς*, whose etymological structure had become obscured (§ 16 p. 32), gave rise to new formations like *ἠμεδαπός* 'born in our country, countrymanl *παντοδαπός* 'of all sorts or kinds, manifold', as though the second member of the compound were *-δαπο-*. The same *δ* occurs in *ὅττις ὅττι* 'who (whoever)' for **σϝό-δ τις, *σϝό-δ τι*, see § 4 p. 9.

τοῦτο = **τό ὐ το*, where *ὐ* is a particle = Skr. *ú*. The forms masc. **οὑ-* and fem. **ᾱὑ-* = Idg. **só u, *sᾱ́ u*, date from the pre- Greek period and perhaps these were pronounced as monosyllables **sóu *sᾱ́u* even in proethnic Indo-Germanic: cp. masc. Skr. *só*, O.Pers. *hauv*. Then the neuter *τό* was added to these with the force of an adverb (cp. O.C.Sl. *kŭ-to* 'who?')' giving the forms **οὗτο *αὗτο* (for **ᾱὗτο*, by the regular change,

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I § 611 p. 461) and a new formation τοῦτο (instead of *τοδ-υ-το). Then these forms, whose ending was invariable, were influenced by other pronominal forms whose endings were inflected, and thus we have finally οὗτος αὕτᾱ etc. Cp. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. IV 139 f., Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 257 f., G. Meyer Gr. Gr.[2] p. 396.

The phrase ἐμαυτόν = ἐμὲ αὐτόν 'me ipsum' gave rise in Attic to the new formations ἐμαυτοῦ ἐμαυτῷ, while in Ionic ἐμεωυτοῦ = ἐμέο αὐτοῦ (cp. τωὐτό = τὸ αὐτό) produced ἐμεωυτῷ and ἐμεωυτόν.

Italic.

§ 33. In the Italic group, especially in Latin, the practice of compounding noun-stems by the method of Class I survived in popular speech, though only to a small extent. Amongst the Romans it received an artificial stimulus and attained a certain degree of importance through the close adherence of Latin poetry to Greek models. But eminent stylists and grammarians of the classical period recognised the spurious character of words coined on Greek types, and protested against encumbering the language with new formations of this kind. The developement of the Fourth Class of compounds, however, was by degrees extended all the more widely for this restriction in Class I. As regards Classes II and III, Italic stands in the same position as the other branches of Indo-Germanic.

§ 34. Class I. We may discuss the Latin forms first.

Stems in *-o-*. Where the stem-final of the first member was not entirely lost before an initial consonant in the second part, it took the the intermediate form of the irrational vowel. Accordingly it usually appears as *-i-*, e. g. *belli-ger* (beside *bellum*); before labials and before *l* as the sound intermediate between *u* and *i*, e. g. *centu-peda centi-peda*, *māgnu-ficus māgnificus*, *cunu-ligus*. Where *-o-* appears instead, as in *albo-galērus Ūno-mammia sexcento-plāgus* (Stolz, Die lat. Nominalc. 19 ff.), we must assume that it is due to the influence of words borrowed from the Greek, or sometimes to the influence of Gallic (cp.

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the Armenian *-a-* in compounds, which — if our conjecture be right — was borrowed from Iranian, § 28 Rem. 1 p. 45)[1]. The final of the stem has completely disappeared in *prīn-ceps* from *prīmo-*, *oin-vorsei* (S. C. de Bacch. 19) from *oino- ūno-*, and some other instances; see I § 633 p. 474. Where *r*, following a consonant, preceded the final vowel of the stem, it sank with the latter to *ɣ*, perhaps as early as the proethnic Italic period, whence the *er* which appears in the historical period of Latin; e. g. *sacerdōs*, which was directly preceded by the form **sácɣ-dō(t)-s* (see vol. I loc. cit. and Stolz, Wien. Stud. IX 304 f.); such words as *sacru-fex sacri-fex, agri-cola* were formed afresh at later period[2]), just as *ācri-tās* took the place of **ācertās*, which would have been the regular form, and *facili-tās* arose by the side of the older form *facul-tās*. Where the second part began in a sonant, the vowel was elided, as *somn-ambulus*, *rēm-ex*, *māgn-animus*, *flex-animus* ('touched to the heart'); such forms as *multi-angulus* (beside *mult-angulus*) came into use later on by analogy (like Gr. *ἀραχνο-ὑφής*, § 29 p. 47) see I § 604 p. 458.

Since compounds like *albo-galērus* cannot count as genuine Latin formations, we are left in doubt whether the *-i-* (*-u-*) of historical Latin stands for Idg. *-o-* or *-e-*. The probabilities however are in favour of the former. Cp. § 12 p. 24.

Stems in *-i̯o-* regularly show *-i-*, as *medi-terrāneus* from *mediu-s*, *offici-perda* from *officiu-m*. Cp. *capis* I § 135 p. 122, also Goth. *arbi-numja* § 40 and the remarks on the gradation

1) The *-o-* of *ho-dīē* must be regarded as of genuine Latin origin, if Danielsson (Stud. gramm., Upsal. 1879, p. 51 sq.) is right in his explanation of the word; he supposes that an old form **hō-dīē* (Class IV) was re-modelled on the analogy of Class I (cp. *multi-modīs* § 36), and that the *o* was preserved from being weakened to *-i-* or *-u-* by its position in the accented syllable. But perhaps we ought rather to derive *ho-dīē* from an instr. sing. **hō*, with its *ō* shortened on the analogy of *modo* and similar words (cp. *quo-que*). A third derivation is suggested by L. Havet, Mém. de la Soc. de Lingu. IV 229 sq.

2) *sacerdōs* was not transformed into **sacridōs*, because its component parts had ceased to be clearly recognised.

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of the suffix *-i̯o-* which will be found in § 63. If this *-i-* stands on the same footing as the *-ɣ-* of **sacɣ-dōs* (see above), the derivative *socie-tās* (from *sociu-s*) must bear the same relation to the above mentioned compounds as *sacri-fex* to *sacer-dōs*. *Med-amna* 'Μεσσαποταμία' follows the analogy of *māgn-animu-s* (see above). *trit-avo-s* then might be referred either to a form **triti̯o-* (cp. *tertiu-s*, Avest. *þritya-* etc.) or to **trito-* (cp. Gr. *τρίτο-ς*).

-i- corresponds in Latin to the *-o-* which serves in Greek as the 'vowel of composition' after most consonantal stems, cp. e. g. *ὀδοντ-ο-φυής* 'sprung from teeth' and *dent-i-frangibulus*. It seems probable that the Lat. *-i-* here sometimes represents the Idg. *i* of *i-stems* (cp. *īgni-fer* from *īgni-s*), especially when we consider how frequently the consonantal stems pass into the *i*-declension, e. g. *nāv-i-s* and *dent-i-bus dent-i-um* § 93 (Italic). Then e. g. *nāv-i-fragus* (beside the older *nau-fragus*) will have been formed from *nāv-i-s*, that is from an *i*-stem.

Stems in *-ā-*. *-ā-* is hardly to be found except where the second member has sunk to the level of a suffix: *fabā-ginus*, cp. *fabālis fabāceus*; *oleā-ginus -gineus*. Elsewhere the forms are treated like the *o*-stems. *tubi-cen* : *tuba*; *aqui-dūcus* : *aqua*. *tubu-lūstrium* and *tubi-lūstrium* : *tuba*. *-o-* (a Grecism): *vio-cūrus* : *via*; *blatto-sēricus* : *blatta* (cp. *holo-sēricus*). *glōri-ficus* : *gloria* like *offici-perda*. The *ī* of *tībī-cen* (: *tībia*) has not been explained; is it parallel to Skr. *śacī-vasu-ṣ*?

Stems in *-i-* and *-u-*. *angui-cornis* : *angui-s*. *tri-dēns* : dat. *tri-bus*. *morti-fer* : gen. pl. *morti-um*, Skr. *mṛti-ṣ*. The disappearance of the final *-i-* of the stem in *fūn-ambulus* from *fūni-s* is to be explained as due to the analogy of *o*-stems; *fūni-ambulus* was a later analogical formation like *multi-angulus* (p. 58); cp. also *sēm-ermis sēm-ustus* beside *sēmi-ermis sēmi-ustus* from *sēmi-* = Skr. *sāmi* 'incomplete, half'. *-u-* occurs in *u*-stems only before labial sounds, as in *acu-pedius* (cp. Gr. *ὠκύ-ς* 'swift') *manu-festus (manu-s)*, and since in such instances *i* is sometimes written as well as *u* (*mani-festus*) the sound must have

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been intermediate between *u* and *i* (I § 49 p. 41 f.). Thus the *u*-stems also were treated in the same way as those in *-o-*.

nau-fragus, like Gr. *ναυ-πηγός*, is no doubt a complete, not a syncopated form; *nāv-igō* is of the same kind, cp. § 11 p. 24; *nāv-i-fragus* and *nāv-i-ger* are new formations. Similarly we have *bū-caeda* and *bov-i-cīdium*: cp. Gr. *βου-* and *βο-ο-* § 29 p. 48; yet we must notice, first, that *bou-* was probably borrowed from Oscan (I § 432 Rem. 1), and secondly that the meaning 'great' in *bū-mammus* etc. points to Greek influence.

Nasal stems. *nōmen-clātor* like Gr. *ὀνομά-κλυτος*? *homi-cīda* (acc. *homin-em*): Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' (*guma*, gen. *gumins*), *sangui-sūga (sanguen)*, inscr. *numi-clatori*. See § 12 p. 27. With the last group we should probably compare *nūncupō* for **nōmi-cupō*, cp. *prīnceps* p. 58. There is a third group, the largest and the latest formed, consisting of words like *imāgin-i-fer germin-i-seca Aniēn-i-cola aquilōn-i-gena*, cp. Gr. *φρεν-ο-μανής* etc. (§ 29 p. 49).

sim-plex: cp. Gr. *ἁ-πλόος*, § 12 p. 27. We must also mention here *septem-fluos decem-peda nūn-dinae*, beside which are found *septi-rēmis sept-ennis, dec-ennis* (cp. *octi-pēs oct-ennis* from *octō*).

Stems in *-r-*. *frātr-i-cīda sorōr-i-cīda*, cp. Gr. *πατρ-ο-φόνος ῥητορ-ο-διδάσκαλος* (§ 29 p. 50).

Stems in Explosives. *dent-i-frangibulus serpent-i-gena. ped-i-sequos frond-i-fer. vōc-i-feror. rēg-i-fugium.*

Stems in *-s-*. *nas-turtium mūs-cipula. jūdex* for **iouz-dic-s*, *jū(s)-stitium*, and beside it *jūr-i-dicus*. Stems in *-es-* show *-i-* and *-er-i-*: *foedi-fragus volni-ficus* and *foeder-i-fragus mūner-i-gerulus*. The forms with *-i-* only are no doubt due to the similarity of the nominative terminations of the two stems, *foedus*: *haedu-s*. Nouns in *-ōs -ōris* (§ 133): *labōr-i-fer odōr-i-sequos*; the form *rūmi-ficō* by the side of *rūmor*, implies, as does also *rūmus-culu-s*, an older word **rūmus -eris* or *-oris* (cp. *decus* beside *decor*), cp. also *horri-fer -ficus* beside *horror*. The form *cini-flō*, from *cinis -eris*, is due to the nominative-ending *-is* (cp. *angui-s*), since we could hardly derive

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it phonetically from a form like **cinis-flō*; cp. the new formations *cucumī cucumim* beside *cucumis -eris*, and another word which must also be explained by reference to the form of the nominative, *lapi-cīda* from *lapis -idis*.

Remark. We must no doubt assume the loss of *-i-* through syllabic dissimilation in the following: *trucīdāre*, for **truc[i-c]īdāre*, *arcubī* ('qui excubabant in arce') for **arc[i-c]ubī*, *cordolium* for **cord[i-d]olium*. See I § 643 p. 482. The monosyllabic stems contained in *pelluviae* for **pedluviae* (I § 369 p. 280), *sōl-stitium* (beside *sōl-i-fer*) and other such compounds may or may not have dropped an *-i-* (I § 633 p. 474). With *pelluviae* compare *malluviae* for **man-luviae*.

In the monuments of the Umbro-Samnitic dialects this class of compounds is very scantily represented. If we disregard compounds containing numerals, and uncertain instances like the Osc. *.ovfríkúnúss*, whose initial part is mutilated (Pauli, Altit. Stud. II 118), there remains only the Osc. med-díss *med-dis*, whose first part is the same as the Umbr. meř-s *mers* 'ius, fas' (§ 132. 163).

du- for Idg. **dṷi-* 'two' is peculiar to the Italic languages: Lat. *du-plus du-plex du-centī du-bius* (I § 170 p. 150), Umbr. *du-pla* 'duplas' *du-pursus* 'bipedibus'. I regard it as a new formation of proethnic Italic, suggested by *quadru-*: Lat. *quadruplus -plex -pēs*, and in early Latin **quadru-centī* for *quadringentī* (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 283); *quincu-plex* etc. are formed on the same model. Umbr. *petur-pursus* 'quadrupedibus' was a new Umbrian formation.

§ 35. Class II. Lat. *in-jugis*: Skr. *a-yuga-s* Gr. *ἄ-ζυγος* 'unyoked'; *in-eptus* : cp. Skr. *án-āpta-s* 'unattained, unskilled'. Umbro-Samnitic has *an-* 'un-', which seems to correspond to Gr. *νη-* = Idg. **n̥-* (I § 253 p. 207): Umbr. antakres 'integris' Osc. *an-censto* fem. 'incensa, not valued'.

In Italic, Idg. **ne* 'not' was also restricted to use in compounds, as Lat. *ne-fās*.

Class III. Lat. *com-mōtus* Umbr. *comohota*. 'commota', Lat. *con-ceptus* Falisc. *cun-captum* 'conceptum', Lat. *con-ventiō con-ventus* Osc. kúm-bennieís gen. 'conventus'; O.Ir. *com-* e. g. *ro co-scad* 'correptus est'. Lat. *per-emptus per-versus* Umbr.

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per-ctom 'peremptum': Skr. *pari-vṛtta-s* 'turned about' Lith. *pér-versta-s* 'reversed, changed'. Lat. *ab-ditus*: Gr. *ἀπό-θετος* 'set aside, secret', *ab-ductiō*: Mid.H.G. *abe-zuht* 'a drawing away'. Lat. *por-tentum por-rectum* Umbr. *pur-ditom* 'proditum': no doubt to be compared with Gr. *πάρα* (Stolz, Arch. f. lat. Lexicogr. II 498 f.).

Lat. *inter-mē(n)stris inter-mēnstruos* Umbr. anter-menzaru 'intermenstruarum', cp. Lat. *inter mēnsēs*. Lat. *amb-urbium*, Osc. am-vianud abl. of the stem *am-viano-* 'that which lies on both sides of the way', hence 'vicus, platea' (cp. Bücheler in Nissen's Pomp. Studien 499). Lat. *per-nox per-dius* (*per noctem*, *per diem*); *per-fidus* (*per fidem fallere*). *sub-jugu-s* (*sub jugō*). *ante-novissimus* (*ante novissimum*).

Idg. **ne* 'not', as has been said above (Class II), was restricted in Italic to use in composition, as Lat. *ne-fās*.

Lat. *ad-modum*. *in-vicem*. *af-fatim* 'to satisfaction'. *dē-nuō* for *dĕ novō* I § 172 p. 152. *ĭlicō* for **ĭn slocō* 'on the spot'. I § 81 p. 73. *pro-fectō* for **pró factō* properly 'as good as something done' I § 682 p. 549. Many such phrases were reduced to single words largely through the enclisis of the noun and the isolation caused by phonetic change.

§ 36. Class IV. In Umbrian *desen-duf* corresponds to the Lat. *duo-decim* (§ 16 p. 32), cp. Gr. *δέκα δύο* beside *δώ-δεκα*. Lat. *ūn-decim*, explained in I § 633 p. 474 as standing for **únu(s)-decim*, may contain other case-forms; according to Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 284) it stands for **ūnum-decim*, cp. Gr. *ἕν-δεκα*.

Lat. *Jū-piter Juppiter* is said (no doubt correctly) to be = Gr. *Ζεῦ πάτερ*, and is therefore a vocative used as nominative (I § 612 p. 463), Umbr. Iu-pater. Lat. *Diēs-piter*, gen. *Diēs-pitris*; an analogous form is *Mārs-piter*, also *Māspiter* (I § 269 p. 217). The words *postrī-diē cottī-diē* (*cottī-* for **quettī-*, see I § 419 p. 307, § 431 p. 320, originally meaning 'on which-soever day of a series'; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 147 gives a different explanation), and *merī-diē* (properly 'in the clear

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day', from *meru-s*, see Stowasser, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 273 ff.) contain two locatives. The nom. *merīdiēs* is like the Mod.H.G. *die mitternacht* 'midnight', which comes from the gen. dat. *mitter nacht* 'at midnight', and *cottīdiānu-s merīdiānu-s* like *mitternächtig*.

We have a group of words which did not become compounds until the literary period of Latin: *holus ātrum, rōs marīnus, fēnum Graecum, jūs jūrandum, rēs pūblica, alter uter* etc.: gen. *holusātrī* beside *holeris ātrī*[1]), *rōsmarīnī* beside *rōris marīnī, alterutrīus* beside *alterīus utrīus* and so forth (Neue, Formenl. I² 590 f.).

Sacraviēnsēs from *sacra via*, *quartadecumānī* from *quarta decuma* (*legiō*).

In some cases the initial member follows the analogy of Class I: *Aquiflāviēnsēs* from *Aquae Flāviae; equiferī* 'wild horses' *ovifer* 'wild sheep' instead of *equos ferus* and *ovis fera*, influenced no doubt by the type of Greek compounds like *αἴγαγρος* 'wild goat' *σύαγρος* 'wild boar' (cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII 404); *multi-modīs, omni-modīs* instead of *multīs modīs, omnibus modīs* (Danielsson, Studia grammatica, Upsal. 1879, p. 51).

In the literary period of Latin, phrases like *aquae ductus* and *aquae ductiō, agrī cultūra, plēbis scītum, fidēī commissum, capite cēnsī, jūre cōnsultus* etc. became compounds. Then, by a transition to Class I, *aqui-ductus*, cp. *aqui-dūcus* 'ὑδραγωγός'. *pater-familiās*, like Mod.H.G. *mutter-góttes*, 'mother of God' *leib-brót* 'loaf of bread' (O.H.G. *leip prōtes*) Pol. *štuka-mięsa* 'piece of meat'.

**quot annī, *quot mēnsēs*, originally relative clauses (cp. Gr. *ὁσημέραι* 'daily'), in course of time ceased to be regarded as such, and then the compounds *quotannīs, quotmēnsibus* were

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1) The *i* of the form *holisātra* (Apicius) was due to the analogy of compounds of Class I like *multi-sonus*; for the formation is too late to admit of the supposition that it was caused by the natural course of phonetic change, as in the second syllable of *ilicō* for **inslocō* (I § 81 p. 73.)

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formed, like *hīs annīs* (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 146 f.). Cp. Lith. *kas-vākarą* § 46.

breve iter, longum iter became *breviter, longiter*, and so forth. Thus arose the adverbial suffix *-iter -ter*. See Osthoff, Archiv f. lat. Lexiogr. IV 455 ff.

nu-dius tertius 'the day before yesterday', properly equivalent to 'nunc dies tertius' (*nu* = Skr. *nú* Gr. *νύ* etc.). Hence *nudius-tertiānu-s* 'belonging to the day before yesterday'.

male-volēns, male-dīcēns (from which were formed *malevolentissimus, maledīcentior*, cp. Mod.H.G. *tieffühlendst, freigelegener*). *bene-volēns*. Derivatives of these are *malevolentia benevolentia*, and on their analogy were formed *malevolus benevolus, maleficus beneficus* for the older forms *mali-volus beni-volus, mali-ficus beni-ficus* (Class I, cp. *benīgnus* for **beni-gn̥u-s*, I § 619 p. 466 f.). A compound found in Tertullian, *altēgradius* = *altē gradiēns*, shows the same type as *male-volus*.

In later Latin, as we have already seen (§ 33 p. 57), this class grew more and more extensive. Especially where the inflexional differences of the cases had disappeared, and the first member of the compound consequently lost its proper meaning as a case, compounds of Class IV came more and more into favour. By far the greatest part of the nominal compounds now found in the Romance languages belong to this class. This disuse of Class I, in favour of Class IV is most clearly seen in 'epithetised' compounds, as French *rouge-gorge* 'red-gullet' *pattepelue* 'hairy-paw' i. e. 'fawner, sneak'. See A. Darmesteter, Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française etc., Paris 1875.

Old Irish.

§ 37. Class I. The final vowels of the stem of the initial members were accurately preserved only in Gallic. In Irish they suffered syncope and disappeared (I § 634).

Stems in *-o-*. O.Ir. *ech-rad* fem. (collective) 'horses': Mod. Cymr. *eb-rwydd* 'quick' Gall. *Epo-rēdia*, pr. Kelt. **ekṷo-rēdā-* (as to the second part, see Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 24), beside O.Ir. *ech*

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'horse', Skr. *áśva-* Gr. *ἵππο-* etc. O.Ir. *dag-duine* 'bonus homo', from *dag* 'bonus'[1]): Gall. *Dago-vassus*. O.Ir. *Doman-gart*: O.Cymr. *Dofn-garth*, Gall. *Dubno-rīx Dumno-rīx*, from *domun* 'world'; *doman-* for **domno-* through the intermediate stage **domn̥-*, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469. Gall. *vergo-bretus* name of a magistrate amongst the Aedui, = 'cuius iudicium efficax est', beside O.Cymr. *guerg* 'efficax'; *Nerto-mārus* from *nerto-* 'strength, might'. In Irish the change of *t*, *c* to *p*, *χ* (*th*, *ch*) at the beginning of the second member indicates that the first originally ended in a vowel (I § 514 p. 375 f., § 658 p. 510), as *fīr-threbaire* 'true wisdom' from *trebaire*, *nocht-chenn* 'bare-headed' from *cenn*. The same is true of the *ḟ* in such compounds as *find-ḟolt* 'white hair' from *folt*, and the *ṡ* in compounds like *macc-ṡlabrad* 'plaything' from *slabrad* 'chain' (I § 576 p. 431, § 658 p. 510). Where the second member began in a sonant, *-o-* disappeared in proethnic Keltic: e. g. O.Ir. *find-airgit* 'white silver' (cp. Gall. *Vindo-magus*) *fīr-aingliu* 'veros angelos'; so in Gallic we find *Art-albinnum* beside *Arto-briga* as compared with O.Ir. *art* 'stone'; here too should be classed compounds like Mid.Ir. *(h)uasal-athair* 'patriarch' ('august father'), if the elision of *-o-* in this position was later than the loss of initial *p-* (I § 339 p. 268).

Remark. In Gall. *-u-* is sometimes found instead of *-o-*, e. g. *Virdumārus* and *Virdo-mārus*, *Adiatu-māru-s* and *Adiato-rīx*, and sometimes *-a-*, as *Reita-genus* (Esser, Beitr. zur gallo-kelt. Namenkunde I 5. 6 f.). These differences are due in part to an inexact representation of unaccented vowels in writing, but in part also to dialectic variation.

O.Ir. *aili-thir* 'stranger, pilgrim' from *alio-* and *tīr* 'terra'. *nūe-litridi* acc. 'novos, recentes litteratores': cp. Gall. *Noviodūnum* 'Newtown'.

Stems in *-ā-*. It may be assumed that *-o-* was regularly found even in proethnic Keltic (§ 12 p. 24 f.). Gall. *Teuto-bōdiācī Touto-bociō* beside O.Ir. *tuath* f. = Goth. *þiuda* f. 'people', common ground-form **teutā*, so that no doubt O.Ir. *Tuath-char* and

1) With this combination of adjective and substantive, and with those to be mentioned below compare § 39.

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O.Cymr. *Tut-ri* originally had *-o-*. O.Ir. *dāl-tech* 'forum' (house of assembly') *dāl-suide* 'forum' ('seat of assembly') from *dāl* f. O.Ir. *briathar-chath* 'battle of words' for **brētro-* through the intermediate stage **brēty-*, beside *briathar* f. 'word' for **brētrā-* (I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 475).

Stems in *-i-*. O.Ir. *muir-bran* 'mergus' ('sea-raven') from O.Ir. *muir* n. 'sea' for **mori*: Gall. *Mori-tasgus Mori-dūnum*. In these and other words the palatalisation of the last consonant of the first member is an obvious trace of the *-i-* which once stood before it (cp. *buaid-lia* 'fornix', properly 'triumphalis lapis' from *buaid* n. 'victory', *sain-clíenelœ* 'proprium genus').

Stems in *-u-*. O.Ir. *cath-buadach* 'victorious in battle' *cath-lach* 'battle-host, assembled fighting men', *cath-charpat* 'battle-chariot' from *cath* 'battle': Gall. *Catu-slōgus* (= *cath-lach*) *Catu-rīgēs*, O.H.G. *hadu-*. *bith-beo* 'semper vivus', from O.Ir. *bith* 'world', which when used as the first member of a compound took the meaning 'everlasting, ever' (cp. § 4 p. 6): Gall. *Bitu-rīgēs*. *fid-bocc* 'ligneus arcus', from *fid* 'wood, tree', O.H.G. *witu* 'wood'.

To determine the chronology of the loss of the final vowel in the first member, we have the evidence of such forms as the nom. pl. *gnīmartha* beside sing. *gnīm-rad* 'act, deed', compared with the *u*-stem *gnīm*, cp. *ech-rad* above. Since *-ar-* came immediately from *-r-*, and this came from *-rē-* (I § 634 p. 475), the stem-final of the first member must have already disappeared before the process of *samprasāraṇa* began. Indeed, even in Gallic we find *Lūgdunum* for *Lugu-dūnum* (Dio Cass. XLVI c. 50 *τὸ Λουγούδουνον, νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον*).

Stems in *-n-*. For these the form in *-o-* is substituted, as in Gr. *κτό-κρᾱνον* (§ 12 p. 27); e. g. Mid.Ir. *talam-chumscugud* 'earthquake' from *talam*, gen. *talman*, f. 'earth'.

Stems in *-r-*. The examples of these stems are not free from difficulty. O.Ir. *athar-gein* 'procreation (of the father)' *māthar-marbthach* 'matricide' *māthar-lach* 'matrix', the *-thar* being no doubt for **-tr-o-* (cp. Gr. *μητρ-ο-κτόνος*). *athr-amil* 'patri similis' *mādr-amil* 'matri similis' beside forms like *sain-*

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samail sain-email. Where the final member begins in a sonant: *athir-oircnid* 'patricide'. *sethar-oircnid* 'murderer of a sister' is no doubt modelled on forms like *māthar-marbthach*, where the gen. sing. determined the type.

Stems in Explosives. All of these must have had *-o-*. O.Ir. *carat-rad* 'friendship' from *cara*, gen. *carat*; compare Gall. *Carent-o-magus*. Mid.Ir. *oiged-chaire* 'friendship between guest and host' from *oegi*, pl. *oegid* 'guest'. O.Ir. *rīg-thech* king's house' *rīg-fáith* 'royal poet' from *rī*, gen. *rīg*, 'king', cp. Lat. *rēg-i-fugium*. Cp. also Gall. *Cinget-o-rīx* beside *Cinges* gen. *-etis* O.Ir. *cing*, acc. *cingid*, 'vir fortis, heros'; Gall. *Brig-o-banne* and **Brig-o-gilum* (whence the modern *Brigueil* and *Brieulles-sur-Bar*), beside O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'rising ground'.

Stems in *-es-* show in Irish the same type as Gr. *ἑῳο-κόμος*. O.Ir. *teg-lach* 'household, familia' (O.Cymr. *teulu* 'familia'), beside *tech* n. 'house' = Gr. *στέγος*, *tecnate* 'domesticus, familiaris' for **tech-gnate* (the spirant having been assimilated to the initial consonant of the second member) a derivative from **tech-gnath* (*gnāth* 'consuetus'). O.Ir. *leth-cholba* 'the pillar by the side, the second pillar', *led-marb* 'half dead', from *leth* n. 'side, half'. It is probable that Gallic names like *Cartis-mandua Civis-mārus* (see Zeuss² 785. 853) represent the same type of compound as Gr. *ἑπεσ-βόλος*; yet it is at least possible that a vowel has fallen out after the *-s-*, cp. e. g. gen. *Viscari* for **Visu-cari*.

§ 38. Class II. Idg. **ŋ-* 'un-' appears in Irish in different forms according to its phonetic surroundings. *ē-* before *t*, *c*: O.Ir. *ē-tromm* 'not heavy, light' *ē-cain* 'indecens'; but in Cymr. *an-*, as *annheilwng* 'unworthy': O.Ir. *ētualng-ithe* 'indignatus', cp. Mod.Cymr. *cant*: O.Ir. *cēt* 'hundred', I § 243 p. 201. *in-* for **en-* before *d*, *g* (cp. I § 520 p. 378): O.Ir. *in-derb* 'incertus' *in-gnad* 'insolitus'. *an-* before vowels, Idg. **ŋn-* I § 243, 4 p. 202: O.Ir. *an-eolas* 'inscientia', beside *eola* 'gnarus', *an-se* 'heavy' beside *asse* 'light'. By analogical transference *an-* came to be used before explosives, even in O.Ir.: *an-cretem* 'infidelitas', *an-dach* 'nequitia', *an-glan* 'immundus'. Further examples of this

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kind are *an-fiss* 'inscitia', *an̓-bsud* 'instabilis' (*foss* 'quietude)', Mid.Ir. *ain-mine* 'roughness' and the like.

do- *dụ-* in *do-chruth* 'deformed' etc.: Skr. *duš-*, cp. § 14 p. 29. The opposite of this, *so-* *su-* = Idg. **su-*, is kept in Keltic (as in Armenian, § 28 p. 46) only in composition: O.Ir. *so-nirt* 'good in strength, strong' from *nert* 'strength', *su-thain* 'everlasting' from *tan* 'time'.

Class III. O.Ir. *cuim-rechta* 'alligatus' beside *con-riug* 'alligo': cp. Lat. *com-ēsus*. *es-arte* 'caesus, expalmatus' beside *es-arcon* 'excisio': cp. Gr. ἐξ-αίρετος 'selected'. *etar-scarthi* 'divisa': cp. Lat. *inter-fectus*. *acsiu* 'act of seeing' dat. *acsin* beside the pres. *ad-chiu*: cp. Lat. *ad-emptiō*.

O.Ir. *ess-amin* Mod.Cymr. *eh-ofyn* 'fearless' Gall. *Ex-obnus* *Ex-omnus*, from pr. kelt. *ex* 'out' = Lat. *ex* and (O.Ir.) *omun* 'fear'. Gall. *Ambi-rēnus* ('around the Rhine'), *Ad-lēdus* ('by the iver Ledus'), *Are-morica* ('before the sea').

O.Ir. *ro-*, an intensive particle, as *ro-mōr* 'very great' *ro-chain* 'very beautiful', stands for pre-Keltic **pro-* (I § 339 p. 268): cp. Gr. πρό-καλος 'very beautiful' πρό-κακος 'very bad'. O.Ir. *ēr-er-*, also an intensive particle, as *ēr-chosmil* 'very similar' *ēr-chian* 'very long', comes from **ex-ro-*; for the loss of the *-o* see I § 634 p. 475.

§ 39. Class IV. Besides compounds in which an adjectival stem was followed by a substantive (Class I), in Irish, as in the other Indo-Germanic languages, inflected adjectives were combined with substantives. Such phrases often developed into compounds, and this process was all the more natural because the adjective lost the characteristic inflexion of many of its cases, and thus the phrase looked like a compound of Class I. Hence the two groups overlapped, and in particular instances it is difficult to decide how the compound arose. In none of these words have we any clear traces of the destructive influence which the accent elsewhere exerts upon the final members of compound words, e. g. *drog-scēla* 'mali nuntii' *dag-gnīm* 'good work' (I § 685 p. 552), and therefore we might in all cases decide in favour of Class IV. But there

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is nothing to prevent our assuming that compounds belonging to Class IV influenced the accent of those of Class I. See Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 224 f., Kelt. Stud. II 19 ff. We shall find a similar confusion of two different types of composition in High German, § 44.

Germanic.

§ 40. Class I.

Stems in *-o-*. Where the second member began in a consonant the vowel seems always to have survived in proethnic Germanic. In Gothic we find stems sometimes with *-a-* and sometimes without, but no rule has yet been discovered to account for this difference, although it must be connected with some variation of accent[1]: *guda-faúrhts* 'God fearing' *gud-hūs* 'God's house' from *guþ* 'God', *áina-baúr* 'innate, native' *áin-falþs* 'simple' from *áins* 'one', *láusa-vaúrds* 'speaking folly' *láus-qiþrs* 'with empty stomach' from *láus* 'loose, empty, null', *akrana-láus* 'fruitless' from *akran* n. 'fruit', *þiudan-gardi* f. 'king's house' from *þiudans* 'king'. In West Germanic, where the vowel still appears as *o* in the oldest monuments (I § 83 Rem. I p. 77), the law of syncope described in I § 635 p. 476 was in operation; but its results were largely obscured by new formations. The following are examples of the regular developement. O.H.G. *tago-sterno taga-stern* 'daystar, morning star', *spilo-man spila-man* 'player', *wego-wīso wega-wīso* 'guide'. On the other hand we find *boum-garto* 'orchard', *wīn-rebe* 'vine', *himil zungal* 'stars of heaven', *houbit-band* 'head-band'. Parallel to these stand such forms as *ebān-līh* 'aequalis' *regan-mānōd* 'rainy month' *ātum-zuht* 'respiration' *accar-bigengo* 'agricola' *vogal-chrūt* 'chick-weed', which come from prehistoric ground-forms containing **ebno- *regno- *ēdmo- *akkro- *fuglo-* (cp. Goth. *áibna-leiks*, *figgra-gulþ* 'finger-ring' and *Austro-valdus*, Count of Toulouse, 588 A. D.). However, it has still to be determined (cp. Kaufmann, Paul-

1) See Holtzmann, Altdeutsche Gr. I 2, 55; Kluge, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 81; Kremer, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 381. 438. Kremer's theory is the least satisfactory.

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Braune's Beitr. XII 537 ff.) how far the historical form of the first member may have been due merely to the influence of the uncompounded word (*eban regan* etc.).

Remark 1. In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the *i*- and the *a*-declension, *-i-* often intruded in place of *-o- -a-*, as *wegi-rīh* beside *wego-rīh wega-rīh* 'waybread, plantain' (properly 'way-ruler'). Cp. Rem. 3 infr.

The treatment of *-o-* in proethnic Germanic, where the second member began in a sonant, is uncertain (cp. I § 606 p. 459). It is possible that in some forms the hiatus remained (see above, § 12 p. 25), cp. Goth. *galiuga-apaústaúlus* 'false apostle' (from *galiug* n. 'lie'), O.H.G. *sigo-ēra sige-ēra* beside *sig--ēra* 'honour shown for victory'. Elision is by far the most frequent: Goth. *hals-agga* 'curve of the neck, nape' from *halsa-* 'neck', *all-andjō* 'complete' from *alla-* 'all'; O.H.G. *wer-alt* O.Sax. *wer-old* A.S. *wor-old* O.Icel. *ver-ǫld* 'age of men, period, world' beside Goth. *vaír* (stem *vaíra-*) 'man', O.H.G. *ein-ougi* A.S. *ān-eáge* O.Icel. *ein-eygr* 'one-eyed' beside Goth. *áins*. O.H.G. *eban-alt* 'equally old' Mid.H.G. *ōster-ābent* 'Easter-eve, day before Easter' for **ebn- *ōstr-*, show the same analogical change as is seen in O.H.G. *ebano ebanōn* (see I § 215 p. 182 f.); the regular type is preserved in *Vestr-alpus*, an Alemannic chief (Ammian).

Forms containing the suffix *-i̯o-*. Goth. *alja-kuns* 'of other origin, strange', *fraþja-marzeins* 'derangement of mind' (*fraþi* n.), and on the other hand, with a long syllable before the suffix, *arbi-numja* 'receiver of an inheritance, heir' (*arbi* n.), *agláiti--vaúrdei* 'improper speech' (*agláiti* n. 'impropriety'). Cp. the contrast of gen. sing. *harjis* and *haírdeis*, I § 120 p. 112 f., § 143 p. 128 f., II § 63. In West Gothic *-i-*, not *-ja-*, is found from the sixth or seventh century onwards even in the former class of words. In Old High German *-i-* is universal, as *eli--lenti* 'foreign' *eli-boro* 'alienigena' *heri-berga* 'camp, shelter' *arpi-lōs* 'without inheritance'. It is questionable whether we should assume that *-i-* had appeared after short syllables, as in *eli-* (cp. O.Sax. *eli-lendi* O.Fris. *ili-lende*), before the consonant-strengthening (I § 143 p. 129) and the syncope (I § 635 p. 476) of West Germanic (Sievers, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 488 ff.); see

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Kaufmann ibid. 537 ff. *-i̯o- -ii̯o-* are frequently found in proper names belonging to different Germanic stocks in the first centuries A. D., as *Χαριό-μηρος Hario-baudes, Inguio-mērus.*

Stems in *-ā-*. It may be assumed that even in proethnic Germanic *-o-* was regular (§ 12 p. 25). Goth. *aírþa-kunds* 'of earthly origin' from *aírþa* 'earth', *hveila-hvaírbs* 'accommodating oneself to the time, *πρόσκαιρος*' from *hveila* 'time, while'. O.H.G. *beto-man* 'one who prays' *beta-hūs* 'house of prayer' from *beta* 'prayer'; on the other hand *erd-rīhhi* 'kingdom of earth' from *erda*, *brāch-mānōt* 'month of the first ploughing, June' from *brācha* 'land broken up'. O.H.G. *ahsal-pein* 'shoulder-bone' from *ahsla* 'shoulder', like *vogal-chrūt.* O.H.G. *erd-aphil* ('earth-apple') 'cucumber, melon' from *erda-*, *scab-īsen* 'shaving tool' from *scaba* 'shaving tool, plane', like *wer-alt.* Mid.H.G. *nādel-aere* 'needle's eye' from O.H.G. *nādla* Goth. *nēþla* 'needle', like *ōster-ābent.* Compare p. 70.

Words containing the suffix *-i̯ē-*, *-i̯ā-*: Goth. *þūsundi-faþs* leader of a thousand' from *þūsundi* f. (nom. pl. *þūsundjōs*) 'thousand'; O.H.G. *sunti-lōs* 'sinless' from *suntia suntea sunta* 'sin', *redi-haft* 'eloquent' from *redia reda* 'speech', like *eli-lenti*; see above.

Remark 2. In these feminines *-o-* and *-a-* often occur as well as *-i-*, e. g. *redo-haft reda-haft*, *hella-fiur* 'hell-fire' (from *hella* Goth. *hulja* 'hell'). Here analogy has been at work; this new formation spread in the *-i̯ē-* (*-i̯ā-*) stems, not in those with *-i̯o-*, because the sonant *-i-* which stood at the point of juncture was not supported in the former class of stems as it was in the latter (cp. *heri-berga* beside nom. acc. *heri*) by the case-forms of the uncompounded word; the *-i-* of the compound was especially liable to alteration after the *i̯* of the original word had been completely assimilated to the preceding group of consonants.

Stems in *-i-*. In proethnic Germanic *-i-* was no doubt kept in all compounds whose second member began in a consonant. Goth. *-i-*, as *gasti-gōþs* 'hospitable' from *gasts*, *draúhti-vitōþ* 'service in war, fight' cp. *ga-draúhts* (stem *ga-draúhti-*) 'warrior'; rarely the *-i-* is lost (cp. the loss of *-a-* above): *brūþ-faþs* 'bridegroom' from *brūþs* 'bride', *þut-haúrn* 'horn for blowing' from **þuti-* 'noise, sound' = O.Icel. *þytr* Mid.H.G. *diz.* In O.H.G.

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the forms are syncopated according to rule. *steti-got* 'genius loci' *turi-sūl* 'doorpost, post', but *tāt-rahha* 'narrative of what has happened' *gast-hūs* 'strangers' shelter' *truh-sāzo trut-sāzo* (Mid.H.G. *truht-saeze*) 'lord high steward'.

Remark 3. In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the *i*- and the *o*-declension *-o- -a-* often took place of *-i-*, as *scrita-māl* beside *scriti-māl* 'pace, step' from *scrit*, pl. *scriti*. Cp. Rem. 1 above.

Stems in *-u-*. In proethnic Germanic *-u-* always appeared in compounds whose second member began in a consonant. Gothic has always *-u-*, as *faihu-gairns* 'covetous' from *faihu* 'cattle, possessions', *filu-fáihs* 'very various' from *filu* 'much, very'. In O.H.G. the forms were altered by the law of syncope: *fihu-wīāri* 'cattle-pond', *filu-sprāhhi filo-sprāhhi* 'speaking much', *witu-hoffa wito-hoffa* ('wood-hopper') 'hoopoe' from *witu wito* 'wood', *Hadu-mār* proper name (*hudu-* 'battle': Gall. *catu-*), but on the other hand *tōd-līh* 'mortalis, mortiferus' from *tōd* = Goth. *dáuþu-s* 'death', *hungertag* 'day of fasting' for **hunəgru-* (cp. *accar-bigengo* p. 69) cp. Goth. *hūhru-s* 'hunger'.

Stems in *-n-* in proethnic and later Germanic show the same type as Gr. *κῑό-κρᾱνον* (§ 12 p. 27). Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of the male sex' O.H.G. *gomo-heit goma-heit* 'persona' beside Goth. *guma* O.H.G. *gomo* m. 'human being, man', cp. Lat. *homi-cīda* p. 60. O.H.G. *hano-crād hana-crāt* 'crowing of a cock' from *hano* Goth. *hana* m. 'cock'. O.H.G. *namo-haft nama-haft* 'having a name' from *namo* m. Goth. *namō n.* 'name'. Goth. *áuga-daúrō* n. ('eye-door') 'window' O.H.G. *oug-brāwa* 'eyebrow' from Goth. *áugō* O.H.G. *ouga* n. 'eye'. O.H.G. *herz-blīdi* 'heartily agreeable' from *herza* Goth. *hairtō* n. 'heart'. When the second member begins in a sonant: O.H.G. *brunn-ādara* 'vein of a spring' from *brunno* Goth. *brunna* m. 'spring, brook'.

Remark 4. It is noteworthy that the type of compound containing a genitive (Class IV), such as *hanin-fuoz*, *Franchōno-lant* (§ 44), common enough even in O.H.G., in later times continually encroached upon the stem-compounds of Class I, particularly in the Modern period. The chie factor in this developement was the circumstance that *-en* came ultimately to be the ending of other cases besides the genitive, and hence lost its originally definite character. Cp. J. Grimm, D. G. II (1878) p. 528. 591 ff.

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Stems in *-r-*. In Gothic we have the form *brōþru-lubō* 'brotherly love'; it is uncertain whether the first part represents Idg. **bhrātr-* (I § 299 p. 237 f.), or whether, like the nom. pl. *brōþrjus*, it was a new form modelled upon the *u*-stems. *brōþr-a-lubō* also occurs, cp. Gr. *πατρ-ο-φονος* etc. O.H.G. *pruodar-līh* 'brotherly' may be variously explained; *fatar-erpi* 'patrimonium' is in any case a new form instead of **fatr-*. We also find *pruader-līh* *fater-līh* and the like, where *e* is due to the influence of the inflected forms of the uncompounded word.

O.H.G. *fiant-līh* 'hostile' *friunt-līh* 'friendly', *fuoz-scamil* 'footstool', like Gr. *δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος, ποδ-ο-στράβη*. At the same time it must be observed that in O.H.G. many of these consonantal stems have gone over bodily to one of the vowel-declensions, e. g. *mānōd* 'month' (Goth. still has dat. sing. *mēnōþ* nom. pl. *mēnōþs*), with which compare e. g. *mānōd-sioh* 'lunaticus'.

Stems in *-s-*. Goth. *sigis-láun* 'prize of victory' (cp. Goth. *Sigis-meres* Burg. *Sigis-mundus* O.Frank *Sigis-bertus* etc.) from *sigis* n. 'victory' (stem *sigis-a-* or *sigiz-a-*): Skr. *sáhas* n. O.H.G *egis-līh* 'horrible' beside Goth. *agis* n. 'fear' (stem *agis-a-*), cp also O.H.G *egis-o* m. 'fright' *egis-ōn* 'frighten' like Gr. *σαχεσ-φόρος*. The following may also belong to this group, if they have lost the vowel of the suffix *-es-*: Goth. *þrūts-fill* A.S. *ðrust-fel* (for **ðruts-*) 'scab' and A.S. *Hēns-brōc*, name of a place, compare probably O.Icel. *hēns* (only in pl.) 'fowls'. Rather more frequently we have *-es-* stems extended by *-o-*: Goth. *áiz-a-smiþa* O.H.G. *ēr-smid* 'copper-smith', O.H.G. *Lembir-bah* (cp. *Kelbiris-bach* with the gen. sing., Class IV) Mid.H.G. *eier-vel* (A.S. *ǣzer-felma*) 'skin of an egg', Mid.H.G. *rinder-hirte* 'cowherd' (A.S. *hrȳðer-heord* 'herd of cattle'). After *-er-* became a sign of the plural (§ 132) the first member of these compounds took a plural meaning (*rinder- nirte* = 'herdsman of cattle').

Remark 5. The transference of these stems to the *o*-declension (§ 132), caused by the loss of the final **-os* in the nom. and acc. sing., gave rise to alterations of the stem in compounds, on the model of the *o*-class; thus O.H.G. *rind-stal*. The oldest example of this type is perhaps

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the form *requa-* 'darkness' (cp. Goth. *riqis* Skr. *rājas-*), seen in *requa-livahano*, which occurs on an inscription of the second or third century A. D. (found in the District of Cologne), if Holthausen is right in explaining it as 'living in the darkness'; but perhaps it is better to refer it to the analogy of nom. **requaz* : **wolfa-z*.

§ 41. In many compounds, in Germanic as in Greek and in Slavonic (§ 30. 47), the popular conception of the first member underwent a change, and the latter was regarded as having a verbal instead of a nominal force.

Thus in O.H.G. first of all nominal stems in *-i-* (for an original *-i-*, *-i̯o-*, *-i̯ā-* or *-i̯ē-*) came into immediate connexion with verbs in *-ien*, e. g. *spuri-* in *spuri-hunt* 'hunting-hound' (Mid.H.G. *spür spur* f. n. 'trace, track') came into connexion with *spurien spurren* 'to trace'; *smelzi-gold* ('melted gold') 'refined gold, standard gold' (*smelzi* n. 'gloss produced by melting, enamel') with *smelzen* (Goth. **smaltjan*) 'liquefy'; *deche* (older **decchi-*) seen in *deche-lachen* 'cloth or sheet for covering' (*decha*, older **decchia*, 'covering') with *decchen* (O.Icel. *þekja*) 'to cover'; *slengi-stein* 'sling-stone' (*slenga*, older **slengia*, sling') with *slengen* (O.Icel. *slengva*) 'to sling, hurl'. Hence numerous new formations whose initial members were real verbal forms, as *deni-lachan* 'cloth for spreading out, tent-cloth' from *denen* 'to spread out', *wezzi-stein* 'whetstone' from *wezzen* 'to whet'. The next step was to give a new verbal signification to nominal stems ending in original *-o-*; thus O.H.G. *strīt-muot* 'eagerness for the fray' *strīt-louft* 'race' (*strīt* m. 'strife') was referred to *strītan* 'strive', *scelt-wort* 'abusive word' (*scelta* f. 'abuse') to *sceltan* 'to abuse', giving a type which was followed by large member of new formations like *melc-faz* 'milk-vessel' from *melchan* 'to milk'. Then, when the *ō* and *ē* in inflexional syllables had sunk to *e*, which also represented *a* and *e*, when e. g. *beta-hūs* 'house of prayer' and *betōn* 'to pray' had become *bete-hūs beten*, and *lina-berga* 'railing, trellis' and *linēn* had become *line-berga linen* respectively, the numerous forms of this kind gave a fresh impulse in High German to the verbal interpretation of the initial members of compounds, and the new type of formation already established was taken into yet wider use; e. g. Mid.H.G. *lebe-site* 'manner of life' from *leben* 'to live'.

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Remark 1. In Mid.H.G. the stems of all classes of verbs had begun to be used in the initial part of compounds, and the number of such verbal compounds has been considerably on the increase down to modern times. There were always a number of words which to the popular consciousness appeared halfway between nominal and verbal compounds; as do even now such words as *streit-lust*, *tanz-lust*, *schlummer-stätte*, *raub-vogel*, cp. *streit* and *streiten*, *tanz* and *tanzen* etc. [Similar uncertainty is felt in English with regard to compounds like *show-room paint-brush watch-tower slaughter-house*.] But such forms inevitably came to be regarded as verbal when the noun was no longer used uncompounded, e. g. in *bethaus*, which was formed from O.H.G. *beta* Mod.H.G. *bete* 'prayer', but, when this noun was lost, was of necessity connected with the verb *beten*.

Remark 2. The same process of analogical formation arising from a new interpretation of nominal stems is found in the other West Germanic dialects and in those of Scandinavia; whether it also took place in Gothic is doubtful. See Osthoff, Verbum in der Nominalc. p. 10 ff.

Remark 3. Connected with this is another characteristic of High German which may be mentioned here; — the new meaning given to the initial member of adjectival compounds in *-bar*, *-lich*, *-haft*; *-sam*. E. g. O.H.G. *danc-bāri* Mid.H.G. *danc-bære* at first meant exactly 'gratias (re-) ferens' (O.H.G. *danc* Goth. *þagks* 'thanks'), O.H.G. *scīn-bāri* Mid.H.G. *schīn-bære* literally meant 'bearing an appearance, having an appearance'. Now when the second member had acquired the character of a suffix, the first was referred to the verb to which it was akin (Mid.H.G. *danken* and *schīnen*). Hence further new formations like Mid.H.G. *hel-bære* 'seeking to hide oneself' Mod.H.G. *trink-bar anwend-bar* etc., in which the second member is used like a primary suffix. See Osthoff loc. cit. p. 112 ff.

§ 42. Class II. Germ. *un-* 'un-' before consonants and before sonants: Gr. *ἀ-* *ἀν-* etc. Goth. *un-kunþs* O.H.G. *un-kund* 'unknown': cp. Gr. *ἄ-γνωτος*. Goth. *un-veis* O.H.G. *un-wīs* 'inexperienced': Lat. *in-vīsus*; Goth. *un-viss* 'uncertain': Gr. *ἄ-ιστος* 'unseen, unknown' (cp. *ἄ-ϝιστος* § 31), cp. I § 527 p. 382. Goth. *un-agands* 'not fearing'; O.H.G. *un-ende* n. 'endlessness': Skr. *an-antá-s* 'endless'. Germ. *tuz-* 'ill-, mis-' = Gr. *δυσ-*: Goth. *tuz-vērjan*, a denominative formation, 'to doubt' ('be chary of faith'), O.H.G. *zur-wāri* 'suspiciosus, suspectus'.

In the course of the separate developement of Germanic several particles were restricted to use in composition, e. g. *fra-* = Gr. *πρό* in Gothic and in West Germanic.

§ 43. Class III. Goth. *fra-kunþs* A.S. *fra-coð* 'despised': cp. Skr. *prá-jñāta-s* 'different, recognisable'. O.H.G. *frá-tāt*

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'transgression': cp. Gr. *πρό-θεσις* 'a setting forth', Lith. *pra-dėti* 'to begin' *prā-džia* 'beginning'. As regards the accent see § 19, 3 p. 37. Goth. *af-stass* f. 'separation, defection': cp. Gr. *ἀπό-στασις* 'separation, defection'. O.H.G. *in-ziht* f. 'accusation': Lat. *in-dictiō*, Gr. *ἔν-δειξις* 'an information'.

Goth. *anda-nahti* n. 'the time towards night': cp. Lith. *añt-kaklė* 'that which one has on one's neck (*añt kãklo*), burden', Gr. *ἄντα, ἀντί*. *uf-áiþeis* 'under an oath, bound by an oath': cp. Gr. *ὑπ-ισπίδιος*. *faúra-daúri* 'that which is before the door, street': cp. Gr. *παρα-θαλάσσιος*.

Goth. *miþ-gasinþa* m. 'travelling companion', Mid.H.G. *mit-erbelinc* 'co-heir': Gr. *μέτα*. Goth. *ufaŕ-fullei* O.H.G. *ubar-fulli* f. 'superabundance': Skr. *upári*.

O.H.G. *niwiht* Mid.H.G. *niht* 'nothing' contrasted with Goth. *ni vaíhts* 'nothing' *ni vaihtái* 'in nothing, not at all': Goth. *vaíhts* 'thing, something'; we have also O.H.G. *neowiht* 'nothing' for *ni ēo wiht* 'no thing at all'. O.H.G. *neoman* Mid.H.G. *nieman* 'no one' for *ni ēo man*, cp. Goth. *ni manna* and *manna ni* 'no one'.

§ 44. Class IV. O.H.G. *drī-zug* A.S. *drī-tiȝ* 'thirty' = Goth. *þreis tigjus*, acc. *þrins tiguns*; O.H.G. *zwein-zug* A.S. *twēn-tiȝ twēn-tiȝ* 'twenty' was derived from old phrases containing a dative, cp. Goth. *tváim tigum* 'duabus decadibus'. Other instances of this kind do not occur until later periods. Thus Mod.H.G. *jung-geselle* 'bachelor' *neu-jahr* 'New Year' *ober-rock* 'overcoat' are from the Mid.H.G. phrases *junc geselle* 'young comrade' *niuwe jār*, *ober roc*, and these forms are therefore stem-compounds (Class I) only in appearance. Mod.H.G. *jeder-mann* 'every one', gen. *jedermanns*, from *jeder mann* 'every man'. From the common phrases in which a preposition (*ze*, *in* etc.) was combined with a place-name consisting of adjective and substantive, arose new nominative forms, as Mid.H.G. *Hōhen-burc*, *Hōhen-vels*; cp. the nom. sing. *Schwāben* from *zen Swāben* (dat. pl.).

Many compounds in Germanic contain the genitive. In High German these continually grew more numerous; their

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developement out of mere phrases may often be traced in the literary monuments of the language, e. g. Mod.H.G. *hungersnōt* from Mid.H.G. *hungers nōt*, *Baierland* from O.H.G. *Beiero lant*.

O.H.G. (Alemann.) *Zios-tac* A.S. *Tīwes-dæg* O.Icel. *Týs-dagr* 'Tiu's (Zio's) day, Tuesday', cp. gen. Gr. *Δι(Ϝ)ός* Skr. *div-ás*. Similarly O.H.G. *donares-tag* A.S. *ðunres-dæg* O.Icel. *þórs-dagr* 'Thursday'.

Goth. *baúrgs-vaddjus* 'wall of a fortress or city' from *baúrg-* 'fortress, city'. Instead of *dulgis skula* 'he who has a debt (*dulg-s* m.) to pay, debtor' (Luke 7, 41) it is perhaps better to write *dulgisskula*. Crim.-Goth. *hæmis-clep* would no doubt in Wulfila's Gothic appear as **háimis-hláifs* 'house-bread'.

O.H.G. *gotes-hūs* 'God's house', *hundes-fliuga* (beside *hunt-fliuga*) 'dog-fly', *Suābo-lant* 'Swabia', *hanin-fuoz* 'crow-foot' (name of a plant, lit. 'hen's-foot'), *ohsin-zunga* 'ox-tongue' (name of a plant), *gerstūn-korn* 'barley corn', *Franchōno-tal* 'Frankenthal' (valley of the Franks); with these latter forms containing the gen. sing. or pl. of *n*-stems cp. § 40 Rem. 4 p. 72. In this class (not in Class I, § 40) should no doubt be placed the further examples O.H.G. *truhti-gomo* 'follower' *brūti-gomo* 'bridegroom'. In the Mid.H.G. period first occur compounds with the gen. pl. *aller*, as *aller-best*, *aller-grōzest*; in O.H.G. we have the phrase *allero bezzist*. From the beginning of the Modern period substantives are compounded with adjectives in forms like *manns-toll* (Mid.H.G. *mannes tol*) *'ἀνδρομανής'* *geistes-arm* (cp. (cp. Mid.H.G. *lasters arm*) 'poor in spirit'.

In Mod.H.G. it was often forgotten that *-s* was a sign of the genitive in such compounds as *hunds-fliege*. Hence many new formations; on the one hand, forms like *hilfstruppen* 'auxiliary troops' *nahrungsmittel* 'means of subsistence, provisions' from *hilfe* and *nahrung*, gen. sing. *hilfe*, *nahrung* (Grimm, D. Gr. II 922); on the other hand forms like *bauersmann reitersmann* instead of *bauermann* 'countryman' *reitermann* 'cavalry-man'. Similarly in English occurs *doomsday*: A.S. *dōmdæg*, *herdsman*: Mid.Eng. *herde-man*. Cp. § 17.

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Remark. Compounds containing a dative or accusative governed by the second member do not seem to occur in Gothic nor in the older periods of High German. In any case we must reject the view (Mahlow, Die langen Vocale p. 100) that Gothic *seinai-gairnái* '*φίλαυτοι*' (gloss on 2 Tim. 3, 2) contains a dat.-loc. and means 'desiring for his own, i. e. for himself'. It is a matter of choice whether to regard this, like the reading *láusaivaúrdái* beside *láusavaúrdái* '*ματαιολόγοι*' (Tit. 1, 10), as a mere mistake in writing, or to assume that the scribe wished to represent the sound of *ĕ* instead of *ă*, following the pronunciation of his day; cp. *Sunjai-friþas* (Lat. *Sunniefridus*) in the Naples Document (Wulfila ed. Bernhardt p. 649), where *ai* is certainly to be read as *ĕ*.

The close connexion between the nom. sing. *ein* and the oblique cases of *ander*, which was established in O.H.G., produced the Mid. and Mod.H.G. *ein-ander*. In O.H.G. we still find such a phrase as *sie sind ein anderen ungelīh* 'they are unlike each other' (lit. 'one to others'). Cp. Skr. *anyō-'nya-* § 24 p. 41.

Balto-Slavonic.

§ 45. During the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic only a few new uses seem to have been developed. Two points may be mentioned.

1. The original Indo-Germanic compounds with **n̥-* 'un-' (Class II) gave way to compounds with **ne* 'not'. Cp. Lith. *ne-gãlė* 'weakness, sickness, disease' O.C.Sl. *ne-mošti* 'feebleness, weakness', with Lat. *in-valitūdō* O.H.G. *un-maht*. Besides **ne-*, another particle, which appears in Lith. as *bè*, in O.C.Sl. as *bezŭ*, and is connected with Skr. *bahiš* 'outside, without', had no doubt begun to be used as a negative prefix; cp. Lith. *be-dùgnis* O.C.Sl. *bez-dŭnŭ* 'groundless', Lith. *be-dẽvis* O.C.Sl. *bez-bogŭ* 'godless'.

2. The compound adjectival declension came into use, as Lith. *geràs-is* 'the good (masc.)' = *gẽras jìs* (I § 147 p. 131), O.C.Sl. *novŭ-jĭ novy-jĭ* 'the new (masc.)' (I § 84 p. 80).

§ 46. Lithuanian.

Class I. The nom. sing. of compounds of this group generally ends in *-is* masc. (gen. *-io*) and *-ė* fem. (cp. § 63).

Stems in *-o-*. Where the second member begins in a consonant, *-a-* is found less and less frequently in the course

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of the literary period; the conditions of its loss still need careful investigation (cp. I § 636 p. 477, § 664, 1. 2 p. 522). The old form *veida-mainis* is now *veid-mainỹs* ('changing the countenance') 'hypocrite' from *véida-s* 'countenance'. Old form *auksa-kasis*, moderr *áuks-kasis* 'gold-digger' from *áuksa-s* 'gold'. *darbā-vėtė* 'place of work' from *dárba-s* 'work', *svetimā-szalis* 'foreigner, stranger' from *svėtima-s* 'strange', *gera-dėjis* 'benefactor', *visa-galįs* (beside *vis-galįs*) 'all-powerful, almighty' (or perhaps the last two contain an acc. neut., and belong to Class IV?). *szón-kaulis* ('side-bone') 'rib' from *szóna-s* 'side of the body', *vilk-paũtis* 'wolf's egg' (a kind of malodorous fungus) from *vil̃ka-s* 'wolf', *minkszt-prõtis* 'weak in mind, soft-head' from *mìnkszta-s* 'soft, tender'. In Prussian *-a-* is generally kept, e. g. *lauca-gerto* 'partridge' from *lauka-n* acc. 'field', *labba-segīsna-n* acc. 'benefit' from *labba-s* 'good'.

Where the second member begins in a vowel, *-a-* is always dropped, e. g. *vėn-ākis* 'one-eyed man' from *vẽna-s* 'one'. In Prussian on the other hand (as in Slavonic, § 47) the stem-final is kept; *dago-augis* 'summer shoot or sprout' beside *daga-gaydis* 'summer wheat' (cp. *deina-algenika-* below, p. 80).

Forms containing the suffix *-i̯o-*. We still find *-ja-* in the older authorities, e. g. *nauja-vedis* 'newly married man' from *naũja-s* 'new'; cp. Pruss. *caria-woytis karige-wayte* 'review' (*g* in *karige-* = *j*), *crauya-wirps* 'blood-letter' from *crauyo krawia* 'blood'. In the modern language *-i̯o-* stems are treated as though they were stems in *-o-* or *-i-*. The stem-final has been lost e. g. in *jaut-vedė* 'leading-rope for oxen', *jáut-akis* 'ox-eye' (a plant) from *jáutis -čžio* 'ox', *vėžligė* 'cancer' from *vėžỹ-s* 'crayfish', *krau-leidỹs* 'blood-letter' from *kraũja-s* 'blood'; examples with *-a-* are *grėbl-ā-kotis* 'rake-handle' from *grėblỹ-s*, *broł-ā-vaikis* 'brother's son' from *bróli-s*. Cp. also *naujì-kaulis* 'bony excrescence'.

Remark 1. We meet with spellings like *nauj-veda* beside *nau-vedà* 'newly married man', *krauj-gyslė* 'vein of blood', *vėj-malūnis* 'windmill' (cp. *bažnýcz-kẽmis* beside *bažnýt-kẽmis* below). These forms cannot be said to represent the stage preceding the loss of the *j*, which is only restored in them from the uncompounded word.

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Remark 2. This treatment of *i̯o*-stems in composition, which is also found in Lettic, reminds us of the treatment of the same stems where they are extended by derivative suffixes: *jáut-akis* like *jaut-ùžis jaut-áitis* 'little ox'. The form *žem-obůlỹs* (from *žẽmė*), which will be noticed further on, should be compared with *karv-ùžė karv-áite* 'little cow' from *kárvė* 'cow'. In Prussian *kel-laxde* 'spear-shaft' (beside *kelia-n* 'spear') seems to correspond to these Lithuanian compounds.

Stems in *-ā-*. *-ō-* is quite rare; the example *szikszn̆ó-sparnis* 'bat' was mentioned on p. 25. These stems are usually treated like stems in *-o-*. *galva-žudỹs* and *galv-žudỹs* 'murderer' from *galvà* 'head'. *vasarā-sziltis* 'warmth of summer'. *barzd-skutỹs* 'beard-shaver, barber' from *barzdà* 'beard'. *nugar̃-kaulis* 'backbone' from *nugarà* 'back'. *bal-ùpė* 'moorland stream' from *balà* 'moor, marsh', *vasar-augis* 'this year's shoot' from *vasarà* 'summer', like *vẽn-ākis*; cp. on the other hand Pruss. *deina-algenikamans* dat. 'to day-labourers' from *deina-n* acc. f. 'day (Lith. nom. *dẽnà*).

Feminines in *-ia -ė -i* are treated like the *-i̯o-* stems. *gìr-parszis* 'little wild pig' from *gìria gìrė* 'wood'. *bažnýt-kẽmis* (also *bažnýcz-kẽmis*, see Rem. 1) 'village with a church' from *bažnýczia* 'church' (borrowed from Slav.). *žẽm-skirė* 'landmark, field-boundary', *žem-obůlỹs* 'earth-apple' from *žẽmė* 'earth'. *mar̃t-mergė* 'bridesmaid' from *martì*, gen. *marcziõs*, 'bride'. An example with *-a-* is *kregžd-a-žolė* 'swallow-wort' from *kregždė* 'swallow'. In Prussian, the feminines which correspond to the Lith. feminines in *-ė* show *-e-* and *-i-*, the equivalents of Lith. *-ė-*, e. g. *ape-witwo* 'river-willow, osier' from *ape*, Lith. *ùpė* 'stream', *wosi-grabis* 'spindle-tree' from *wosee* 'goat' (Lith. **ožė*, cp. masc. *ožỹ-s*).

Stems in *-i̯-*. *tri-rą̃žis* 'three-pronged'. In words of more than one syllable *-i-* is rare, e. g. *naktì-kovis* 'roving at night'. The forms are usually without *-i-*, as *ak-mirkis* 'twinkling of an eye, moment' from *akì-s* 'eye', *ánt-kiauszis* 'duck's egg' from *ánti-s* 'duck'; cp. Pruss. *perst-lansta-n* 'dust-window, window-shutter' beside O.C.Sl. *prŭstŭ* f. 'dust'. Here and there we have *a-*, as *ugn-ā-vėtė* 'fireplace' from *ugnì-s* 'fire' (cp. *darbā-vėtė*).

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Remark 3. These stems may have first followed the analogy of stems in *-o-* (*ugn-a-*, and then dropped the *-a-* (*ak- aut-*), or else the *-i-*, where it does not occur, may have fallen out by regular phonetic change, leaving the forms to be remodelled by the analogy of compounds like *darbā-vėtė*. In any case this group of compounds also (see Rem. 2) must be compared with diminutival formations like *ak-ùžė* 'little eye' *ugn-ùžis* 'little fire' etc.

Remark 4. *aky-mojis* = *akiu mojis* 'moment, twinkling of an eye' *aky-mõju* 'instantaneously' (which we can scarcely suppose to have been influenced by forms like *aký-ti aký-la-s* etc.) may perhaps contain the nom. acc. du. used as the dual stem, *akì* for **akĩ*, see I § 664 p. 523. Cp. the retention of the original *ī* in *trý-lika* 'thirteen'. Whether *ie* in Bretken's *akie-mirksnis* 'moment' (Bezzenberger's Beitr. zur Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 270) stands for *ia* is doubtful. — It may be asked in passing how we should how regard the *y* in *aby-puse͂* 'on both sides', which contains the dual *abì pusì*, where *abì* comes from **abẽ*. Should we compare (in spite of the different accentuation) the relation of *apy-* to *api- apẽ*, of *pry-* to *pri- prẽ-*?

Stems in *-u-*. *-u-* was on the whole rather better preserved than *-a-* and *-i-*. *alù-daris* 'brewer' from *alù-s* 'beer'. *virszù-galvis* 'upper part of the head, crown' from *virszù-s* 'upper (part)'. The loss of *-u-* (*-i̯u-*) and the intrusion of *-a-* in its stead appear to be connected with the partial transition of *u*-stems into the *o*-decl.: *pẽt-valgis* 'midday meal' from *pẽtūs* pl. 'midday', *žmog-žudỹs* 'murderer of men' *žmog-ėdỹs* 'devourer of men' from *žmogù-s* 'man', *gyr-pelnỹs* 'ambitious person, braggart' from *gỹriu-s* 'fame', *pig-ā-kalbis* beside *pig-kal̃bis* 'proficient in speaking' from *pigù-s* 'easy, cheap'. The form *plãcz-kojis* beside *plat-kójis* 'broad-foot' (*platù-s* 'broad') is explained by reference to the cases which have *-i̯o-*, as dat. sing. *plačiá-m*, cp. *bažnýcz-kẽmis* beside *bažnýt-kẽmis* p. 79.

Amongst consonantal stems there is scarcely a single example of a genuine type which has not undergone some destructive change in the course of its developement. *szùn-obůlei* pl. ('dog's-apples') 'hawthorn' from *szů̃*, gen. *szuñs*, 'dog', like Gr. *κυν-ῶπις*, can scarcely be considered a direct representative of an original type; this is shewn by the forms *szun-musẽ* 'dog-fly' *szuñ-szãdis* 'stercus caninum', which by the rules of formation in Indo-Germanic should have been **szvin-* (= Skr. *śva-* Idg. **kṷṇ-*). *móter-žolės pl.* 'mother-wort'

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(from *móte*, gen. *moterš*, 'woman') shows the strong form of the stem, in contrast to the original type.

Class II. Of this class there is no trace in Baltic.

Class III. *pra-miñtas* 'named': Skr. *prá-mata-s* 'contrived, uttered'. *pér-pintas* 'plaited crosswise': O.C.Sl. *prě-pętŭ* 'drawn outwards, outspread'; *pér-jůstas* 'girt over, girt about': Gr. *περί-ζωστος* 'girt about'.

pér-galvė 'that which is laid over or around the head, hood': cp. Gr. *περι-κέφαλον περι-κεφαλαίᾱ* 'head-covering'. *apý-vakaris* 'the time towards evening' (*apẽ vākarą*). *pa-stalẽ* 'drawer under the table (*pō stalù*)'.

āt-laikas āt-lēkas 'remnant': O.C.Sl. *otŭ-lěkŭ*. *sán-dora* 'concord', *są-szlavos* pl. 'sweepings': cp. O.C.Sl. *są-* Skr. *sam-*.

ne-kàs 'scarcely any one, hardly any one'. *ne-vẽna-s* 'not only one, not alone', but Pruss. *ne-ains ni-ains* 'no one', cp. Lat. *noenu-m nōn*.

Class IV. *dù-szimtu* 'two hundred' *trỹ-szimtai* 'three hundred' (for **trys-szimtai* according to I § 664, 6 p. 524) beside *dù szimtù* = *trỹ(s) szimtaĩ*. *trý-lika* 'thirteen' *keturió-lika* 'fourteen' no doubt contain the nom. acc. pl. neut. Accusative forms: *szį̃-mẽt* 'this year', *szę̃-nãkt* 'this night', *aną̃-syk* 'that time' for *szį̃ mẽtą*, *szę̃ nãktį*, *aną̃ sykį*. We have no doubt instrumentals in *szè-pus* 'on this side' *anà-pus* 'on that side' from *pùsė* 'half'. *aby-puseĩ* 'on both sides' is formed from *abì pusì* 'both sides' (cp. Rem. 4). Du. nom. masc. *jů̃-du* fem. *jẽ-dvi*, dat. instr. masc. *jẽm-dvẽm* fem. *jóm-dvẽm*, from *jìs* 'he' and *dù* 'two', similarly du. *pacziù-du* from *pàts* 'self', with other forms of the same sort.

In some dialects we find *kas-vākaras* adj. 'every evening' *kas-mẽts* adj. 'every year', originally subordinate relative clauses, i. e. 'which ever evening (year) it may be' (the Author, Lit. Volksl. u. Märch. 320, and for a similar usage in Slavonic see Miklosich, Vergl Gr. II 376, IV 87). In other dialects the analogy of accusatives of time like *tą̃* (*szį̃*) *vākarą* 'in the evening (this evening)' gave rise to *kasvākarą*, *kasmẽtą*, similarly *kasdẽną* 'daily' and other forms; and, with loss of the

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ending, *kasmẽt kasdẽn* etc.; and further, derivatives like *kasdẽnis kasdẽnìnis* 'daily'. Cp. Lat. *quotannīs* § 36 p. 63.

Compounds having a dependent genitive for their first member are rare; e. g. *szuns-ûdẽgius* ('dog-tailed person') 'flatterer, fawner' from *szů̃*, gen. *szuñs*, 'dog'. There are more examples in Lettic, as *ſemes-mâte* 'earth-goddess' from *ſeme* = Lith. *žẽmė* 'earth'.

Remark 5. How are we to regard *bùts-angė* 'house-door' (*bùta-s* 'house'), and Lett. *gads-kárta* 'time of year' (*gads* 'year', stem *gada-*) which seems to be a form of the same kind? Was there a stem **butes-*? (No great importance perhaps should be attached to the Prussian form *buttas-tawis* beside *buttan-tāws* and *butta-tawas* 'house-father').

Further, what is the origin of the *y* in *karsztýmetis* 'hot time' (*kárszta-s* 'hot', *kaĩszti-s* m. 'heat'), *brangýmetis* 'dear time, dearth' (*brangù-s* 'dear'), *darbýmetis* 'work-time' (*dárba-s* 'work'), *vasarýmetis* 'summer time' (*vasarà* 'summer')? Should we start from the nom. pl. *karsztì mẽtai* (cp. *aby-puseĩ* from *abì pusì*, Rem. 4) or a form **karsztỹn-mẽtai*? For the general use of the ending *-ymetis* cp. Gr. *-ηφόρος -ηγενής* § 29 Rem. p. 47.

kìts kìtą 'one another' is now regarded so much as a single word that the first part retains its masculine form even when the subject is feminine. In Bretken (16th century) we still find *moterìszkės gẽdója prẽsz kitù kítą* 'the women sang against each other'.

§ 47. Slavonic. Class I. Many of the following examples are not popular combinations, but a scholar's translations of Greek compounds.

Stems in *-o-*. The stem has *-o-*, whether the second member begins with a consonant or a sonant. O.C.Sl. *bogo-rodica* 'mother of God' from *bogŭ* 'God', *črĭno-vlasŭ* 'black-haired' from *črĭnŭ* 'black', *črĭno-okŭ* 'black-eyed', *bogo-izbranŭ* 'chosen of God'. *bogo-učenŭ* 'taught of God'.

Forms with *-je-* from *-jo-* (I § 84 p. 80): *voje-voda* 'leader of a host' from *voji* pl. 'warriors, soldiers', *lŭže-prorokŭ* 'false prophet', from *lŭžĭ* 'lying, false', *gnoje-imenitŭ* 'κοπρώνυμος' (nickname of a Byzantine emperor) from *gnojĭ* 'dung', *maže-ubijĭca* 'homicida' from *mažĭ* 'man'. Through the preponderance of the forms with *-o-*, this sound often took the place of pr.

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Slav. *-e-* in later Slavonic, e. g. Serv. *konjo-zobica* ('equum nutriens') 'bag of fodder'.

Stems in *-ā-* always show the ending of the *o*-stems. *vodo-nosŭ* 'water-vessel' from *voda* 'water', *rąko-pĭsanije* (*χειρόγραφον*) 'bill of debt, bond' from *rąka* 'hand'; *rąko-obyčĭnŭ* 'accustomed to the hand, tame'. *zemlje-mĕrije* 'land-measurement, geometry' from *zemlja* 'land', *zmije-nožĭnŭ* 'snake-footed, with feet of or like snakes' from *zmija* 'snake', *duše-gubĭnŭ* 'destroying the soul, annihilating' from *duša* 'soul', *zmije-obrazĭnŭ* 'having the form of a snake', *duše-ubĭjĭca* 'murderer of souls'. Serv. *zmijo-glav* 'snake-headed' for the older and true form *zmije-*.

Stems in *-i-*. *trĭ-zǫbŭ* 'trident' from *tri* 'three'. Many examples have *-o-*, following the analogy of *o*-stems: as *gosto-ljubivŭ* 'hospitable' from *gostĭ* 'stranger, guest', *zvěro-vidĭnŭ* 'having the appearance of a wild beast' from *zvěrĭ* 'wild beast', *sŭmrĭto-nosivŭ* 'death-bringing' from *sŭmrĭtĭ* 'death', *zvěro-obrazĭnŭ* 'having the form of a wild beast'. We often find *-e-* (but this is late), e. g. *zvěre-vidĭnŭ* beside *zvěro-vidĭnŭ*, *zvěre-imenitĭnŭ* beside *zvěro-imenitĭnŭ* 'named after an animal', *pąte-vožděĭ* 'guide'.

Remark. It is a question whether in the latter examples *-e-* is the *e* of the stems in *-jo-* (*voje-* etc.), as Osthoff assumes (Verb. in d. Nominalc. 213), or the *e* of forms like *pątemĭ* for *pątĭmĭ* (I § 36 p. 36, Leskien, Handb.[2] p. 21 ff.). Osthoff's view seems to be the true one.

Stems in *-u-* have *-o-*. *syno-tvorjenije* '*υἱοθεσία*, reception into the position of a son' from *synŭ* 'son'. *medo-točĭnŭ* 'sweet-streaming' from *medŭ* 'honey'. Compare the transference of *u*-stems to the *o*-declension, which is found in the very earliest authorities; such forms as *synochŭ* instead of *synŭchŭ* (I § 52 p. 44, and Leskien, Handb.[2] p. 21 ff.), need hardly be taken into account; see the last Remark. As regards *medvědĭ* see § 12 p. 26.

krŭv-o-politije 'bloodshed' from the stem *krŭv-* 'blood', gen. sing. *krŭv-e*, Idg. stem **qruu̯-* **qrū-*, cp. Gr. *ἰχθυ-ο-φάγος*. Yet the forms with *-o-* may not have sprung up until after some

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of the cases of the word had been formed afresh in the *i*-declension, as nom. *krŭv-ĭ*.

Stems in *-n-*. *kamen-o-vidĭnŭ* 'having the appearance of a stone' from *kamy* 'stone'. *imen-o-nosĭnŭ* 'bearing a name' from *imę* 'name'. The original types of formation seem to have completely disappeared.

Stems in *-r-*. *matere-dosaditelĭ* and *matere-ubijĭca* 'matricide' like *zvěre-vidĭnŭ* (see p. 84 above). Beside these we have, without *-o-*, *četvrě-gubŭ* 'quadruplus' for **četver-gubŭ*.

Stems in *-s-*. Generally *-o-* appears instead of *-es-*; *čudo-točĭnŭ* 'sending forth wonders, spreading them abroad' from *čudo* 'wonder', *oko-izmetĭnŭ* 'casting out the eye' (on the other hand Russ. and Serv. have *oče-*, Russ. *oče-vidnyj* 'appearing to the eye') from *oko* 'eye'; compare the transference of forms from the *es*-declension to that of *o*-stems, as instr. sing. *nebomĭ* beside *nebesĭmĭ*. More rarely we find *-es-o-*, as *čudes-o-točĭnŭ* beside *čudo-točĭnŭ*, *nebes-o-podražatelĭnŭ* 'imitating heaven', cp. loc. pl. *nebeseχŭ* instead of *nebesĭchŭ*.

Of Class II no examples remain in Slavonic.

Class III. *pro-strĭtŭ* 'outstretched': cp. Skr. *prá-stīrṇa-s* 'stretched forth, outspread'. *u-vęstŭ* 'crowned' *u-vęsti* 'to crown': cp. Pruss. *au-klipt-s* 'hidden' Skr. *áva-hata-s* 'struck back, driven off; slain'. *iz-ętŭ* 'taken out' *iz-ęti* 'to take out': Lith. *isz-iñta-s isz-iñti*.

pri-morije 'the region by the sea' (*pri mori*). *na-glavije* 'turban' (that which is on the head [*na glavě*]). Cp. Miklosich, Denkschr. d. Wiener Ak. XIII 19 f.

są-logŭ 'consors tori': cp. Gr. *ἄ-λοχος*, Idg. **som- *sm̥-* 'together, with'. *pa-dŭšti* 'step-daughter': Lith. *pó-dukra*.

Class IV. *bratŭ-sestra* 'brother and sister'; this was inflected like the nom. du. of an *o*-stem, hence *bratŭsestroma*; compare the dimin. *bratŭsestrĭca*. *Jisusŭ-Christosŭ* has gen. *Jisusŭ-Christosa*. *dŭva-desętĭnŭ* 'twentieth' (beside *dvo-desętĭnŭ*), derived from *dŭva deseti* ('two decades') 'twenty'. Many similar examples occur in modern Slavonic dialects; e. g. in Polish *wielka-noc* ('great night') 'Easter' has gen. dat. *wielkanocy*.

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polu-nošti 'in the middle (loc.) of the night (gen.), at midnight', and similarly *polu-dĭne* 'at midday'; compare *polu-noštije* 'midnight' *polu-dĭnije* 'midday', *polu-noštĭnŭ* adj. 'of midnight' *polu-dĭnĭnŭ* adj. 'of midday'. *obonŭpolĭnŭ* 'situated on the further bank', derived from *obŭ onŭ polŭ* 'on that side, on the further bank'. *pętĭ-na-desętĭnŭ* 'fifteenth', derived from *pętĭ na desęte* ('five on ten') 'fifteen'. With *-o-*, the 'vowel of composition', inserted: *osmo-na-desętŭ* 'eighteenth', cp. Gr. *καλο-κἀγαθία* § 30 p. 51. Compare on this subject Baudouin de Courtenay in Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. IV 204 ff.

krŭvi-prolitije (beside *kruv-o-prolitije*, see above) 'bloodshed', gen. of *krŭpĭ* 'blood'. *domu-zakonĭnikŭ* 'house-manager', gen. or loc. of *domŭ* 'house'. *bratu-čęda* (beside *brato-čęda*) 'brother's daughter', dat. (possessive dat.) of *bratŭ* 'brother', *bogu-mrĭzŭkŭ* (beside *bogo-mrĭzŭkŭ*) 'hated of God' *bogu-milŭ* (beside *bogo-milŭ*) 'dear to God' (proper name), dat. of *bogŭ* 'God'. *doma-čędĭcĭ* 'domi natus, vernaculus' *doma-živĭcĭ* 'living at a place, inhabitant', *doma* adv. 'at home' from *domŭ*. As the special meaning given by the case of the first member became obscured, there sprang up formations like Czech. *Bohu-sud* on the analogy of *Bohu-mil*, cp. O.C.Sl. *bogo-sądĭně* adv. 'dei iudicio'.

The *-i-* appearing in the cases of the *i*-stems (*krŭvi-prolitije*) was connected in popular usage with verbs in *-iti* and treated as having an imperatival force. Such a form, for instance, as *Mĭsti-drugŭ* (Czech. *Msti-druh*) was properly 'ultionis socius', *mĭsti* being gen. of *mĭstĭ* 'vengeance'; but since *mĭsti* was also 2. sing. impv. of *mĭstiti* 'to avenge', the word came to be regarded as meaning 'ulciscere socium'. This change of meaning produced a large number of compounds which were either formed on the new type, or altered to suit it, e. g. Serv. *Ljubí-voj* ('love the warrior', *ljubiti* 'to love') instead of **Ljubo-voj*, cp. *Ljubo-brat* '*φιλάδελφος*'. See Osthoff, Verbum i. d. Nom. p. 209 ff. Cp. § 30. 41.

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NOUN COMPOUNDS CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR MEANING.

§ 48. In Stem-Compounds of the proethnic Indo-Germanic type (e. g. Skr. *aśva-hayá-s* Gr. *ἱππό-βοτο-ς*) the nature of the relation which the first member of the compound bore to the second was quite undefined to start with. It was implied solely in the particular meaning which happened to be assigned to any one such combination. The logical relation between the two parts must naturally have assumed a different character in different cases. If the parts of a compound meant 'sun' and 'moon' respectively, the logical connexion between them would not be the same as if they meant 'sun' and 'beam'. 'sun *and* moon' in the first case, 'beam *of* the sun' in the second. If words meaning 'man' and 'slaying' were compounded, they would be related in one way ('slaying a man'); words meaning 'spear' and 'slaying', in another ('slaying with the spear'). A number of compounds whose parts had the same logical connexion would form a group, and many such groups arose in the proethnic Indo-Germanic period. Hence even the proethnic compounds of noun-stems may be arranged in a series of Classes according to their meaning. These Classes, we shall find, need no serious extension to include all the compounds of this kind formed at later times in the separate languages.

The compounds whose initial member was a definite inflexional form have a different history. From the first this inflected form gave to the relation between the parts a perfectly defined meaning, e. g. Skr. *divi-já-* 'born in heaven', *divō-rúc-* 'shining from heaven'. It must be observed, however, that in later times the special meaning attached to the inflexional ending of the initial member was often forgotten. Cp. § 17 p. 32 f.

The native grammarians of India and modern students of language in Europe have devoted much labour to the task of classifying compounds according to their meaning.

Remark. It must be confessed that in these attempts at classification scholars have almost from first to last allowed too much influence to a

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desire for logical symmetry, and too little to the true historical method, which abstains from all criticism that is merely *a priori* and that is not directly suggested by and limited to the nature of the facts to be studied. In particular it is often forgotten that in most compounds the mutual relation of the two parts in the mind of the speaker which the scholar has to reproduce is a conception far too indefinite and variable to be confidently assigned, as too often it is, to this one or that of the numerous classes of meaning. Hence there has often been a needless amount of contention as to whether a compound belongs to one class or the other, whether for example Skr. *sakhi-gaṇa-* (*sakhi-* 'friend', *gaṇa-* 'band') is one of the Dependent [Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1263] or of the Descriptive [ib. § 1279] compounds (whether it is equivalent to 'amicorum caterva' or 'amica caterva'); or whether *πατρο-* in *πατρο-φονεύς* 'patricide' is to be regarded as genitive or accusative. But as a rule these precise relations of meaning were simply imported into the words by the grammarian — a mistake natural enough where a paraphrase was needed to render the compounds into other languages — whilst the speakers themselves were content with a general impression of the meaning. If the established canons are to be strictly maintained, we must at least allow a large number of intermediate stages, in which the different classes meet.

§ 49. There are two leading principles by which we can distinguish the different kinds of compounds, which go back to the proethnic period and which are of primary importance in any attempt to classify the compounds according to their meanings. First 'coordinating compounds, (called in Sanskrit *dvandva*) are opposed to 'subordinating compounds'; and secondly 'non-epithetised' (nicht mutierte) are opposed to 'epithetised' (mutierte) compounds'. But in neither pair were the contrasted classes ever absolutely distinct; there were always various intermediate stages between one class and the other.

In the first of the two contrasted classes, the coordinating compounds, the two members stand side by side on the same level, nothing more being implied than the addition of two items; these may be regarded as joined together by 'and', whence such compounds have been called 'copulative'. In subordinating compounds, on the other hand, one member is defined more closely by the other; the one contains the principal idea, the other is merely an adjunct subordinated to it.

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The subordinating compounds certainly formed by far the larger group in the Indo-Germanic period, and so it has remained in nearly all the subsequent developements of the separate languages (Sanskrit is an exception, see p. 90 f.). The way in which one of the two members was defined by the other was shewn in each case by their meaning or grammatical character, and in all periods it has varied between very wide limits. We may instance the following groups of compounds with parallel meanings in the different languages.

1. Skr. *rāja-ṛṣi-ṣ* 'a sage who is a king, royal sage' Gr. *ἰᾱτρό-μαντις* 'a seer who is a physician', Lat. *angui-pēs* 'having a foot which is a serpent, serpent-footed', O.Ir. *rīg-fāith* 'a prophet who is a king, royal prophet' *ban-chu* 'a dog which is a female, bitch', Goth. *þiu-magus* 'a boy who is a servant' (translation of *παῖς*) O.H.G. *gold-ring* 'a ring which is gold, gold ring', Lith. *óbel-medis* 'a tree which is a pyrus malus (*obelis*), apple-tree', O.C.Sl. *konje-člověkŭ* 'a man who is a horse, centaur'.

2. Skr. *mātṛ-ṣvasar-* 'mother's sister', Armen. *skesr-air* 'mother-in-law's husband', Gr. *πατρ-άδελφος* 'father's brother', Lat. *mūs-cerda* 'mouse's dung', O.Ir. *rīg-thech* 'king's house', Goth. *þiudan-gardi* f. 'king's house', Lith. *broł-ā-vaikis* 'brother's child' O.C.Sl. *brato-čęda* 'brother's daughter'. Cp. compounds containing genitive forms like Skr. *mātuḥ-ṣvasar-* 'mother's sister', Armen. *haur-elbair* 'father's brother'.

3. Skr. *adhara-hanú-ṣ* 'lower jawbone', Armen. *kaj-air* 'valiant man', Gr. *ἀκρό-πολις* 'upper city, upper part of the city', Lat. *plēni-lūnium* 'full moon' *longi-pēs* 'having a long foot', O.Ir. *find-fólt* 'having white hair', Goth. *hráinja-hairts* 'having a pure heart', O.H.G. *junc-frouwa* 'young lady', Lith. *jů́d-varnis* 'black raven' *rud-kāklis* 'having a red neck' O.C.Sl. *krivo-nosŭ* 'crook-nosed'.

4. Skr. *saptá-ṛṣay-as* pl. 'the seven wise men' (name given to the Great Bear) *tri-rātrá-m* 'space of time including three nights', Armen. *hing-am* 'five years, quinquennium', Gr. *τρί-πους* 'three-legged frame' *τέθρ-ιππον* 'team of four horses', Lat. *bi-pēs tri-noctium*, O.Ir. *tre-choste* 'tripod' Gall. *tri-garanus* 'provided

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with three cranes', O.H.G. *zwi-houbit* 'having two heads', Lith. *tri-rāẽis* 'having three prongs' O.C.Sl. *trĭ-zǫbŭ* 'having three teeth'.

5. Skr. *tāmra-dhūmrá-s* 'dark tan-coloured', Gr. *ὠχρό-ξανθος* 'pale yellow', O.Ir. *dub-glass* 'dark blue', Mid.H.G. *bleich-grüene* 'pale green', Lith. *jū́d-bėris* 'black-brown' Russ. *světlo-zelenyj* 'light green'.

6. Skr. *vēda-víd-* 'knowing the Veda, Veda-knower', Gr. *βου-πλήξ* 'goading oxen, ox-goad', Lat. *jū-dex* 'declaring right, judge'.

In this way a large number of categories may be distinguished; but the boundary line between any two is never clearly marked.

The coordinating compounds have nowhere been largely developed except in Sanskrit, and there only in the post-Vedic period. Probably there was a time in proethnic Indo-Germanic when no compounds of this class existed except those which had a case-form for their initial member, e. g. **dṷṓ-dekṃ* twelve' (2 + 10): Skr. *dvá-daša* etc., see § 16 p. 32; and *dvandva* compounds with a stem for the initial member only arose when compounds containing a case were re-modelled on the analogy of the older subordinating class, which had the simple stem. This process of conversion may often be traced with certainty in historical times, e. g. Skr. *parjánya-vāta* instead of the older form *parjányā-vātā* 'raincloud and wind' (§ 24 p. 41), cp. also Gr. *καλο-κάγαθία*, *νηλιπο-καιβλεπέλαιος*, O.C.Sl. *osmo-nadesętŭ* (§ 30 p. 51), and Skr. *pūrva-pūrvas* for *púrvas-pūrvas* and the like, § 53. The use of the stem instead of a case cemented the combination more firmly; and such a process would be all the more natural because many compounds of the subordinating class approach very closely to the coordinating compounds in regard to the particular relation subsisting between their parts, and there was never any sharp distinction between the two groups (cp. p. 91).

Whether *dvandva* compounds were formed with the simple stem in proethnic Aryan is doubtful. Even in the Rig-Veda, coordinating compounds containing the simple stem

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occur only rarely by the side of those containing a case; e. g. *ajāváyas* (*aja-aváyas*) pl. 'goats and sheep'. The extension of the class is a special developement in Sanskrit, spreading only by slow degrees, until in the classical language we find any number of nouns thus strung together into what was grammatically a single word, as *mukhabāhūrupādatas* (*mukha-bāhu--uru-pādatas*) 'from countenance, arms, thighs, and feet'. In non-Aryan languages, coordinating compounds containing a stem are, on the whole, comparatively rare. In Greek no clear examples occur until rather late, e. g. *λυρ-ασπιδ-* 'lyres and shields' seen in *τορνευτο-λυρασπιδο-πηγός* 'joining together turned lyres and shields'[1]), *νυχθ-ήμερον* 'diem noctemque', *λουτρὰ ἀνδρό--γυνα* 'baths for men and women alike', *λευκο-μέλας* 'white and black'; in Modern Greek there are many formations of this kind, as *γυναικό-παιδα* 'women and children', *μαχαιρο-πήρουνα* 'knives and forks'. Lat. *reci-procu-s*, originally 'going backwards and forwards (§ 86 *a*), *su-ove-taurīlia* (the form *su-ovi-taurīlia* is perhaps more correct) 'a sacrifice in which a pig, a sheep, and an ox are slain'. In Keltic and Germanic I know of no examples except those whose initial member may conceivably be a case, as Mid.Ir. *brat-gaisced* 'mantle and weapons' *gorm-gel* 'blue and white' O.H.G. *sunu-fatar-unyo* Hild. 4 'people of the son and the father' (*-unga-* is a suffix which denotes 'belonging to' something, cp. § 88) and O.Sax. *gi-sūn-fader* 'son and father', whose initial member may be nom. sing. (cp. O.C.Sl. *bratŭ-sestra*, where it is certainly so). Lith. *vyr-moterinis* 'concerning man and wife, concerning married people', Lett. *miſch-áuſas* 'barley and oats'; O.C.Sl. *mąže-ženŭ* 'having the nature of man and of woman, *ἀνδρόγυνος*' (Gregor. Naz.), Russ. *bělo-rumjanyj* 'white and red' (of the face).

We have already remarked that there is no fixed boundary between coordinating and subordinating compounds. The Greek *ἰατρό-μαντις*, which was placed in the latter class on p. 89, may

1) This would be a *dvandva* compound even if the scholiast's explanation were correct: *οἱ τορνεύοντι λύρας καὶ ἀσπίδας πηγνύοντι.*

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be also taken to mean 'one who is physician and seer', and similarly there are two possible explanations of such compounds as τραγ-έλαφος 'goat-stag' γλυκύ-πικρος 'bitter-sweet', Lat. *dulc-acidus*, and many more in all the Indo-Germanic languages.

§ 50. The distinction between the two classes of compounds which we term 'non-epithetised' and 'epithetised' (other terms widely used are 'primary' and 'secondary', compounds of 'lower' or of 'higher order'; the second class is called by the Sanskrit grammarians *bahuvrīhi*) depends upon a certain change of meaning in the compounds, developed in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and since that time constantly repeated in new-examples. For instance, **dus-menes-* 'evil-mind' (*immutatum*) acquired the meaning 'an evil-minded person' (*mutatum*) (nom. sing. Skr. *durmanās* Gr. δυσμενής), and in Modern German *dick-kopf* 'thick-head' means 'a thick-headed person' [cp. Eng. *redbreast* etc.] The essential point in this process is the conversion of a substantive into an adjective; the concrete meaning was disregarded, so that the idea remaining in the word was solely that of the quality or qualities which belonged to the concrete person or thing. This developement of meaning is one which may often be traced even in uncompounded substantives, and it will often meet us again in the course of our investigation. The substantival origin of these forms is still sometimes shewn in the deficient expression of their adjectival function; e. g. in Greek ῥοδοδάκτυλο- 'rosy-fingered' was used in spite of its *-o-* for the fem. as well as the masc., and χρῡσο-κόμη- 'golden-haired' in spite of its *-η-* for the masc. as well as the feminine. But extended formations were very soon developed to give fuller expression to the adjectival character of the compounds; for instance the adjectival *-io-* had come to be used as a convenient affix in the proethnic period: cp. Skr. *dáśa-mās-iya-* 'happening every ten months' etc., § 63, 2. It is probable, as we saw in § 19 p. 35, that there was even then a difference in accentuation between the *mutata* and the *immutata*.

The student must be on his guard against the idea that every epithetised compound in the Indo-Germanic languages

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has passed through this course of developement for itself. By far the greatest number were formed with the derived sense, on the model of older forms.

Both subordinating and coordinating compounds containing substantives are found with the epithetised meaning; e. g. Gr. *πολύ-οινος* 'having much wine' and *ἀνδρό-γυνος* 'intended for men and women' (*λουτρόν*). Examples have been given in the preceding section, and to these a few may be added from the group of subordinating compounds. Skr. *hiraṇya-kēśa-s* 'golden-haired', Armen. *hast-a-bazuk* 'strong-armed', Gr. *λευκ-ώλενος* 'white-armed', Lat. *māgn-animus*, O.Ir. *nocht-chenn* 'bare-headed', Goth. *hráinja-haírts* 'who has a pure heart', Lith. *minksztgalvis* 'who has a weak head' = 'soft-headed' O.C.Sl. *črino-vlasŭ* 'black-haired': cp. the non-epithetised compounds Skr. *adhara-hanú-ṣ* 'lower jawbone', Gr. *ἀκρό-πολις* 'upper city' etc. p. 89. Skr. *a-putrá-s* 'who has not a son, sonless' Armen. *an-kin* 'who has no wife, widower', Gr. *ἄ-παις* 'childless', Lat. *im-berbis*, Mod.Cymr. *an-niwedd* 'endless, unending' (from Mid.Cymr. *diwedd* 'end' = O.Ir. *dēad*); in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic there is no group of epithetised compounds with **n̥-* 'un-', but cp. Mod.H.G. *eine verfolgte unschuld* = 'innocent person', lit. 'persecuted innocence', Lith. *ne-kalbà* 'no-speech' = 'who says nothing'. Parallel to these are the non-epithetised compounds, Skr. *á-kumāra-s* 'no boy (any longer)', Lat. *in-imīcu-s*, O.H.G. *un-chraft* 'weakness', etc.

Finally we must observe that even between *mutata* and *immutata* no sharp line can be drawn. Take for example the Greek *ἄδωρα δῶρα* 'gifts that are no gifts' (Soph. Aj. 665). Here *ἄδωρα* may be regarded equally well as a substantive or an adjective; so also *πόλις νεόπτολις* (Aesch. Eumen. 690) and similar instances. In these the feeling of the language may be as undecided as it is e. g. in the Mod.H.G. phrases *es ist not* 'there is need of it, it is needed', *er ist schuld* 'he is the guilty cause, it is his fault' and the like. Speaking generally, no sharp distinction between substantive and adjective can be drawn in the Indo-Germanic languages (§ 138).

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REDUPLICATED NOUNS.[1])

§ 51. We distinguish three groups:

I. Forms in which the first element of the reduplication is a more or less complete form of the root, e. g. Skr. *gár-gar-as* 'eddy';

II. Forms in which it is a noun-stem, e. g. Skr. *sukha-sukhēna* (instr.) 'very gladly';

III. Forms in which it is a case-form, e. g. Skr. *divé-divē* 'daily, day by day' (loc.).

With the second group should be compared such compounds as Skr. *sukha-svāpa-s* 'pleasant sleep'; with the third, compounds like Skr. *divō-já-s* 'child of heaven' (§ 10 ff.).

§ 52. Class I. A number of the words belonging to this class may have been either formed directly as nouns, or derived from older reduplicated verbal forms. No certain line of distinction can be drawn; and though we shall here take no account of verbal nouns in the strict sense, i. e. participles etc. (e. g. Gr. *κε-κρᾱγ-ώς*), yet we must include many nouns which were certainly formed in connexion with the verbal system (e. g. Gr. *κε-κρᾱγ-μό-ς*).

As regards forms with 'broken reduplication' see § 6 p. 13.

1. Many reduplicated forms derived from roots beginning in a consonant stand in more or less clear connexion with intensive verbal formations, as Skr. *dár-dar-ti* 'rends asunder, shatters'.

Skr. *gár-gar-as* 'eddy', Gr. *γαρ-γαρ-εών* 'uvula' *γέρ-γερ-ο-ς* 'throat, gullet', Lat. *gur-gul-iō gur-g-es*, O.H.G. *quer-chal-a quer-ch-a* O.Icel. *kver-k* 'throat' (for the interchange of *r* and *l* see I § 282 p. 225 f.): cp. the Skr. intensive verbal forms, part. *jár-gur-āṇa-s* and 2 sing. *jal-gul-a-s*. Skr. *bam-bhar-a-s* 'bee', Gr. *πεμ-φρ-ηδών* a kind of wasp: **bhem-bh(e)r-* for **bher-bher-*, see I § 282 p. 226. Gr. *τή-θη* 'grandmother' *τη-θί-ς* 'aunt', Lith. *dė-dė̃* 'uncle' O.C.Sl. *dě-dŭ* 'grandfather'.

1) The authorities on this subject are cited on p. 11, footnote 2.

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Skr. *gad-gad-as* 'stammering', beside *gád-a-ti* 'pronounces'. *cañ-cal-cas* 'moving to and fro' beside 3. sing. *cañ-cal-ya-tē*. Avest. *rą-rem-a-* 'resting, reposing', from √*rem-*. Skr. *rē-rih-á-s* 'licking' *vē-vij-á-s* 'hastening'.

Gr. *βάρ-βαρ-ος* 'speaking unintelligibly': Lat. *bal-b-u-s*, cp. Skr. *bal-bal-ā-karōmi* 'I stammer'. *γογ-γύλ-ο-ς* 'round', beside *γαυλό-ς* 'milk-pail, vessel'. *παι-πάλ-η* 'flour-dust', beside *πάλ-η* 'flour-dust, dust', Lat. *pollen*.

Lat. *quer-quer-u-s* 'cold, so as to make one shiver'; compare perhaps Goth. *faúrht-s* 'timid' (Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XII 77, and above, I § 444 p. 329). *Mar-mar* (Song of the Arval Brethren): Gr. *μάρ-μαρ-ο-ς* 'gleaming, shining'? (Pauli, Altital. Stud. IV 56 ff.). *derbiōsu-s* 'full of scabs or sores' for **der-d-u-* (I § 170 p. 150): Skr. **dar-dr-u- dar-d-ū-* 'eruption on the skin'. *can-cer* (I § 269 p. 217): Gr. *καρ-κ-ίνο-ς* Skr. *kar-kaṭa-s* 'crab'.

O.Ir. *dor-d* 'susurrus' (cp. 3. sing. mid. *derdrethar* 'there is a sound, a cry'): Gr. *τερ-θρ-εία* 'empty chatter' *τον-θρ-ύ-ς* 'murmur'. *graig* 'drove of horses' for **gra-gi-*?: Gr. *γέρ-γερ-α· πολλὰ* Hesych., *γάρ-γαρ-α* 'swarm, heap' (*γαρ-γαίρω* 'I swarm'), Lat. *grex* stem *gre-g-*; cp. § 160 Rem. 1.

Mid.H.G. *mur-mer mur-mel* 'murmur, growl, dull sound' (O.H.G. *mur-mur-ōn mur-mul-ōn* 'to murmur'): Skr. *mar-mar-a-s* 'roaring, roar', Lat. *mur-mur*, cp. Gr. *μορμύρω* for **μορ-μυρ-μω* 'I murmur, roar', Lith. *mùr-m-iu* 'I growl'. O.H.G. *muo-ma* 'mother's sister': Lith. *mo-mà* O.C.Sl. *ma-ma* 'mother'.

Russ. *pele-pel-ka pere-pel* (I § 251 Rem. 2 p. 224 f.) Lith. *pė-pal-a* (or *pë-pal-a*) Lat. *pái-pal-a* Pruss. *pen-pal-o* 'quail': cp. Lat. *pul-pul-āre pul-p-āre* 'cry, shriek' (of birds)? O.C.Sl. *gla-gol-ŭ* 'noise, word' for **gol-gol-* (loc. cit.): Skr. *gar-gar-a-s* a musical instrument, Gr. *γαρ-γαρ-ί-ς· θόρυβος* Hesych. (cod. *γαργαρής*). Lith. *kañ-kal-a-s* 'bell' *kañ-kl-ys* 'guitar' O.C.Sl. *kla-kol-ŭ* 'bell' for **kol-kol-* (loc. cit.): Skr. *kar-kar-i-ṣ* 'sound'. Serv. *vje-ver-ica* Mod.Slov. *vẹ̑-ver-ica* Lith. *vo-ver-ẽ vaĩ-ver-i-s* Lett. *wâ-wer-i-s* Pruss. *we-war-e*: Mod.Pers. *var-var-ah* Mod.Cymr. *gwy-wer* 'squirrel'. Mod.Slov. Mod.Bulg. *pa-prat* Pol. *pa-proć*

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Russ. *pa-porotʹ* and Lith. (borrowed?) *pa-párti-s* 'fern', cp. O.H.G. *var-n* 'fern'.

2. In other nouns from roots beginning in a consonant the form of the reduplication must be compared with that seen in verbal forms with Idg. *e*, such as Gr. *δέ-δορκ-α κέ-κλ-ετο*; and there is no doubt that in some cases there is a direct connexion between the verbal and nominal forms.

Skr. *ba-bhr-ú-ṣ* adj. 'brown', (when used as a subst. it means a large kind of ichneumon) Avest. *ba-wr-i-š* 'beaver', O.H.G. *bibar* (cp. *filu* 'much' ground-form **pelu*) Lith. *bẽbru-s* O.C.Sl. *bebrŭ* 'beaver', Idg. **bhe-bhr-u-*; Gall. *Bibrax* and Lat. *fiber* belong to 3 (infr.), so also perhaps Corn. *befer* 'beaver' (which however may very possibly be a word borrowed from A.S.). Skr. *ca-kr-á-m* 'circle, wheel' Avest. *ca-xr-e-m* 'wheel', A.S. *hweo-wol hweól* 'wheel', Idg. **qe-ql-o-*, cp. also Gr. *κύ-κλ-ο-ς* vol. I § 427 p. 314 and the unreduplicated O.C.Sl. *kolo* (stem *koles-*) n. 'wheel'.

Skr. *va-vr-i-ṣ* 'covering' *va-vr-á-s* 'hiding oneself' Avest. *-vaoiri-* 'husk' (for **u̯a-u̯r-i-*, I § 160 p. 144), cp. the Skr. perfect stem *va-vr-* from *var-* 'cover over'. Skr. *cá-kr-i-ṣ* 'effecting' *ca-kr-u-ṣ* 'accomplisher', cp. the perfect stem *ca-kr-*. Skr. *da-d-í-ṣ* 'giving' *dá-dh-i-ṣ* 'bestowing', cp. the present and perfect stems *da-d-*, *da-dh-*. With these compare Ved. *sā-sah-í-ṣ* 'victorious', with the perfect stem *sā-sah-*. Skr. *da-dhṛ́ṣ-á-s* 'bold, courageous'. Avest. *za-zar-an-* 'raging'.

Gr. *τέ-ταν-ο-ς* 'tension of the limbs', from √*ten-*. *τέ-τραξ* probably 'guineahen', beside *τε-τρά(ζω* cackle'. *κε-κρύφ-αλο-ς* and *κε-κρύφ-αλο-ς* 'net-headdress, hood', beside *κέ-κρυφ-α*. *βέ-βη-λο-ς* 'accessible, profanus', beside *βέ-βη-κα*. *κε-κρᾱγ-μό-ς* 'cry', beside *κέ-κρᾱγ-α*. *πε-ποίθ-ησι-ς* 'trust' (late), beside *πέ-ποιθ-α*. *σέ-συφ-ο-ς· πανοῦργος* Hesych. *πέ-πλ-ο-ς* 'outside garment, cloak, covering, the peritonaeum', probably to be compared with *πέλλα* 'skin, leather' *πέλμα* 'sole of the foot or shoe'.

Lat. *me-mor*: cp. Gr. *μέρ-μερ-ο-ς* 'noteworthy, horrible' and Skr. perf. *sa-smára* (Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 549 f.).

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fe-br-i-s, compare Skr. *bhur-á-ti* 'is unquiet, throbs'. *sēd-ēs* for **se-zd-*, √*sed-*, cp. I § 314 Rem. p. 253.

O.H.G. *zittar-oh* A.S. *teter* 'pustular eruption', pr. Germ. **te-tr-u-*: Skr. *da-dr-u-* Lith. *de-der-inė* 'pustular eruption', cp. Lat. *der-b-iōsu-s* etc. formed on the type of 1, p. 95.

Lith. *tẽ-tervina-s* 'heathcock' O.C.Sl. *te-trěvĭ* 'pheasant': Gr. *τέ-τριξ τέ-τρακ τε-τράων* a kind of fowl, cp. also Skr. *ti-ttíri-š ti-ttirá-s* 'partridge'. O.C.Sl. *pe-pelŭ* (beside *po-pelŭ*) 'ashes', cp. Czech. *plá-pol* 'flame'. Lith. *te-tà* O.C.Sl. *te-tŭ* 'aunt, nurse': Gr. *τέ-ττα* 'little father, dad', cp. Skr. *tā-tá-s*, a word used by parents in addressing children and *vice versa*, Lat. *ta-ta*, Lith. *tẽ-ti-s* 'little father'.

3. In another group of formations from stems beginning in a consonant, the reduplication resembles that of verbal forms with Idg. *i*, such as Gr. *ἵ-στη-μι*, and there is no doubt that sometimes they stand in direct connexion with them. On the whole, however, such forms are rare.

We have no doubt a genuine Indo-Germanic example in Skr. *ší-šir-a-s* 'cold, frost; cold (adj.)' (ground-form **ḱi-ḱl̥-o-*), with which Bugge (Arkiv for nord. filol. II 355) connects O.Icel. *hēla* f. 'rime' for pr. Germ. **χi-χl-ōn*, and possibly another in Skr. *ší-šu-š* 'young creature, child' if it is identical with Gr. *κῑ-κυ-ς* 'strength' (compared with Skr. *śvā* 'to swell out', Gr. *κυέω*)?

Skr. *ci-kit-* 'comprehending, aware', cp. pres. *cíkēt-ti*. *ši-śay-á-s* 'driving onwards'. *ši-šnátha-s* 'grasp'. *ci-kur-a-s* 'hair of the head', beside Lat. *cirru-s*?

Gr. *τι-θήνη τί-τθη* 'nurse' *τί-τθο-ς* 'mother's breast', beside *θη-λή* 'mother's breast'. *βί-βασις* a kind of dance (late), beside *βι-βάζω*. *ἰ-στό-ς* 'weaver's beam, mast', beside *ἵ-στη-μι*. *ἰ-αχή* 'cry' beside *ἰ-άχω* for **Fι-Fαχω*. *δι-δαχή* 'instruction' beside *δι-δάσκω* (for the *χ* cp. *δε-δίδαχα*). *γί-γαϱ-το-ν* 'grape-stone', beside Lat. *grā-nu-m*.

Remark. In *τι-θήμαλο-ς* 'wolf's-milk' (a plant), *Τι-τυο-ς* a giant (cp. Skr. *tū-tu-má-s* 'strong') and the like, it is possible that *ι* has come from *υ*, as in *πι-πυ-τό-ς*, see I § 48 p. 41.

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Lat. *qui-squil-iae,* beside Gr. *κο-σκυλ-μάτια* 'shreds of leather'. *ci-cer*, compare no doubt Skr. *kar-kar-a-s* Gr. *κάρ-καρ-ο-ς* (Hesych.) 'hard'. *ci-cōnia*, Praenest. *cōnia*. *ci-cind-ēla*, beside *candeō*.

O.H.G. *fi-faltra* (*fī-faltra*? cp. Mid.H.G. *vī-valter*) A.S. *fi-foldara* O.Icel. *fi-frildi* 'butterfly'. O.H.G. *wi-wint* 'whirlwind', beside a present **ϝι-ϝē-mi*? O.H.G. *wiumman* 'to swarm' for **wi-wimman* (Kögel, Literaturbl. f. germ. und rom. Phil. 1887 n. 3).

4. Even nouns derived from roots beginning in a sonant stand side by side with parallel reduplicated forms in the verb.

Skr. *ul-ul-í-ṣ* 'ululabilis' or 'ululatus', Gr. *ὄλ-ολ-υ-ς* 'howler, womanish man' *ὀλ-ολ-ῡγή* 'shriek, cry of mourning', Lat. *ul-ul-a* 'little screechowl'; cp. also Skr. *ar-ar-ī* used as a sudden call, Gr. Dor. *ἀλ-αλ-ά* 'battle-cry', Mod.Bulg. *ol-el-e*, an exclamation of sorrow. Skr. Ved. *viy-ān-aś-í-ṣ* 'piercing', Gr. *ποδ-ην-εκ-ής* 'reaching down to the feet', beside Skr. perf. *ān-ąś-a* Gr. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν*; Gr. *-εκ-* in words like *ποδ-εν-εκ-ής* no doubt stands in place of the regular form *-ακ-* = *-n̥k-* through the influence of the syllable *-εγκ-*.

Skr. *ar-ar-í-ṣ ar-ar-á-s* 'leaf of a folding-door', no doubt from √*ar-* 'to arrive at anything, fit oneself in' Gr. *ἀρ-άρ-ισκε* 'he fitted on'. *aś-iś-iṣu-ṣ* 'hungry' beside the desiderative *áś-iś-iṣati* 'he wishes to eat'.

Gr. *ἀκ-ακ-ίᾱ* 'acacia' *ἀκ-ωκ-ή* 'point, edge', beside *ἄκ-ανο-ς* 'thorn' part. *ἀκ-αχ-μένο-ς* 'pointed'. *ἀλ-άλαγξ· ἡ πλάνη* Hesych., beside *ἀλά-ομαι* 'roam about'. *ἀγ-αγύρτην· ἀγύρτην* Hesych., cp. *παν-ήγυρι-ς* 'general assembly'. *ἀγ-ωγ-ό-ς* 'leader' *ἀγ-ωγ-ή* 'guidance', beside aor. *ἀγ-αγ-εῖν*. *ἐδ-ηδ-ών· φαγέδαινα* Hesych., *ἐδ-ωδ-ή* 'food', beside perf. *ἐδ-ήδ-οκα* part. *ἐδ-ηδ-ώς*. *ὀπ-ωπ-ή* 'sight' *παρθεν-οπ-τ́π-η-ς* 'ogling the maidens', beside perf. *ὄπ-ωπ-α*. *ὀχ-ωχ-ή* 'support' like the Homer. part. *συν-οχ-ωχ-ότε* is a late formation, since the root was *segh-*.

Lat. *up-up-a* 'hoopoe': Gr. *ἀπ-αφ-ό-ς* and *ἔπ-οψ*. The vocalism of these words seems to have been influenced by analogy:

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ἀπαφό-ς was no doubt popularly connected with animal names in *-αφο-ς* (§ 78), *ἔποψ* with adjectives in *-οψ* like *αἶθ-οψ*.

§ 53. Class II. This class is scantily represented; and although it is probable *a priori* that such forms should have come into use in the same period of the proethnic language in which stem-compounds like Skr. *dvi-pád-* Gr. *δί-ποδ-* had arisen (§ 10. 11. p. 22 ff.), yet all extant examples seem to have come from compounds consisting of repeated case-forms (Class III), which were afterwards re-modelled. This latter would be the same process as we assumed for coordinating stem-compounds such as Skr. *parjánya-vātā* (§ 49 p. 90), which these reduplicated forms approach very closely in usage as well as in form.

Skr. *uttarōttara-s* for **utara-ut̥ara-s* 'always increasing' *uttarōttara-m* adv. 'ever higher and higher' *sukha-sukhēna* instr. 'very gladly' (Pāṇini). *pūrva-pūrva-s* 'he who from time to time is first, precedes', superl. *pūrvapūrvatama-s*, instead of which in the Veda we have *pūrva-s-pūrva-s*. *ēkāika-s* 'one at a time' for **aiḱa-aiḱa-s*, comp. *ēkāikatara-s*, instead of which in Vedic we have *ēka-ēka-s* = **ēkō-ēka-s*, pr. Ar. **aiḱa-s-aiḱa-s* (I § 556 p. 411 f., § 647 p. 491).

Armen. *mec-a-mec* 'very great' *č̣ar-a-č̣ar* 'very bad', with the same *-a-* as e. g. *dr-a-kiç* § 28 p. 45, which would not prevent our assuming that the first part was originally a case-form; see p. 46, under Class IV.

Gr. (late) *αὐτ-αυτο-ς* with the meaning of *αὐτότατος* and of Lat. *ipsimus ipsissimus*, cp. O.H.G. *selb-selbo* § 54.

A Keltic form which should no doubt be mentioned here is O.Ir. *al-aile* 'alius', from which *ar-aile* arose bydis similation; also Cymr. *ar-all* (Zeuss² 359. 402); further the form *alaaili* with *indala n-āi* in Zeuss, p. 360.

§ 54. Class III. It may be assumed that this type dates from the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic. It is however difficult to say how far the words of this class in the separate Indo-Germanic languages were merely analogical formations modelled upon older forms already existing, and how far they

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arose from an actual repetition in which the repeated word was still independent (e. g. *poor poor child*). In all languages and at all periods such doubled forms might very naturally arise. Moreover it must be once more observed that the boundary line between a phrase consisting of a word used twice in succession (as Lat. *mĕ mĕ*, Vergil Aen. IX 427) and a new single word (*mĕmĕ*, *tĕtĕ*, *sĕsĕ*) cannot be regarded as constant.

Skr. *tvá-tvam* 'thou', a strengthening of *tvám*, Lat. *mē-mē tē-tē sē-sē*, Mid.Cymr. *mi-vi* for **mi-mi*, a strengthening of *mi* 'I', *ti-di* for **ti-ti*, a strengthening of *ti* 'thou', *ni-ni* a strengthening of *ni* 'we'. Skr. *yád-yad* 'whatsoever', *yáthā-yathā* 'howsoever', like Lat. *quid-quid quā-quā quantus-quantus*. Cp. also Skr. *prá-pra* and Gr. *πρό-προ* (Hom. *προπρο-κυλίνδομαι*) 'on and on, ever forwards'[1]).

In Sanskrit we frequently meet with doubled forms like *áhar-ahar* 'day by day', *padĕ-padĕ* 'step by step, at every step', *dámē-damē* 'in every house', *priyá-s-priya-s* 'very dear'.

Gr. *πάμ-παν* 'entirely': cp. Skr. *śáśvacchaśvat* 'on and on, ever anew' for **śáśvat-śaśvat* (I § 352 p. 274); *śá-śvant-* = Gr. *ἅ-παντ-* see I 166 p. 147, § 384 p. 289.

In Latin we find only the pronominal forms; such as *mē-mē*, *quis-quis* and the adv. *jam-jam*. *ips-ipsus* (for **ips(e) ipse*) is uncertain (Wölfflin, Gemin. p. 472). In later times were developed such forms as Fr. *bon-bon* 'sweetmeat' *jou-jou* 'toy'; Ital. *tututto* 'entirely' stands for **tuto-tuto* (*tutto tutto*) through syllabic dissimilation (I § 643 p. 481 ff.).

Mod.Ir. *mōr-mhōr* 'great, chief, principal'. Mod.Cymr. *muy-vwy* 'more and more' *gwell-well* 'better and better'.

O.H.G. *selb-selbo* 'idem ipse'. Mod.H.G. dial. *áll-all* 'complete, at an end' *wé-wē* (Rhine-Fr., i. e. *weh-weh*) n. 'small wound'.

1) The comparison of Skr. *sá-sám* 'together' with Mod.Bulg. *sŭ-s* Russ. *so-s* 'with' is certainly not warranted. I regard the latter as a contaminated formation, occasioned by the phonetic changes of pr. Slav. *sŭ*, which in certain positions became *s*. Similarly we have Mod.Bulg. *vŭ-v* 'in'. See the Author, Morph. Unters. III 71.

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Cp. also O.H.G. *sō-so*, a strengthening of *sō* 'so' (possibly instr. of **su̯o-*).

Lith. *jį̃-jį jõ-jo* from *jį̃* 'eum' *jõ* 'eius', and the like.

NOUNS CONTAINING FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.[1]

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 55. We have already remarked (I p. 16 ff., II p. 3 ff.) that no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between what is

1) Besides Bopp's Vergleich. Gramm. III, Schleicher's Compendium, and the grammars of single languages by Whitney (Skr. Gram.) Spiegel (O.Bactr. Gram. and O.Pers. cuneiform Inscr.), Justi (Hdb. der Zendspr.) Leo Meyer (Vergl. Gramm. der gr. und lat. Spr. II), Kühner (Ausf. Gramm. d. gr. Spr. I und Ausf. Gramm. d. lat. Spr. I), Pezzi La lingua greca antica), Zeuss (Gram. Celt.), Grimm (D. Gram. II. III), Schleicher (Lit. Gram), Kurschat (Gram. d. lit. Spr.), and Miklosich (Vergl. Gram. II), the reader is here referred to the following works:

G. Meyer, Zur Geschichte der indogerm. Stammbildung und Declination, Leipz. 1875. K. Brugmann, Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe *-as-*, *-jas-* und *-vas-*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 1 ff. F. Weihrich, De gradibus comparationis linguarum Sanscritae Graecae Latinae Gothicae, Giss. 1869. H. Collitz, Die Flexion der Nomina mit dreifacher Stammabstufung im Altind. und im Griech., Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 1 ff. G. Meyer, Beitr. zur Stammbildungslehre des Griech. und Lat., Curtius' Stud. V. H. Ebel, Starke und schwache Formen griechischer und lateinischer Nomina, Kuhn's Ztschr. I 289 ff. E. Förstemann, De comparativis et superlativis l. Graecae et Latinae, Nordh. 1844 Th. J. Gonnet, Degrés de signification en grec et en latin d'après les principes de la grammaire comparée, Paris 1876. L. Schwabe, De deminutivis Graecis et Latinis, Giss. 1859. A. Leskien, Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen, Leipz. 1876. — B. Lindner, Altind. Nominalbildung, Jena 1878. Chr. Bartholomae, Zur arischen Flexion der Stämme auf *-r*, *-n*, *-m*, *-j*, *-v*, Arische Forschungen I 25 ff. — G. Curtius, De nominum Graecorum formatione linguarum cognatarum ratione habita, Berol. 1842. Chr. A. Lobeck, Paralipomena grammaticae Graecae, 2. vols. Lips. 1837, Pathologiae sermonis Graeci prolegomena, Lips. 1843. F. Stolz, Beiträge zur Declination der griech. Nomina, Innsbr. 1880. Kretschmar, Bildung der Comparationsformen der griech. Sprache, Bromberg 1842. K. W. Göttling, De gradibus comparationis Gr. linguae, Jena 1852. J. La Roche, Die Comparation in der griech. Sprache, Linz 1884. Janson, De Graeci sermonis nominum deminutione et amplificatione, Leipzig 1869. — H. Düntzer, Die Lehre von der latein. Wortbildung und Composition, Köln 1836. C. Paucker, Materialien zur latein. Wörterbildungsgeschichte (adjectives in *-orius*, *-bilis*, *-osus*, *-icius*, *-ivus*) in 'Vor-

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called the root-portion of a word and the formative suffixes. Some of the elements which are treated here as formative suffixes may have originally been the last sound or sounds of a root, that is, of a word which does not owe its existence to composition; and this may be true of the whole group of sounds of which the suffix consists, or it may be only its initial part which belonged to the root. I must exclude all conjecture as to which of the particular Indo-Germanic suffixes had this origin.

In the following pages only those suffixes are discussed which had already become suffixes in the strict sense at the time when the separate Indo-Germanic languages began to be developed.

§ 56. Many formative suffixes whose meaning is simple can be resolved into distinct elements; e. g. *-tro-* into *-tr-* + *-o-*, cp. Skr. *ari-tra-* m. n. 'oar' beside *ari-tar- ari-tr-* m. 'oarsman' (§ 62), *-isto-* into *-is-* + *-to-*, cp. Skr. *náv-iṣṭha-* 'novissimus' beside *náv-yas-* 'novior' (§ 81).

Generally speaking we find that compound suffixes of this sort in the later periods of the history of language are due to either one or other of three causes.

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arbeiten zur latein. Sprachgeschichte', Berlin 1884. G. Müller. De linguae Lat. deminutivis, Lips. 1865. Kessler, Die lat. Deminutiva, Hildburgh. 1869. W. Corssen, Über die Steigerungs- und Vergleichungsendungen im Lateinischen und in den italischen Dialekten, Kuhn's Ztschr. III 241 ff. — Wh. Stokes, Bemerkungen über die irischen Deklinationen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 333 ff. 448 ff. Id., Celtic Declension, Transactions of the Philological Society for 1885, and in Bezzenberger's Beitr. XI 64 ff. — Th. Jacobi, Untersuchungen über die Bildung der Nomina in den german. Sprachen, Breslau 1847. F. Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgerman. Dialekte, Halle 1886. G. Burgnauser, German. Nominalflexion, Vienna 1888. K. von Bahder, Die Verbalabstracta in den german. Sprachen, Halle 1880. L. Sütterlin, Geschichte der nomina agentis im German., Strassb. 1887. H. Falk, Die Nomina agentis der altnordischen Sprache, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 1 ff. — A. Leskien, Spuren der stammabstufenden Declination im Slavischen und Litauischen, Archiv f. slav. Philol. III 108 ff. C. Pauli, Preussische Formlehre, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 155 ff.

Works which treat of a single suffix will be cited below in the sections devoted to the separate suffixes.

See also the lists of authorities on the history of case-formation.

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First, a word or a group of words may have been transferred from one declension to another. The formative suffix is then amplified at the extremity nearest the ending of the word. This enlargement of the stem was usually brought about by the coincidence of two declensions in one or more forms; these similarities gave rise to new analogical formations. Thus e. g. the origin of the Avestic participial suffix *-ant-a-* (nom. sing. *barantō*, gen. *barantahe*) was that the accusative termination *-em* (*barant-em*: cp. Gr. *φέροντ-α*) was placed on a level with that of *aspe-m* (stem *aspa-*) and similar forms; the origin of the Gothic suffix for names of kindred, *-tr-u-* (nom. pl. *brōþrjus*), was that the dative termination *-trum* (*brōþru-m*: cp. Skr. instr. *bhrātṛ-bhiš*) was placed on a level with that of *sunu-m* (stem *sunu-*). In this way nouns which at first had no formative suffix often came to possess one; as e. g. Goth. *fōt-u-* was due to such case-forms as the acc. sing. *fōt-u* = **pōd-m* (see § 159).

Secondly: a suffix sometimes coalesces so completely with a part of some word to which it is added that the point of junction can no longer be perceived, and accordingly when it is used afterwards, the suffix appears in new words with part of this preceding word attached, as though it were a single element in the formation. Thus in High German the suffix *-(i)nārja-* (e. g. O.H.G. *sculd-ināri* 'debtor'), which is found parallel to *-ārja-* (e. g. O.H.G. *mād-āri* Mid.H.G. *mādære* 'mower, reaper') and has the same meaning, came from words like *gartin-āri* 'gardener' (*garto* gen. *gartin* 'garden') *weidin-āri* 'hunter' (*weidinōn* 'to hunt'), and in Greek the feminine formative suffix *-αινα* in *λύκ-αινα κάπρ-αινα* and so forth, came from words like *γείταινα* i. e. **γειταν-ια* (from *γείτων*), *λέαινα* i. e. **λεϝαν-ια* (from *λέων*); see § 110.

Thirdly: two elements used in forming derivatives, which are nearly allied in meaning, are combined into one ('contaminated'). An accumulation of suffixes like this often arises simply from the attempt to give fuller or more distinct expression to the characteristic meaning (such as that of comparison, or a diminutival

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sense and so forth). Thus we have comparatives and superlatives like Skr. *jyéṣṭha-tama-s* from *jyéṣṭha-s*, Gr. *ἀμεινό-τερος ἐλαχιστό-τατος*, compared with *ἀμείνων ἐλάχιστο-ς*, Lat. *super-ior extrĕm-issimus* from *superu-s extrēmu-s*, O.H.G. *hinter-ōro* from *hintero*, Goth. *hindum-ists* from **hinduma*, the H.G. diminutive-suffix *-l-īna-* in *kitz-lein kind-lein* and the like (O.H.G. *chizz-ila* and *chizz-īn*), the (rare) Skr. abstract-suffix *-tva-tā* as in *puruṣa-tvátā-* 'mortality, the manner of men' (parallel forms are *puruṣa-tva-* and *puruṣá-tā*), the Lat. *-n-eo-* in adjectives of material, such as *aēneu-s pōpulneu-s* (beside these we have *aēnus pōpulnus* and *aereu-s pōpuleu-s*) with other examples.

It may be assumed without hesitation that the second and third processes gave rise to compound suffixes even in the Indo-Germanic period. In the second class should be placed e. g. *-nī-* beside *-ī-* in **pot-nī-* 'lady' (Skr. *pátnī* Gr. *πότνια*), which came from such forms as **tekṣn-ī-* (Skr. *takṣṇī-* Gr. *τέκταινα*), the fem. of **tekṣon-* 'carpenter' (Skr. *tákṣan-* Gr. *τέκτων*); see § 110. To the third class belong the superlative-suffix *-t-ŋmo-* (§ 73), the abstract-suffix *-tā-ti-* (§ 102), and others of the same sort.

§ 57. The original meaning of a suffix used in forming nouns can only be decided in instances where it became a suffix in the course of the developement of the separate languages e. g. in the case of Mod.H.G. *-lich*, Fr. *-ment*. In the case of the proethnic suffixes, their etymological origin, and therefore their original meaning is altogether obscure. In order to keep within safe limits, we shall confine ourselves to determining where and how these suffixes were employed at the period when the parent language split up into its different branches; beyond this we cannot go with any hope of certainty.

If a suffix becomes fertile (see § 5), the direction in which its meaning developes is often decided not by the idea which it properly and originally contained, but by the meaning of the complete word or group of words on the analogy of which the new words are formed. Special stress must be laid

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on this point because it is seldom sufficiently recognised in attempts to establish the original meaning of the proethnic suffixes, and because it helps to show the great difficulty of such an undertaking.

In Latin, for example, *juven-ta* 'time of youth' (Goth. *junda*, common ground-form **i̯uu̯n̥-tā́*) suggested *senec-ta* 'time of old age', and *septentriōn-ālis* 'northern' gave rise to *merīdiōnālis* 'southern'; in A.S. *ǣf-en* 'evening' was formed in imitation of *morȝ-en*, while on the other hand in Mod.H.G. we find a dialectic form *morg-end* like *abend*; in O.H.G. *hief-altra* 'hip-tree. wild dog-rose' (from *hiufo*), *maȝȝ-altra* 'maple tree' were formed in imitation of *affal-tra aphol-tra* 'apple-tree'; and in Greek *κάπρ-αινα* (fem. of *κάπρο-ς* 'boar'), *λύκ-αινα* (fem. of *λύκο-ς* 'wolf') in imitation of *λέαινα* 'lioness' (for **λεϝαν-ι̯α*). Here then we have examples of suffixes denoting time of life (Lat. *-tā-*), the points of the compass (Lat. *-iōnāli-*), time of day (A.S. *-en*) and so forth in course of developement. The specialising process has gone further in the case of e. g. *-u̯o-* (§ 64) in Latin and Germanic as a suffix for forming names of colours. Lat. *helvo-s*, *gilvo-s*, *fulvo-s*, *furvo-s*, *flāvo-s* (?), O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow', *salo* 'black, dirty', *falo* 'fallow, pale', A.S. *baso* 'purple', O.Icel. *hǫss* 'gray', O.H.G. *grāo* 'gray' and others (Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 81), which perhaps arose simply from the two forms **ĝhel-u̯o-* (Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*) and **pol-u̯o-* O.H.G. *falo* O.C.Sl. *plavŭ*). Cp. further the Greek *-αφο-* used as a suffix for names of animals, § 78. In all these instances the special meaning of the suffix is imported into it, and not a natural outgrowth of its original meaning; in the same way it is certainly due to a secondary analogical developement that *-en-* so often recurs in words denoting parts of the body which can be traced back to the parent language, as in the words for head (Skr. *śīrṣ-an-*, Gr. *ἀμφί-κρᾱνος* 'two headed', O.Icel. *hjarse*), for eye (Skr. *akṣ-án-* Goth. *áug-an-*, cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), for ear (Goth. *áus-an-*, Gr. *οὐατ-* for **οὐσ-ατ-* **ou̯s-n̥-t-* and so forth: see § 114.

In the same way many functions of the proethnic suffixes

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are no doubt derived (even where it cannot be distinctly proved) from analogical extensions of their use, with which the meaning originally inherent in the suffix had nothing whatever to do.

Remark. Thus I think it probable that the use of the suffix *-ā-* to denote female sex (e. g. Idg. **ek̑u̯ā-* 'mare': Skr. *áśvā-* Lat. *equa* Lith. *aszvà*) did not spring from the original meaning of the suffix, but that some one or some few words in *ā*, perhaps **gnā- *gu̯nā- *genā* 'woman' (Skr. *gnā-* etc., see I § 428 p. 315 f. § 437 p. 325) and **mămā* 'mother' (Lat. *mamma* O.H.G. *muoma* Lith. *momà* etc.) — in which the feminine gender was sufficiently implied by the root-part of the word, just as much as in **māter-* 'mother' (Skr. *mātā́* etc.) — gave the suffix its special function, the expression of female sex; and that these forms were then followed by new formations like **ek̑u̯ā-* beside **ek̑u̯o-*. Many things whose names contain an *ā*-suffix assumed in the popular consciousness the shape of female beings though they have nothing to do with animal sex, e. g. Gr. *σελήνη* 'moon'. In these words we shall generally find that the gender to begin with was purely 'grammatical', and that the *ā*-suffix by which the word was associated with words like **ek̑u̯ā*, was the real cause of the fancy which represented the imaginary personality as a woman and not as a man: conversely, for example, the Greeks imagined *ὕπνος* as a male being, solely because of connexion of the word in form with male names in *-o-ς*, such as *θεός*. The notion that primitive man was endowed with so marvellous a wealth of fancy as to regard the great majority of things devoid of life and things immaterial as persons, nay more as persons belonging to one of two distinct sexes, and that the whole system of gender in nouns sprang from this source, is a one which by this time should surely have been abandoned. Cp. the Author, 'Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogerman. Sprachen'. Techmer's Internation. Ztschr. f. allg. Sprachwiss. IV. p. 100 ff.

§ 58. Following the example of the Sanskrit grammarians, scholars divide the suffixes used in noun-formation into Primary and Secondary. The former are employed in deriving words from roots or verbal stems, the latter in derivatives formed from noun-stems. Thus e. g. *-tor-* is a primary suffix in nom. pl. Skr. *dā-tár-as* Gr. *δώ-τορ-ες* Lat. *da-tōr-ēs* 'givers', Skr. *jani-tár-as* Gr. *γενέ-τορ-ες* Lat. *geni-tōr-ēs* 'begetters', Skr. *bōdhayi-tár-as* 'awakers' Gr. *ἡγή-τορ-ες* 'leaders' Lat. *arā-tōr-ēs* 'ploughers', but *-ī-* is a secondary suffix in Skr. *vṛk-í* Mid.H.G. *wülpe* 'she-wolf' (beside Skr. *vṛ́ka-s* Mid.H.G. *wolf* 'wolf') and in Skr. *vidúṣ-ī* Gr. *ἰδυῖα* f. 'knowing' (beside the masc. Skr. *vidván* Gr. *εἰδώς* perf.

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part. from √ *u̯eid-* 'see, know'). Occasionally secondary suffixes are added even to inflected case-forms, e. g. *-tero-* in Skr. *uccāis-tara-* and so forth; see § 13 p. 29 above.

In an historical account of the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages, this difference furnishes us with no useful basis of classification. In the first place, it is to say the least very questionable whether every suffix was originally restricted to one of these two functions. In any case the distinction hardly applies at all, even in the earliest times, to many of the most widely used suffixes, e. g. *-i̯o- -ii̯o-*; cp. Skr. *yaj-yâ-s* 'venerandus' Gr. *ἅγ-ιο-ς* 'holy', and Skr. *pítr-iya-s* Gr. *πάτρ-ιο-ς* Lat. *patr-iu-s* 'fatherly, father's'. Again, we often find that suffixes which were at first restricted to the primary or the secondary use change their function in the course of their history (for other instances besides those which will be discussed below see Whitney, Skr. Grāmm. § 1139 and Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominalcomposition p. 116 ff.); and this change sometimes seems to have taken place even before the separation of the languages. One example of this is *-i̯es- -ii̯es- -is-*, the suffix of the comparative (§ 135), which, originally primary, seems to have become secondary even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, the comparatives formed by its means being regarded as derived from the corresponding 'positive' forms (cp. Skr. *svād-īyān* Gr. *ἡδ-ίων* beside *svād-ú-ṣ ἡδ-ύ-ς*). In later formations however found only in the separate languages, such as *brāhm-īyān* from *brah-mán-*, Lat. *amīc-ior* from *amīcus*, *-i̯es-* is undoubtedly a secondary suffix.

1. Suffixes in *-o* and *-ā*.

§ 59. The *o*-suffixes uniformly show the ablaut *o* : *e* (*e*-series, I § 311—314) [1]. *o* e. g. in the nom. acc. sing., *-o-s*,

1) As we are accustomed to cite the suffixes whose vocalism assumes the various forms of the *e*-series in their *e*-form (*-es- -ter-* etc.), we ought consistently to speak of the suffixes *-e- -i̯e- -u̯e-* instead of *-o- -i̯o- -u̯o-* and so forth; but as this point is in itself of little importance, I am unwilling to depart from the usual nomenclature. It will be enough to have drawn attention to the inconsistency.

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-o-m. e in the voc. sing. -e, gen. -e-s̥io, instr. -ē, loc. -e-i̯: the last three cases also have o: -o-s̥io, -ō, -o-i̯. Parallel to these must further be assumed an 'unaccented weak-grade form', where the suffix disappears altogether, if we suppose that a case-suffix -ād is contained in the pr. Balt-Slav. gen. (abl.) *u̯ilqād 'of a wolf' (Lith *viĩko* O.C.Sl. *vlŭka*), and a case-suffix -ā in the nom. acc. pl. neut. *jugā (Ved. *yugá*) (see I § 113 Rem. p. 107, p. 108 footnote), if secondary formations like *ek̑u-i̯o- 'equinus' from *ek̑uo- 'equus' lost the final of the stem by some regular phonetic change (see § 63 Rem. 3), and the -i- of the Lat. *Cornēl-i-s* Lith. *mẽd-i-s* etc. was the weak-grade form of -i̯e- -i̯o- (see the beginning of § 63). It is hardly possible from the data at our command to trace the connexion between these phases of vowel gradation and the variation of the accent. But there is nothing to prevent our assuming, that e stood originally in the syllable which bore the principal accent, and o in the syllable which followed it, whilst the case-suffixes -ād and -ā themselves took the principal accent (cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.). These phonetic relations were afterwards obscured by many different kinds of analogical developement.

The ā-suffixes show the ablaut ā:a (a-series, I § 318): ā e. g. in the nom. acc. sing., -ā, -ā-m; a in the voc. sing. -a, nom. acc. du. -a-i̯, cp. also instr. sing. Skr. -aya̯ā O.C.Sl. -oja̯. By the side of these the 'unaccented weak-grade form' perhaps occurs in such words as Gr. τῑ́μ-ιο-ς from τῑμή pr. Gr. and Dor. τῑ-μᾱ́ (see § 63 Rem. 3). Here also the recorded accentuation shows no variation from which we can reconstruct the original connexion between Ablaut and Accent.

In proethnic Indo-Germanic the o-stems were all masculine or neuter, the ā-stems all feminine. And the process of differentiation (technically called *Motion*) of Masculine stems to express the variation of gender in substantives and adjectives had come into regular use for o-stems in the same period; e. g. *ek̑uo-s 'horse' fem. *ek̑uā 'mare' (Skr. *áśva-s áśvā* Lat. *equo-s equa*), masc. *rudhro-s fem. *rudhrā neut. *rudhro-m 'red' (Skr

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rudhirá-s -irá -irá-m Gr. *ἐρυθρό-ς -ρά -ρό-ν*, Lat. *ruber rubra rubru-m* O.C.Sl. *rŭdrŭ rŭdra rŭdro*[1]).

But the original differences in gender did not always remain unchanged in the separate languages. A number of *o*-stems became feminine in Greek and Italic, that is, they were constructed with feminine forms in attributive or predicative combinations, as Gr. *ἡ φηγός, ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς*, Lat. *haec fagus*, a change of usage which was introduced in different ways (see A. R. Lange, De Substantivis femininis Graecis secundae declinationis, Lips. 1885). On the other hand, in the classical languages and in Slavonic[2] *ā*-stems became masculine, words of abstract meaning formed with *ā* being used to denote male persons; as Gr. *νεᾱνίᾱ-* 'young man' orig. 'youth', *ἑτη-* 'kinsman' orig. 'kinship', Lat. *agri-cola* 'husbandman' orig. 'husbandry', O.C.Sl. *junota* 'young man' orig. 'youth'. In Lithuanian, neuter substantival stems in *-o* assumed in the nom. and acc. the masc. form, e. g. nom. sing. *ár-klà-s* 'plough' beside Gr. *ἀρο-τρο-ν*, and so forth.

The *o*- and *ā*-stems form by far the largest of the Indo-Germanic declensions. Nowhere have these classes suffered any serious loss except in Armenian and in Germanic. In Armenian it would seem that the *ā*-declension wholly died out, and in Germanic many *o*- and *ā*-stems passed into the *n*-declension (§ 112 ff.).

§ 60. The Suffix *-o- -ā-*[3]).

From the earliest period, the suffixes *-o-* and *-ā-* were used for many different purposes. Besides their use to denote physical sex we way notice in particular the following functions:

1. *-o-* is found in certain abstract root-nouns (*nomina actionis*)

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1) See § 57 Rem. p. 106, and the Author's Essay on Gender cited there.

2) Ed. Wolter, Razyskanija po voprosu o grammatičeskom rodje, Petersburg 1882 (see the notice of it by H. Haupt, Berlin. philolog. Wochenschr. 1885 p. 312 ff.)

3) H. Zimmer, Die Nominalsuffixe *a* und *ā* in den german. Sprachen, Strassburg 1876. F. Miklosich, Das Suffix *ŭ* im Altslovenischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 222 ff. 273 ff.

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(the root-syllable usually bears the accent), e. g. **ǧón-o-* 'a begetting, coming into being' Skr. *jána-m* 'birth, origin' Gr. *γόνο-ς* 'birth', also concrete 'offspring', Gr. *χρόμ-ο-ς* 'noise, murmur, neighing' O.C.Sl. *grom-ŭ* 'thunder', Goth. *ga-fāh-s* m. 'capture' (ground-form **páñ̂ko-s*) *dragk* n. 'drink'. 2. *-o-* is found in certain *nomina agentis* (the accent falls usually on the suffix), e. g. **tor-ó-* 'he who penetrates' Skr. *tārá-s* Gr. *τορό-ς*, Lat. *procu-s* 'suitor' (beside *precārī*), Goth. *þiufs*, gen. *þiubis*, 'thief' (ground-form **teuþó-s*). 3. *-ā-* is found in certain abstract root-nouns (*nomina actionis*), e. g. Gr. *φυγ-ή* Lat. *fug-a* 'flight', Gr. *βληχ-ή* bleating, cry' O.H.G. *chlag-a* 'lament', Skr. *bhid-á* 'separation', Goth. *bid-a* 'request, prayer'..

Differentiation of Adjectives (*Motion*): e. g. masc. **néu̯-o-s* neut. **néu̯-o-m* fem. **néu̯-ā*: Skr. *náva-s náva-m návā*, Gr. *νέο-ς νέο-ν νέᾱ*, Lat. *novo-s novo-m nova*, O.C.Sl. *novŭ novo nova*.

In most of the Indo-Germanic languages we find more or less frequently the transference of stems that do not end in *o* or *ā*, e. g. stems ending in explosives, into the *o-* or *ā*-declension, without any modification of meaning. The change in any particular case may be due to any one of a large number of causes; indeed, to any association either of sound or of sense. Analogy of form, for example, produced in Sanskrit a nom. *dánta-s* (cp. p. 111) beside acc. *dánt-am* (stem *dánt-* 'tooth'), and in Greek *τὴν κάρην* (Callim.) beside nom. acc. neut. *κάρᾱ* 'head' (for **καρᾱσ-α*, a neuter subst. like *ἄλειφ-α*). On the other hand, the change was due to an association of meaning when in Latin *aurōr-a* ('dawn') and *Flōr-a* were substituted for **aurōs -ōris* (§ 133) and *flōs -ōris* (§ 134); so in O.H.G. pl. *tohter-ā* daughters' for the older form *tohter*, in Lith. *dukr-à* 'daughter' for *duktẽ -ers*, and in Pruss. *swestr-o* O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* 'sister' beside Lith. *sesů -ers* (§ 122). Often both principles may have been at work together, e. g. when in Prākrit *mādā* 'mother' and *duhidā* 'daughter' (Idg. *-tē(r)*) passed over to the *ā*-declension (cp. § 122 Rem. 1). The attraction to the *o-* or to the *ā*-declension often affects only single cases, e. g. Gr. dial. dat. pl.

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πόδ-οις (like λύκ-οις) for ποσί, acc. pl. πάντ-ανς (like πάνσα-νς) for πάντ-ας, and there is perhaps an example of such a transference into the o-declension even in the proethnic language where the genitive ending -ōm, which comes from -o-om, was used with other stems than those in -o-. With regard to all these processes we must remember that the speaker had no clear consciousness of the point of junction between stem and case-ending, least of all where vowel-contraction had taken place (vol. I p. 106 ff.).

Idg. Masc. *u̯l̥q-o-s 'wolf' (√u̯elq- 'tear'): Skr *vṛka-s* Armen. gen. sing. *gailo-y* (cp. I § 455 p. 336) Gr. λύκο-ς (Lat. *lupu-s*) Goth. dat. pl. *vulfa-m* Lith. *vil̃ka-s* O.C.Sl. instr. sing. *vlũko-mĭ*. Neut. **jug-ó-m* 'yoke' (√*jeu̯g-* 'yoke, put to'): Skr. *jugá-m* Gr. ζυγό-ν Lat. *jugu-m* Goth. dat. pl. *juka-m* O.C.Sl. instr. sing. *igo-mĭ*. Fem. **gen-ā-* **gu̯n-ā-* **gn-ā-* 'woman' (√*gen-*): Skr. *gnā-* Gr. Att. γυνή Boeot. βανά O.Ir. nom. *ben* gen. *mnā* Goth. *qinō* O.Icel. *kona* (in Germ. it has passed over to the *n*-declension) O.C.Sl. *žena*.

Aryan. Skr. *ghōṣ-a-* m. 'sound, noise' Avest. *gaoš-a-* m. 'ear' O.Pers. *gauš-a-* m. 'ear', nom. sing. pr. Ar. **ghau̯š-a-s*. Skr. *bhág-a-s* m. 'distributor, bestower of blessings' Avest. *bay-a-* m. 'God': O.C.Sl. *bog-ŭ* 'God'. Skr. *nīḍ-á-s* 'resting-place, couch, nest': Armen. *nist* 'position, seat, possession', Lat. *nīdu-s*, O.Ir. *net* O.H.G. *nest* 'nest', Idg. **ni-zd-ó-s* 'settling-place'. Skr. *mēh-a-* n. 'urine' Avest. *gao-maẽz-a-* n. 'cow's urine'. Skr. *pad-á-m* 'standing-place, place, position': Gr. πέδ-ο-ν 'ground, field', Lat. *Ped-u-m*, *oppid-u-m*. Skr. *jy-á-* Avest. *jy-ā-* 'bowstring': Lith. *giy-à* 'string, cord'. Skr. *janɔgh-á-* 'upper part of the foot': cp. Lith. *pra-žang-a* 'transgression' (√*ghenɔgh-*). Skr. *mud-á-* 'joy'. Avest. *der°z-ā-* 'bundle, basket'.

Adjectives. Skr. *dīrgh-á-s -á-m -á* Avest. *dar°γ-ō -e-m- a* O.Pers. *darg-a -a-m -ā* 'long': Gr. δολιχ-ό-ς -ό-ν -ή.

In Aryan, transference into the *o*-declension is common. In many cases no doubt this must have taken place in proethnic Aryan; cp. e. g. Skr. *más-a-* Avest. *månɔh-a-* with Skr. *más-* month' (cp. § 134), Skr. *nár-a-* Avest. *nar-a-* with Skr. *nár-*

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'man' (Gr. ἀνερ-), Skr. *pā́d-a-* Avest. *pāđ-a-* beside Skr. *pad-* 'foot'. In other cases however, it belongs to the developement of the separate dialects: e. g. Skr. Ved. *pūṣáṇ-a-s* from *pūṣán-*, name of a god, Prākr. part. nom. *carant-ō* gen. *carant-assa* etc. instead of Skr. *cárant-* 'going, moving' (and so often in the popular dialects); Avest. loc. sing. *vīs-ę* O.Pers. instr. pl. *vīṗ-aibiš* from *vīs- vīṗ-* 'village', Avest. gen. sing. *stār-ahę* from *star-* 'star', dat. sing. *airyaman-āi* from *airyaman-*, the personified spirit of prayer, part. nom. sing. *jaiđyant-ǫ* etc. 'beseeching'. The point of contact from which this metaplastic process sprang was the phonetic similarity of the accusative endings *-am* = Gr. *-α* and *-a-m* = Gr. *-o-ν-* (p. 110).

In Sanskrit there is a large group of denominative adjectives formed with *-o- -ā-*, with the meaning 'related to, or connected with' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived, especially with the meaning, 'sprung from'. The first syllable of the word usually has what is called the *vṛddhi* grade, that is the second or 'highest' form of the strong or 'high' grade. E. g. *mānas-á-s* 'related to the mind (*mánas-*)', *sāvitr-á-s* 'sprung from the sun (*savitár-*)', *sāindhav-á-s* 'sprung from the Indus (*síndhu-š*)'. If the contained stem is itself an *o*-stem, the adjective is formed without modifying the suffix; e. g. *āmitrá-s* 'hostile' from *amítra-s* 'foe'. Similar derivatives are found, though more rarely, in Iranian; as O.Pers. *mārgav-a-* 'inhabitant of Margiana' from *margū-š* 'Margiana', Avest. *ar°zva* (or *ārzava*) 'good works' from *er°zu-* 'just, right', *kāvay-a-* 'kingly' from *kavi-š* 'king', *temaŋn-u-* 'dark' (*-ŋh-* for *-s-*, see I § 558 p. 414) from *temah-* 'darkness' (cp. Skr. *tāmas-a-* from *támа-s*), *airyav-a-* 'offspring of Airyu'. Although the particular forms that furnished the type for this category of nouns in Aryan, and the origin of the vriddhi-strengthening, which occurs also in other derivative nouns (cp. § 93), are still undiscovered, yet it is at least probable that the class took its rise in such *o*-stems as had undergone a modification of meaning similar to that which we find in the epithetised compounds (see § 50), and that *o-* was then added to other stems in imitation of these. The use of

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the suffix was extended by the desire to render easier the Differentiation (or modification to express gender) of adjectives; and we find an unmistakable parallel in the treatment of the final members of compound words; compare *-tamas-a-* from *támas-* 'darkness', *-aśman-a-* from *áśman-* 'stone', *-bhruv-a-* from *bhrú-* 'eyebrow', and especially instances like *daśānguld-m* 'length of ten fingers' from *aṇgúli-ṣ* 'finger' (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 1315 b), which are on a level with formations like *nāirytá-* 'belonging to *nírṛti-*'.

Remark 1. Cp. von Bradke, Über die *Vṛddhi* in der secundären Nominalbildung, Ztschr. der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch. XL, 361 ff. — The suggestion that Lat. *ōvo-m* 'egg' is related in the same way to *avi-s*, and means 'that which proceeds from a bird', is unsatisfactory. Rather we may compare such instances as Gr. *ἠνεμόεις* beside *ἄνεμο-ς*, *ἀμφ-ήριστο-ς* beside *ἐρίζω*. Doublets that had arisen with different grades of ablaut in the root-syllable were in Aryan adapted to convey two distinct meanings, while in Greek they subserved a particular principle of rhythm. In either case, our endeavour must be to discover the oldest forms which gave the type for the whole series.

Armenian. *orb*, gen. *orbo-y*, 'orphan': Lat. *orbu-s*, Gr. *ὀρφο-βότης* 'one who brings up orphans'. *gorc*, gen. *gorco-y*, 'work': Avest. *vaŋᵉz-a-* m. 'working, action', Gr. *ἔργο-ν* O.H.G. *werc* n. 'work'. Adj. *hin*, gen. *hn-o-y*, 'old': Skr. *sán-a-s* Gr. *ἕν-ο-ς* O.Ir. *sen* Lith. *sẽn-a-s* 'old'.

The *ā*-declension, as we have already remarked in § 59 p. 109, was entirely lost.

Greek. *φηγ-ό-ς* 'oak': Lat. *fāg-u-s* 'beech'. *οἶκ-ο-ς* 'house': Lat. *vīc-u-s*. *πόρ-ο-ς* 'a penetrating, passing through, passage' *πορ-ό-ς* 'penetrating' (*ὁδοιπόρος* for **ὁδοι-πορό-ς*, I § 676 p. 542 f.): Skr. *pār-a-* 'navigation, passage by sea' *pār-á-s* 'transporting'; *τόμ-ο-ς* 'cut, slice' *τομ-ό-ς* 'cutting, sharp'; *ἀγ-ό-ς* 'guide, leader': Skr. *aj-á-s* 'driver'. *ζυγ-ό-ν* 'yoke': Skr. *yug-á-m*. *πληγ-ή* 'blow': Lat. *plāg-a*. *ῥοή* Corcyr. *ῥοϝά* 'stream, flowing' from *ῥέω*: Lith. *srav-à* 'a flowing, bleeding'. *σπουδ-ή* 'zeal, earnestness' from *σπεύδω*. *φορβ-ή* 'nourishment' from *φέρβω*.

Adject. *ὠμ-ό-ς ὠμ-ό-ν ὠμ-ή* 'raw': Skr. *ām-á-s -á-m -á* 'raw'

Observe that *λεώς* 'people' stands for *λᾱ(ϝ)-ό-ς* (*Λᾱϝο-κόϝων* is preserved by Priscian); see I § 611 p. 462.

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The endings of *o*-cases are often transferred to other classes of stems; as *οιν* in *ποδ-οῖιν* *-οῖν*, *-οις* in *πόδ-οιϛ* for *ποσί*, *-ον* in *πολῖτ-ον*.

Italic. Lat. *popul-u-s* *popl-u-s*, Umbr. *popl-o-m* acc. 'populum'. Lat. *dol-u-s* Osc. *dolud* abl. 'dolo': Gr. *δόλ-ο-ϛ* 'wile'. Lat. *dom-u-s*: Gr. *δόμ-ο-ϛ* 'house'. Lat. *unc-u-s*: Skr. *aṅk-á-s* 'hook', Gr. *ὄγκ-ο-ϛ*, 'something bent or bowed out, hook, extended circumference'. Lat. *for-u-m*, Umbr. *furo* 'forum': Skr. *dvār-a-m* 'door, entrance, exit' (*d-* instead of *dh-*, see I § 480 p. 354). O.C.Sl. *dvor-ŭ* m. 'enclosure'. Osc. *ter-o-m* 'terra, territorium'. Lat. *porc-a*, fem. of *porc-us*, Umbr. purk-*a* *porc-a* 'porcas'. Lat. *lump-a* (*lymph-a*, cp. I p. 42 footnote), Osc. Diump-aís 'Nymphis'. Lat. *deiv-a* *dīv-a* (fem. of *deiv-o-s*), Osc. deív-aí dat. 'divae'. Lat. *līr-a* 'furrow, ridge between two furrows': O.H.G. *wagan-leis-a* 'cart-track, road' O.C.Sl. *lěch-a* 'ridge of earth'.

Here should also be mentioned the Umbr.-Samn. infinitives in *-o-m*, as Umbr. *erom* Osc. *ezum* 'esse', Umbr. a-ferum *a-fero* 'circumferre', Osc. *deicum* 'dicere' *moltaum* 'multare' (cp. § 156).

Adject. Lat. *rōb-u-s* *-u-m* *-a*, Umbr. acc. pl. masc. *rof-u* 'rufos' fem. *rof-a* 'rufas': Goth. *ráuþ-s* *ráuþ* *ráud-a* 'red'.

Old Irish. Masc. *dia*, gen. *dē*, 'God' pr. Kelt. **deiu̯-o-s*: Skr. *dēv-á-s* Lat. *deiv-o-s* *deu-s* (I § 172 p. 152) Lith. *dẽv-a-s* 'God', cp. Skr. *div-* Gr. *Διϝ-* 'heaven, god of heaven'. *orc* 'pig': Gr. *πόρκ-ο-ϛ* Lat. *porc-u-s* O.H.G. *farh* *farah* Lith. *paršz-a-s* 'pig, sucking-pig'. O.Ir. *at-trab n-* Mid.Ir. *ait-treb n-* 'possession, dwelling' no doubt to be compared with Goth. *þaúrp* 'field, land' O.H.G. *dorf* 'village'. Fem. *ben*, gen. *mn-ā*, 'wife': O.C.Sl. *žen-a* etc., see p. 111 above. *coss*, pl. *coss-a*, 'foot': Lat. *cox-a*, O.H.G. *hahs-a* 'hollow of the knee'. *ferg* *ferc*, gen. *ferge*, 'wrath': Gr. *ὀργ-ή* 'impulse, passion'.

Adject. *caech* m., *caech n-* n. *caech* f. 'blind': Lat. *caecu-s* *-u-m* *-a*, Goth. *háih-s* *háih* *háih-a* 'one-eyed' *ōg* 'integer', from √ *au̯g-*.

Germanic. Goth. *snáiv-s* O.H.G. *snēo* m. 'snow': Lith. *snẽg-a-s* O.C.Sl. *sněg-ŭ* 'snow', √ *sneiǥh-*. Goth. *dag-s* O.H.G.

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tag m. 'day': Skr. *ni-dāgh-á-s* 'hot season', Lith. *dãg-a-s* 'harvest'. O.H.G. *teig* m. O.Icel. *deig* n. 'dough': Skr. *dēh-a-s* 'body', Gr. *τοῖχ-ο-ς* 'wall', √ *dheigh-* 'besmear, cement'. O.Icel. *draug-r* m. 'ghost': Skr. *drōgh-a-s* 'injury inflicted deceitfully'. Goth. *juk* O.H.G. *joh* n. 'yoke': Skr. *yug-á-m* etc. Goth. *dal* O.H.G. *tal* n. 'valley': Gr. *θόλ-ο-ς* 'cupola, dome', O.C.Sl. *dol-ŭ* 'valley'. Goth. *ahv-a* O.H.G. *ah-a* 'water': Lat. *aqu-a*. Goth. *gib-a* O.H.G. *geb-a* 'gift', beside Goth. *giban* 'to give'. Goth. *stáig-a* 'path, way', beside *steigan* 'to climb'.

Adject. Goth. *lagg-s lagg lagg-a* O.H.G. *lang* 'long': Lat. *long-u-s -u-m -a*. Goth. *liuf-s liuf liub-a* O.H.G. *liob* 'dear, beloved': O.C.Sl. *ljub-ŭ -o -a*.

Transference into the *o*-declension is frequent, into the *ā*-declension more rare; e. g. nom. sing. Goth. *frijōnds* O.H.G. *friunt* 'friend' gen. sing. *frijōndis friuntes* and other forms with terminations of the *o*-declension, contrasted with the nom. pl. Goth. *frijōnds* O.H.G. *friunt* etc. which have not modified the original *-nt-* stem (§ 126), O.H.G. nom. pl. *tohterā* 'daughters' dat. pl. *tohterōn* beside the older pl. *tohter* = Gr. *θυγατέρ-ες* (§ 122).

Balto-Slavonic. Masc. Lith. *mūs-a-s* 'film (on liquids)' O.C.Sl. *mŭch-ŭ* 'moss': O.H.G. *mos* n. 'moss'. Lith. *āt-lēk-a-s* O.C.Sl. *otŭ-lĕk-ŭ* 'remnant, remainder': Skr. *ati-rēk-a-s* 'remnant, excess' Gr. *λοιπ-ό-ς* 'remaining'. Lith. *úž-valk-a-s* 'outside covering, bed-covering' O.C.Sl. *oblak-ŭ* 'cloud' (for **ob-vlak-ŭ*, cp. I § 184 p. 160): Gr. *ὁλκ-ό-ς* 'a drawing, thing drawn'. O.C.Sl. *glagol-ŭ* 'sound, word' (for **gol-gol-ŭ*, cp. I § 281 p. 224): Skr. *gàr-gar-a-s*, a musical instrument. Neut. O.C.Sl. *igo* 'yoke': Skr. *yug-á-m*; O.C.Sl. *tĭl-o* 'ground': Skr. *tal-a-s* 'surface, ground' (√ *tel-*); in Lith. the masc. termination is found in the nom. acc.; e. g. *jùng-a-s* 'yoke', a modification of the Idg. **jug-ó-m*. Fem. Lith. *vaps-à* 'gadfly' O.C.Sl. *vos-a* 'wasp' (I § 545 p. 399): O.H.G. *wafs-a* 'wasp'. Lith. *rank-à* O.C.Sl. *rąk-a* 'hand', beside Lith. *renkù* 'I gather, collect'.

Adject. Lith. *saũs-a-s saus-a saus-à* O.C.Sl. *such-ŭ -o -a* 'dry': Skr. *śōṣ-a-s -a-m -ā* 'drying, parching' (*ś-* for *s-*, I § 557, 4 p. 413), Gr. Ion. *αὗ-ο-ς αὗ-ο-ν αὕ-η* 'dry'.

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Remark 2. It may not be premature to notice here that the Lith. neuter form in -a arose from -o-d and not from -o-m, and is therefore a pronominal termination. See R. Garbe, Litau. und lett. Drucke des 16. u. 17. Jahrh., IV p. XLI.

§ 61. The Suffix -tu̯-o- -tu̯-ā- (-tuu̯-o- -tuu̯-ā-).[1] This is an extension of -tu- -teu̯- (§ 108).

Originally it was no doubt primary, and used to form adjectives (cp. e. g. Skr. *kár-tuva-s kár-tva-s* 'faciendus', beside the inf. *kár-tu-m*) whose neuter and feminine forms were used as abstract substantives, on the analogy of which derivative abstract substantives were also formed from nouns (§ 158).

The accentuation of Sanskrit formations like *dēva-tvá-m* 'divinity', and the *d* of the Goth. *þiva-dv* 'servitude' (see I § 530 p. 386 f.), shew that *-*tu̯ó-m* was the form assumed by the suffix in these secondary abstract substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Compare Ar. -*tvana*· Gr. -σνvo- § 70.

In Aryan, the suffix is frequent. In Skr. it appears in gerundives like *kár-tuva-s kár-tva-s* 'faciendus' *ján-tuva-s jani-tva-s* 'procreandus'. The neuters of these gerundives are often used substantivally, as *kár-tva-m* 'task, work to be done'. Compare also Avest. *varš-tve-m* 'work, action' (beside *ver°z-yē-mi* 'I do'), *stao-þwe-m* 'prayer' (beside *stao-mi* 'I praise, pray'). Secondary formations in *-*tu̯ó-m*: Skr. *dēva-tvá-m* 'divinity' (*dēvá-s* 'god'), *šatru-tvá-m* 'enmity' (*šátru-š* 'enemy'), *rakšas-tvá-m* 'demoniacal nature' (*rakšás-* 'monster, demon'), Avest. *aŋhu-þwe-m* 'lordship, might' (*aŋhu-š* 'lord'), *fratema-þwem* 'a being first, nobility' (*fratema-* 'first').

As to the interchange of -*tva* and -*tuva*- in Sanskrit see Edgren, Journal of the American Orient. Soc., XI 82 sq.

In Latin it is rare. We can scarcely count *mor-tuo-s* (for **mr̥-tu̯o-s*): O.C.Sl. *mrŭ-tvŭ* 'mortuus' as an example, cp. I § 170 p. 150; see § 64 Rem. 3 below. But *Fā-tuo-s* ('soothsayer') and *mā-tuo-s* no doubt belong here (with the suffix in the form -*tuu̯o-*); see I § 170 p. 151.

1) Benfey, Indog. Part. Perf. auf *tuâ* oder *tva*, Nachr. der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., 1878, n. 7.

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In Germanic it is not common. Goth. *vaúrstv* n. 'work' for pr. Germ. **u̯urχ-s-tu̯a-n*, whose *-s-* must be compared with that of *-s-tro-* (§ 62), *-s-lo-* (§ 76), *-s-ti-* (§ 100), *-s-tu-* (§ 108), *-s-men-* (§ 117)[1]). *ūhtvō* f. 'morning twilight' for **uχ-tu̯ō-* (transferred to the *n*-inflexion), ground-form **ŋ̥q-tu̯ā-*, compare directly Skr. *aktú-ṣ* 'brightness' for **ŋ̥q-tu-s*, and less immediately Skr. *añj-i-ṣ* 'ointment, adornment'. *vah-tvō* or *vah-tva* (only the dat. pl. *vahtvōm* is actually found) 'watch, guard', from *vakan* 'to watch'. A.S. *lǣs*, gen. *lǣswe*, f. 'letting blood' for **lēsu̯ō-* i. e. **lēt* + *tu̯ō-*, beside Goth. *lētan* 'to let', *rǣs*, gen. *rǣswe*, f. 'counsel' for **rēsu̯ō-* i. e. **rēd* + *tu̯ō-*, beside Goth. *rēdan* 'to counsel' (cp. I § 527 p. 382). As in all the instances given, so in Goth. *frija-þva* 'love' and *fija-þva* 'enmity' from *frijōn* 'to love' and *fijōn* 'to hate' the suffix is to be regarded as primary; yet *frija-þva* (in imitation of which *fija-þva* was afterwards formed) was originally a secondary formation, from the adj. *frija-* '(fre)e, which in the prehistoric period had meant 'dear', cp. Skr. *priya-tvá-m* 'a being beloved' from *priyá-* 'dear, beloved'. Goth. *þiva-dv* n. 'servitude' from *þiu-s* 'servant'.

In Slavonic it is frequent. Primary: Masc.: O.C.Sl. *mrĭ-tvŭ* 'mortuus'? (see above), O.C.Sl. *rybi-tvŭ* 'fisher'; Neut. Russ. *jas-tvo* 'food', Russ. *ši-tvo* 'sewing', O.C.Sl. *čuvi-tvo* 'organ of sense'; Fem. O.C.Sl. *jas-tva* 'food' *žę-tva* 'harvest' *moli-tva* 'prayer' *goni-tva* 'pursuit'. Secondary *-(ĭ)s-tvo* (cp. the suffix *-ĭskŭ* § 90): *zělĭstvo* 'violence' (*zělŭ* 'violent'), *dětĭstvo* 'childhood (*dětę* 'child); probably this form of the suffix started from stems in *-i-*, cp. *tatĭstvo* 'theft', from *tatĭ* m. 'thief', *blędĭstvo* 'boasting, bluster' from *blędĭ* f. 'deceit, farce' (cp. *-ĭba* § 78). In Lithuanian Leskien is probably right in tracing this suffix in the group of names of tools formed with *-tuva-*, such as *kósz-tùva-s* 'strainer, filter' (*kósziu* 'I filter'), *rës-tùva-s* 'roller for winding yarn' (*rẽcziù* 'I roll, wind'), *karsz-tùvai* pl. 'woolcarder's comb' (*karsziùvĩlnas*

1) Goth. *gáidv* n. 'lack' no doubt belongs rather to √*gheidh-* 'desire' (O.H.G. *gīt* 'eagerness, greed') than to *gei-gan*, i. e. it should be analysed *gáid-v*, not *gái-dv*.

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'I card wool'), *min-tuvaī* pl. 'a machine for breaking flax, brake' (*minù linùs* 'I tear flax'). Cp. also Pruss. *pre-artue* 'ploughshare' and *ar-twes* 'ship's voyage'.

§ 62. The Suffix *-tr-o- -tr-ā-, -tl-o- -tl-ā*[1]). This is an extension of *-ter- -tor-* (§ 119 ff.), cp. e. g. Skr. *ari-tra-* 'oar' from *ari-tar-* 'rower'. Perhaps *l* arose from *r* by some process or processes of assimilation or dissimilation (partly in proethnic Indo-Germanic, partly in the separate languages), cp. I § 282 p. 225 f.[2]).

The meaning is generally that of the instrument or the place of the action.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *bhari-tra-m* 'arm' (that with which one bears), Gr. *φέρε-τρο-ν φέρ-τρο-ν* 'litter, bier', Lat. *prae-feri-culu-m* 'wide sacrificial dish' (regarded as the instrument for carying something offered) *fer-culu-m* 'litter, bier'. Skr. m. n. *ari-tra-* O.H.G. n. *ruo-dar* Lith. *ìr-kla-s* 'oar', cp. also Gr. *Ἐρέ-τρ-ια* 'Oarstown'. Skr. *mā-trā* Gr. *μέ-τρο-ν* 'measure' (or should we follow de Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 248, in assuming this to stand for Idg. **metro-* i. e. **med* + *tro-*?).

Aryan. Skr. *kšа-trá-m* Avest. *xša-þre-m* O.Pers. *xša-ša-m* 'lordship'. Skr. *vás-tra-m* Avest. *vas-tre-m* 'garment, vesture'. Skr. *dhár-tra-m* 'support' Avest. *dar^{e}-þre-m* 'an upholding, holding fast'. Skr. *vahí-tra-m* 'ship': Lat. *vehi-culu-m*. Skr. *hō-trā* Avest. *zao-þra* 'libation, offering': Gr. *χύ-τρᾱ* 'pot' *χύ-τλο-ν* 'libation'.

Armenian. *arōr araur*, gen. *arauro-y*, 'plough' for **ara-tro-* (I § 360 p. 276, § 483 p. 357): Gr. *ἄρο-τρο-ν* 'plough', Lat. *arā-tru-m*, O.Icel. *ar-þr* m. 'ploughing', Lith. *ár-kla-s* 'plough'.

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1) S. Bugge, Bemerkungen über den Ursprung der lateinischen Suffixe *clo, culo, cro*; *cla, cula, cra*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XX 134 ff. G. J. Ascoli, Die lateinischen Formen des ursprünglichen Instrumentalsuffixes *-tra* (1867), Krit. Stud. 123 ff. H. Osthoff, Die mit dem Suffixe *-clo- -culo- -cro-* gebildeten nomina instrumenti des Lateinischen, Forsch. im Geb. der nomin. Stammbildung I 1 ff.

2) In I p. 226 l. 5 instead of '*the nominal suffixes* -tro- *and* -tlo- *beside* -dhro- *and* -dhlo-', read '*the nominal suffixes* -tlo- *and* -dhlo- *beside* -tro- *and* -dhro-'.

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αλαυr-i 'mill' (from *αλαm* 'I grind') was a secondary extension of a *tro*-stem: cp. Gr. *ἀλέ-τϱ-ιο-ς* 'belonging to grinding' *ἀλε--τϱ-εύω* 'I grind to powder' *ἀλετϱίβανος* for **ἀλετϱο-τϱῑβανο-ς* 'pulverising by grinding, pestle'.

Greek. *ῥόπ-τϱο-ν* 'tambourine, lever of a trap' A.S. *ræf--ter* m. 'beam'. *ἔλυ-τϱο-ν* 'covering, that which contains': Skr. *varú-tra-m* 'upper garment'. *λέκ-τϱο-ν* 'couch, bed': O.C.Sl. *lātr* 'lair of wild animals' pr. Germ. **laχ-tra-*. *δέλε-τϱο-ν* 'bait, lure', compare no doubt O.H.G. *quer-dar* 'bait, lure' (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 153). *νίπ-τϱο-ν* 'water for washing'. *ῥή-τϱᾱ* 'agreement, treaty'.

ἄν-τλο-ν ἄν-τλο-ς ἄν-τλη 'bilge-water, dead-water, baling scoop': cp. Skr. *áma-tra-m* 'vessel, jug, drinking-cup' (Lat. *ex-antlāre ex-anclāre* is the Greek *ἐξ-αντλεῖν* borrowed, cp. I § 367 p. 278). *ἐχέ-τλη* 'plough-tail'.

Italic. Lat. *cas-tru-m* and fem. *cas-tra*; in Umbr.-Samn. the word has passed into other declensions, Osc. *castrovs* gen. 'fundi' *castrid* abl. 'fundo' Umbr. kastruvuf 'fundos'. Lat. *rōs-tru-m* (*rōdō* 'I gnaw'), *arā-tru-m*, *fulgē-tru-m fulgē-tra*. Umbr. kle-tram 'lecticam': Goth. *hlei-þra* 'hut, tent', √ *klei-*.

-tlo- became *-klo-* in proethnic Italic, except where *s* preceded (I § 366 p. 278). Lat. *piā-clu-m -culu-m*, Umbr. piha--klu 'piaculorum'. Lat. *sae-clu-m -culu-m*: Lith. *sė-klà* 'seed'. Lat. *ind-ū-cula sub-ū-cula*: Avest. *ao-þre-m* 'sandal', Lett. *áu-kla* a kind of string (in Lith. the declension has changed, *au-klė̃* 'bandage for the feet'). Umbr. eh-vel-klu 'edictum, decretum', mantrah-klu 'mantele'. Osc. sakara-klúm 'sacrum'. *-tlo-* is kept after *s* in Osc. pes-tlú-m 'sacellum, templum': Umbr. *pers-clu pes-clu* 'supplicatione'. *-clo-* became *-cro-* in Latin by dissimilation where an *l* preceded (I § 269 p. 217): *lavā-cru-m*: Gr. *λοε-τϱό-ν λουτϱό-ν* 'bath, water for washing', Gall. *lau-tro* 'balneo', O.Icel. *lau-ðr* 'soap'; *lu-cru-m*; *in-volū-cru-m*.

Rarely we find *-s-tro-*, as *mōn-s-tru-m capi-s-tru-m* (cp. the Germanic); whence also nouns in *-āster -āstra -āstru-m*, like *formāster*, *oleāster oleāstru-m* (see Seck, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 390 ff. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, ibid. 404 ff.).

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Old Irish. *lō-thor lō-thur* n. 'alveus, canalis' Gall. *lau-tro* 'balneo': Lat. *lavā-cru-m* etc., see above. *tara-thar* n. 'boring tool, gimlet': Gr. τέρε-τρο-ν 'gimlet'. *criathar* n. 'sieve': O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* 'sieve'? (see the end of the section, p. 122). *ara-thar* n. 'aratrum': Armen. *urōr* etc,, see p. 118. *bria-thar* f. 'word'. *cētal* n. 'song' (*cētlo-* for **can-tlo-*). With regard to the developement of *-thar* from **-tro-m* and from **-trā*, and of *-tal* from **-tlo-m*, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469 and § 634 p. 475.

cenēl n. 'family, race' O.Cymr. *cene-tl. scēl* n. 'narration, tale' Mod.Cymr. *chwedl* for pr. kelt. **skṷ-e-tlo-n*, √ *seq* 'say'. *anāl* f. 'breath' Mod.Cymr. *ana-dl.* Cp. I § 110 p. 104, § 518 p. 371 f., § 620 p. 467.

Germanic. The *þ* of the pr. Germ. *-þra- -þla-* indicates that the sonant next preceding it bore the principal accent (I § 529 p. 384 f.). O.H.G. *lio-dar* A.S. *hleó-ðor* 'sound, noise', pr. Germ. *hléu̯-þra-*: Skr. *śró-tra-m* 'hearing, ear'. Goth. *smaiʀ-þr* n. 'grease, fat', √ *smer-* 'besmear'. Goth. *hlei-þra* 'tent': Umbr. kle-tram 'lecticam', √ *klei̯-*. O.H.G. *sta-dal* m. 'shed, barn': Skr. *sthā-trá-m* 'standing-place, position'. O.H.G. *wa-dal we-dil* m. n. 'fan, tuft', √ *u̯ē-* 'blow'. Goth. *nē-þla* and *nā-dla* 'needle (cp. Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 5. 277 f.).

O.H.G. *bīhal* n. 'hatchet' pr. Germ. **bīþla-*, Idg. **bhei̯tlo-* for **bhei̯d* + *tlo-*, √ *bhei̯d-* 'findere' (is O.Ir. *biail*, gen. *bēla*, 'hatchet' connected with this?); O.H.G. *sedal* n. m. 'seat' pr. Germ. **seþla-*, Idg. **setlo-* for **sed* + *tlo-*, √ *sed-* 'sit'. I follow de Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 247. 255[1]).

After spirants, *t* is kept (thus the original accent cannot be determined): Mid.H.G. *wes-ter* f. 'baptismal robe' Skr. *vás-tra-m* 'garment'; Goth. *gilstr* n. 'tribute' from *gild* 'tribute' √ *gheldh-*; O.H.G. *bluostar* n. 'offering' (Goth. derivative *blōstreis* 'offerer') beside. Goth. *blōtan* 'offer'; O.H.G. *riostar* n. and *riostra* f. 'ploughshare' beside Mid.H.G. *riuten* 'root out'; O.H.G. *hlahtar* n. O.Icel. *hlatt*r m. 'laughter'.

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1) Germ. **bīþla-*, like Gr. φιτρό-ς 'log, piece of wood', which de Saussure similarly derives from *bhei̯d-*, might certainly be connected with O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'strike' *u-boj-ĭ* 'deathblow'.

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Pr. Germ. *-ðra- -ðla-* indicate that this suffix bore the accent (cp. Skr. *as-trá-m dā-trá-m* etc.), see I § 530 p. 386 f.; yet these pr. Germ. suffixal forms may also represent Idg. *-dhro- -dhlo-*, see p. 122. Idg. *-tro-* is probably seen e. g. in Goth. *fō-dr* 'scabbard' O.H.G. *fuo-tar* A.S. *fō-ddor* n. 'case, sheath': Skr. *pā́-tra-m* 'that which contains, vessel'.

-s-tra- is fairly frequent; as O.H.G. *gal-s-tar* n. 'song' from *galan* 'sing', compare A.S. *ȝeal-dor* n. O.Icel. *gal-dr* m.; Goth. *huli-s-tr* 'covering' from *huljan* 'cover'. Cp. Osthoff, Über das eingedrungene *s* in der nominalen Suffixform *-stra-*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 313 ff., and *-s-tu̯o-* (§ 61), *-s-lo-* (§ 76), *-s-ti-* (§ 100), *-s-tu-* (§ 108), *-s-men-* (§ 117).

Balto-Slavonic. *-tro-* is found only in a few uncertain examples, as Lith. *vė̃-tra* 'storm' O.C.Sl. *vě-trŭ* 'air, wind'. The uncertainty is caused by the possibility of a later transference into the *o-* or *ā*-declension, which has undoubtedly taken place in O.C.Sl. *bratr-ŭ* 'brother' *sestr-a* 'sister'.

-tlo- occurs only in Baltic, where it appears in Lith. and Lett. as *-kla-* (I § 377 p. 285 f.). Pruss. **sen-tla-* 'token, sign' in the partic. *eb-sentliuns* 'having betokened, marked' Lith. *žẽn-kla-s* 'token, sign': cp. Skr. *jñā-tra-m* 'ability to recognise' O.H.G. *be-cnuodelen* 'give a sign of recognition' *ir-chnuodilen* 'become perceptible'; from which we may deduce a pr. Germ. form **knō-þla-*. Pruss. *sper-tla-n* 'cushion of the toes', beside Lith. *spir-iù* 'strike with the foot'. Lith. *sė̃-klà* Lett. *sê-kla* 'seed': Lat. *sae-culu-m*. Lith. *bū-klà* 'home' *bu-kla-s* (*ū*?) 'lair of an animal': Skr. *bhavi-tra-m* 'world' (this meaning is not certain) A.S. *bold* (for **bodl*) O.Icel. *bōl* 'house' pr. Germ. **bu-þla-*. In Slav. *-tlo-* was replaced by *-dhlo-*, see below.

In the European branches, *-dhro- dhlo-* are found side by side with *-tro- -tlo-*, and with the same meaning; and the former often displace the latter. Cp. e. g. Gr. *γένε-θλο-ν γενέ-θλη* 'origin, race, scion, birthplace': Skr. *jani-tra-m* 'birthplace'. *ἕδε-θλο-ν* 'seat': Lat. *sedi-culu-m*, Lett. *séde-kli-s* 'seat' (with the addition of the suffix *-i̯o-*). Lat. *tere-bra*: Gr. *τέρε-τρο-ν* O.Ir. *tara-thar* n. 'borer'. Lat. *sta-bulu-m*: O.H.G. *sta-dal* 'barn'.

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Pr.Germ. *-ðra- -ðla-* is ambiguous (see p. 121): is for example O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* 'sieve' connected with O.Ir. *cria-thar* or with Lat. *crī-bru-m*? In Slav. only *-dhlo-* occurs, as Czech *rá-dlo* O.C.Sl. *ra-lo ora-lo* 'plough': Lat. *arā-tru-m* etc. (see p. 119), Czech *by-dlo* 'dwelling' Pol. *by-dło* 'cattle, means': Lith. *bū-klà* 'home'. Cp. § 77.

§ 63. The Suffix -i̯o- -i̯ā-, -ii̯o- -ii̯ā-[1]).

With regard to the fluctuation between -ii̯o- and -i̯o- see I § 117 p. 110. § 120 p. 111 ff. A parallel form -īi̯o- is also found (e. g. Skr. *tṛt-īya-s* Gr. *προθῡμ-ίη*), whose relation to the two other forms is obscure; it resembles the Skr. *-īyas-* Gr. *-ίων* (§ 135), forms of the comparative suffix.

In the nom. sing. we find in different languages -i̯i- or -i- -ī- instead of and parallel to -i̯o-. Thus Goth. *har-ji-s*, *brūks* for **brūk-i-s*, *haírd-ei-s*; Umbr. Trutit-i-s 'Truttidius' (also in the acc., *Fisim* 'Fisium' and neut. terti 'tertium'), Osc. Viínikiís 'Vinicius' (*ī*), Púntiis 'Pontius' (*ī* or -i̯i-), Heírennis 'Herennius' (also neut. *medic-i-m* 'magisterium'), O.Lat. *Cornēl-i-s* (and acc. *Cornēl-i-m*, cp. also voc. *fīlī*); Lith. *mẽd-i-s* and *gaid-ỹ-s*[2]).

From the earliest period this suffix was both primary and

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1) H. Kern, Le Suffixe *ya* du Sanscrit classique, *ia* de l'Arien, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 321 ff. F. G. Benseler, De nominibus propriis et Latinis in *is* pro *ius* et Graecis ις ιν pro ιος ιον terminatis, Curtius' Stud. III 147 ff. G. F. Aly, De nominibus ιο suffixi ope formatis, Berol. 1873. J. Akens, Über die Adjectiva auf αιος, ειος, ηιος, οιος, ωϊος, Emmerich 1873. G. Meyer, Das Nominalsuffix ιο im Griech., Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 481 ff. A. Fick, Zum sogenannten *ja*-suffix im Griech., Bezzenb. Beitr. I 120 ff. K. Zacher, De nominibus Graecis in -αιος -αια -αιον, Halle 1877. A. Fritsch, Zum Vokalismus des Herodotischen Dialektes [on -ηιο- and -ειο- in syllables containing derivative suffixes], Hamburg 1888. Th. Aufrecht, Über die lateinischen Suffixe *tia*, *tio*, Kuhn's Ztschr. VI 177 ff. W. Schlüter, Die mit dem Suffixe *ja* gebildeten deutschen Nomina, Göttingen 1875.

2) In I § 84 Remark 1 p. 80, I assumed the existence of -i̯i- as a form of the Idg. suffix beside -i̯o-. As my pupil Prof. W. Streitberg has recognised, it is preferable to assume -i- -ī- as the original forms (-i-:

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secondary, and its neuter and feminine forms are frequently used as substantives (§ 158).

Three chief functions of this suffix may be distinguished.

1. It forms verbal adjectives with the meaning of the so-called fut. pass. participles or participles of necessity, or with a simple participial meaning, active or passive. In Sanskrit, but nowhere else, these adjectives appear as a class of forms in active and extensive use. The neuter and the feminine are often used as abstract substantives (see above).

Idg. Skr. *yáj-ya-s* Gr. *ἅγ-ιο-ς* 'venerandus', fem. *yáj-yā* *ἁγ-ίᾱ*, √ *i̯ag̑-* 'revere'. Skr. *sā́c-iya-s* 'whom one must help, must value', Gr. *ἀοσσητήρ* 'helper' from **ὁσσο-* which stands for **sokᵘ̯-i̯o-*, Lat. *soc-iu-s*, √ *seq-* 'be together with, follow'.

Aryan. In Skr. *-i̯o-* appears as a living participial suffix; e. g. *dṛ́ś-ya-s dárś-iya-s* 'visible, worth seeing' *cḗt-iya-s* 'perceptible'. Examples of substantival usage are: neut. *vā́c-iya-m* *vā́c-ya-m* speech, word'; fem. *vid-yā́* 'knowledge'. For the fluctuation between *-ya-* and *-iya-* see Edgren, Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 74 ff.

Following a root ending in a short vowel the suffix assumes the form *-ti̯o-* instead of *-i̯o-*, as *kṛ́-tya-s* 'faciendus' *kṛ-ty-am*

-ī- = -i̯o- : -ii̯o-), so that this form represents the weak-grade phase of the suffix which we are discussing, in the same way as -ī- represents that of -i̯ē- (§ 109). Streitberg is certainly right in laying especial stress on Gothic forms like *brūks un-nuts*. The form -i̯i- arose through the -i̯- being added from cases which had -i̯o- -i̯e-. Just so we have in Lith. *jì-s jį̃* for **ì-s *į̃* on the model of *jõ* etc. Such forms as Lith. *mõ-ji-s* are of the same kind as O.C.Sl. *ladi-ji* § 110 and Skr. *svadhā-yín-* § 115. Beside the Idg. stems formed with -i̯o- -i̯e-: -i- (-ii̯o- -ii̯e-: -ī-) there probably existed from the pr. Idg. period onwards invariable -i̯o- stems which never had -i-. To these however we must not refer nominative forms like Skr. *yáj-y-as* Gr. *ἅγ-ιο-ς* Lat. *exim-iu-s*, which were new formations (cp. Goth. *brūks*), and similarly Skr. *yá-s* Gr. *ὅ-ς* (cp. Lith. *jì-s*). I do not believe that the late Greek nouns ending *-ις -ιν* instead of *-ιος -ιον* should be classed here as containing an original form of their suffix. They were created on the model of personal names belonging to the classical period, such as *Ἄλεξις Ζεῦξις* (cp. R. Wagner, Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis, Lips. 1883, p. 96).

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'business' *kŗ-tyá* 'infliction, bewitchment', a new formation based upon such stems as *-kŕ-t-* 'faciens' (§ 123).

In Avest. *-ya-* is rarer, e. g. *dar^{e}s-ya-* 'visible', *vairya-* 'worth choosing or desiring', *išya-* 'desired, dear'.

Armenian. Here no doubt should be classed *li*, gen. *lioy*, 'full' from **plē-i̯o-*.

Greek. *στύγ-ιο-ς* 'abominable, odious'. *πάγ-ιο-ς* 'established, firm, durable'. *σφάγ-ιο-ς* 'slaying, killing'. Substantival usage: *ἐρείπ-ια* pl. 'ruins, debris', *σφάγ-ιο-ν* 'offering, victim for offering'.

Italic. Lat. *exim-iu-s* 'eximendus, exceptional, distinguished'. *īn-fer-iu-s* 'presented, offered': cp. Avest. *bairya-* 'presenting'. Substantives: *frag-iu-m* 'breach, fracture', *stud-iu-m* 'zeal, eagerness, desire', *exuv-iae* pl. 'clothing, cast-off skin'.

Old Irish. Subst. fem. *in-sc-e* 'speech' √*seq-*, neut. *suide* 'seat', √*sed-*, *frecre* for **frith-gaire* (I § 514 Rem. 2 p. 376) 'answering, answer' √*gar-*.

Germanic. Adjectives with the meaning of the fut. partic. pass. are commoner than in other European languages. Goth. *brūkja-* (nom. *brūks*) O.H.G. *prūchi* 'useful, serviceable'. Goth. *un-nutja-* (nom. *un-nuts*) 'useless' O.H.G. *nuzzi* A.S. *nyt* 'useful'. Goth. *un-qēþja-* (nom. *un-qēþs*) 'unutterable'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* suitable, useful'. Here perhaps should be classed Goth. *havi*, 'gen. *háujis*, O.H.G. *hewi* n. 'hay' pr. Germ. **χau̯-i̯a-* n. i. e. 'that which is to be cut'. Abstract nouns: neut. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitability, usefulness' compared with the adj. *gi-fuori*; Fem. A.S. *nyt* O.Icel. *nytr* 'use' compared with adj. A.S. *nyt*, Goth. *brak-ja* 'fight' (originally 'breach') with *brikan* 'to break'.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian there are only a few adjectives; e. g. *sriau-ja-s* 'flowing swiftly', *žala-s žale-s* (Pruss. acc. *saligan* with *g* = *j*) 'green', properly 'being verdant', from *žél-ti* 'to be verdant'. The following may be adjectives used substantivally: *vė̃-ja-s* 'wind' ('he who blows'), *gaid-ỹ-s* 'cock' ('he who crows'), from *gĕd-óti* 'crow'), etc., all masculine. Forms formerly neuter used as substantives: *žõd-i-s* 'word' (cp. Skr. *vā́c-ya-m*), *kañd-i-s* 'bite', *kiřt-i-s* 'cut or blow' with a cutting instrument (Skr. *kart-ya-*

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'to be hewn or cut off') and other such forms; feminine forms used as substantives are *pradžià* 'beginning' for **pra-d-i̯ā* beside *pra-dě-ti* 'begin' (√ *dhē-*), *žin-ià* 'knowledge' and others.

Slavonic. Adjectives which should no doubt be classed here are *lŭžĭ* 'deceitful' for **lŭg-i̯ĭ*: O.H.G. *luggi lukki* O.Sax. *luggi* 'deceitful' pr. Germ. **luz-i̯a-*; also *vědĭ* 'knowing, aware' for **ved-i̯ĭ* and other examples. Substantival usage: *lŭža* 'lie' for **lŭg-i̯ā*: O.H.G. *lugī* 'lie' which implies a form **luz-i̯ō*; *jažda* 'food, victuals' for **ēd-i̯ā*: Lat. *in-ed-ia* Skr. *ād-ya-s* 'eatable' O.Icel. *ætr* 'eatable' for **āt-i̯a-z*; *sta-ja* 'position, standing-place, stall'; *dažda* 'gift' for **dād-i̯ā* from the reduplicated form *da-d-* 'give'.

Remark 1. There is often room for doubt whether an *-i̯o*-form should be classed here, or whether it be a secondary formation (2). Thus, for example, Gr. *σφάγ-ιο-ς* may also have been formed from *σφαγ-ή* 'a slaying, offering', O.H.G. *luggi lukki* from *lug* m. 'lie'. It should further be observed that the popular conception of the meaning of a word was very liable to change; a form which was originally primary might be regarded as a derivative, and *vice versa*. Thus e. g. Lat. *rēg-iu-s*, which the Romans certainly looked upon as derived from *rēx*, may very well have been primary to start with: cp. Skr. *rāj-iyá-s*, subst. *rāj-iyá-m*, beside *rā́j-* 'king' and *rā́ṣ-ṭi rā́j-a-ti* 'shines forth, is conspicuous, rules, governs'; the verbal stem from which *rēgiu-s* was originally derived died out in Latin, and thus the form was firmly established in the popular conception as a derivative of the noun *rēx*. Cp. Rem. 3 p. 132.

2. *-i̯o-* as a secondary suffix, forming adjectives which denote possession, origin, and other ways in which one thing may be connected with another. In these adjectives as well as in the former group the neuter and the feminine were often used as substantives with abstract meaning, and then *-i̯o-m* and *-i̯ā-* were taken to form substantives of this kind even where there was no corresponding adjective in *-i̯o-*

It is specially important to notice that in compounds with epithetised meaning, the so-called *bahuvrīhi* (§ 50), and also in adjectival compounds containing a governing preposition (§ 15 p. 30 f.), *-i̯o-* is often the sign of the adjectival character of the word; e. g. Gr. *ὁμο-πάτ̣ο-ιο-ς* beside *ὁμο-πάτωρ* 'from the same father', Skr. *ánv-āntr-ya-s* 'situated in the intestines'.

Idg. **pətr-ii̯o-s* 'belonging to a father' from **pəter-* 'father':

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Skr. *pitriya-s* Gr. *πάτριο-ς* Lat. *patriu-s*. When the suffix was added to *o*- and *ā*-stems, the final vowel of the stem was dropped (cp. Rem. 3 p. 132); examples are **ekṷ-i̯o-s* 'equinus' from **ekṷo-* 'equus': Skr. *áśviya-s* Gr. *ἵππιο-ς*; **agr-i̯o-s* 'situated in the fields' from **ag-ro-* 'field': Skr. *ajríya-s* Gr. *ἄγριο-ς* ('wild').

Substantives: Skr. *svápnya-m* Lat. *somniu-m* O.C.Sl. *sŭnĭje sŭnije* 'dream' beside Skr. *svápna-s* Lat. *somnu-s* O.C.Sl. *sŭnŭ* 'sleep'. **ghn̥t-i̯ā* 'a slaying' seems to be an Idg. fem. of this kind; Skr. *hatyā* 'killing' O.Sax. *gūđea* 'fight' Lith. *ginczià* 'strife', beside the part. pass. **ghn̥-tó-* (Skr. *hatá-*) 'struck, slain'.

In adjectival compounds: Skr. *dáśa-mās-iya-* Avest. *dasa-māh-ya-* 'lasting for ten months' (beside Gr. *δεκά-μηνο-ς*), Skr. *tíra-mās-ya-* 'monthly', Gr. *ἐμ-μήν-ιο-ς* (beside *ἔμ-μηνο-ς*) 'running its course in a month' *ἐπι-μήν-ιο-ς* 'calculated for a month, lasting for a month'; Gr. *ὁμο-πάτρ-ιο-ς* O.Icel. *samfeðr* 'from the same father' (compare O.Pers. *hama-pitar-* Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ*).

Aryan. Skr. *gáv-ya-* Avest. *gao-ya-* 'bovinus' from *gav-* 'bos': Armen. *kog-i* 'butter' (see below). Skr. *śravas-iya-* 'glorious' from *śrávas-* 'glory' Avest. *manah-ya-* 'spiritual, invisible' from *manah-* 'spirit': cp. Gr. *τέλειο-ς τέλεο-ς* 'complete, having reached its end' for **τελεσ-ι̯ο-ς* beside *τέλος* n. 'end, goal'. Skr. *márt-iya-* Avest. *maš-iya-* O.Pers. *mart-iya-* 'mortal, a man' beside Skr. *márta-s* 'a mortal, man': cp. Gr. *ἀ-μβρόσ-ιο-ς* 'immortal' (I § 120 p. 112). Skr. *bhēšaj-yà-*[1]) Avest. *baęšaz-ya-* 'containing healing power, medicinal' from *bhēšaj-á-m baęšaz-e-m* 'healing power, medicine'. Skr. *grām-iyá-* 'belonging to a village' from *grāma-s* 'village, small community', *kṣatr-íya-* 'holding lordship, lord' from *kṣatrá-m* 'lordship', *sēn-iya-* 'provided with missiles' from *sēnā* 'missile'.

The group of participles in *-tav-ya-* was a new formation in Sanskrit, which did not become at all common until the post-

1) For typographical reasons the *svarita* accent is represented in this volume by the sign of the grave accent, and not as it was in vol. I p. 539.

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Vedic period: e. g. *kar-tav-yà-* 'faciendus' from the *nomen actionis kár-tu-*.

Substantives. Neut. Skr. *kṣatr-íya-m* 'lordship, sovereign might', *dūt-íya-m* 'message, duty of a messenger' (*dūtá-s* 'messenger'), Avest. *sāsn-ya-* 'announcement, dictate, command' (*sāsna-* 'word, announcement'). Fem. Skr. *pád-yā* 'footstep' (*pád-ya-* 'relating to the foot')[1]), *śarav-íyā* 'bowshot' (beside *śarav-yà-m* 'goal of the arrow', from *śáru-ṣ* 'arrow').

In adjectival compounds the suffix is rare. Skr. *su-hást-iya-* (beside *su-hásta-*) 'with beautiful hands' *mádhu-hast-iya-* 'holding sweetness in the hand' *ádhi-gart-iya-* 'situated on the driver's seat', Avest. *dēušmanah-ya-* 'cherishing evil sentiments, evil-doer' (cp. Skr. *dur-manas-* Gr. *δυσ-μενής*).

Armenian. This suffix appears to be contained in the nouns in *-i*. *kog-i* 'butter' ('coming from the cow') with *g* for *ɣ* (I § 162, 2 p. 145) from *kov* 'cow': Skr. *gáv-ya-*. To this group no doubt belong the further examples *gin-i* 'wine', i. e. 'that which comes from the grape' (cp. Gr. *οἶνο-ς* Lat. *vīnum*; for the suffix cp. Lith. *ap-vy-n-ỹ-s* 'hops'), *orj-i* 'not castrated' *mi-orj-i* '*μόνορχις*' from *orj* 'male', etc.

Greek. *νᾶ-ιο-ς νή-ιο-ς* 'belonging to a ship', from *ναῦ-ς* 'ship': Skr. *nāv-íya-* 'navigable'. *δῖο-ς* 'heavenly, glorious' for **διϝ-ιο-ς* from *Διϝ-*: Skr. *div-yá-s* 'heavenly'. *πεζό-ς* 'going on foot' for **πεδ-ιο-ς* beside *πούς ποδ-ός* 'foot': Skr. *pád-ya-s* 'relating to the foot'. *ἠοῖο-ς* 'early, eastern' for **-οσ-ιο-ς*, from *ἠώς* 'rosy dawn': Skr. *uṣás-ya-s* 'dedicated to the dawn'. *γομφ-ίο-ς* 'molar tooth' (orig. an adj. joined with *ὀδούς*) from *γόμφο-ς* 'plug, peg': cp. Skr. *jámbhya-s* 'molar tooth' or 'incisor tooth' from *jámbha-s* 'bite'. Lesb. *χέλλιοι* Ion. Att. *χείλιοι* (*χίλιοι*) 'thousand' for **χεσλ-ιοι* from **χεσλο-* (cp. *δεκά-χῖλοι*): Skr. *sa-hasr-íya-s* 'thousandfold' from *sa-hásra-m* 'thousand'; parallel to this is Dor. *-κατ-ιοι* Arcad. *-κασ-ιοι* in *διᾱ-κάτιοι* 'two hundred' from *ἑ-κατό-ν* 'hundred'.

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2) With this Gr. *πέζα* 'bottom, extremity, edge, border' is usually compared. Perhaps we should assume the existence of an original subst. **ped-i̯ā*.

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σωτήρ-ιο-ς 'saving, delivering' from σωτήρ 'saviour'. λειμών-ιο-ς 'belonging to the meadows' from λειμών 'meadow'. Ion. (and other dial.) βασιλή(ϝ)-ιο-ς 'kingly' from βασιλεύ-ς 'king' and the like (Att. -ειο-), whence the ending -ηιο-ς spread to other stems, e. g. ἀνδρ-ήιο-ς, πολεμ-ήιο-ς. τῑ́μ-ιο-ς 'held in honour' from τῑμή 'honour'.

Remark 2. There remain certain groups of nouns, ending in -αιο-ς -οιο-ς -ειο-ς, and retaining the ι (e. g. δίκαιο-ς, ἀλλοῖο-ς, οἰκεῖο-ς), which occur in several extensive classes of formations; but their origin and developement is still in many respects obscure, in spite of many attempts to investigate the subject thoroughly (see p. 122 footnote 1). They cannot be directly connected with Sanskrit forms like *hiraṇyá-ya-s* 'golden' from *hiraṇya-m* 'gold', *gavyá-ya-s* 'bovinus' from *gavyá-m* 'bovinum', nor with Lith. *vasaró-ji-s* 'field sown with spring-corn' from *vasarà* 'summer' ἀλλοῖο-ς etc. may well have been formed on the analogy of ποῖο-ς τοῖο-ς, which probably arose from -οi̯-i̯o-s. Thus -αιο- -ειο- (the latter only in some words) perhaps, go back to -αi̯-i̯o -ei̯-i̯o-. Have they any connexion with Skr. -ēya-?

Substantives, θελκτήρ-ιο-ν 'delight, magic charm' from θελκτή̄ρ-ιο-ς 'enchanting' θελκτήρ 'charmer' αἰδοῖο-ν 'pudendum' from αἰδοῖο-ς 'he before whom one feels shame', αἰδώς 'shame, modesty'. After the time of Homer neuter forms like these often assumed a diminutival meaning, as ὀρνῑ́θ-ιο-ν 'little bird', ἑταιρίδ-ιο-ν 'little mistress', ἀσπίδ-ιο-ν 'little shield' (hence -ιδιο-ν broke off as an independent suffix: ἀδελφ-ίδιο-ν 'little brother' ξιφ-ίδιο-ν 'little sword'); the intermediate stage between these two meanings was that of belonging to a kind; cp. the suffix -ēno- in Germanic (§ 68). σωτηρ-ίᾱ 'deliverance' from σωτή̄ρ-ιο-ς· ξεν-ίᾱ 'hospitality' from ξέν-ιο-ς 'hospitable'. ἡσυχ-ίᾱ 'quietude' from ἡσύχ-ιο-ς 'quiet'. The endings mentioned in Remark 2 were also used in the same way in substantives; e. g. Ion. ἀναγκαίη 'necessity' from ἀναγκαῖο-ς 'necessary' (compare ἀνάγκη 'necessity').

Adjectival compounds: ἐννεά-βο-ιο-ς 'worth nine oxen', παν-ημέρ-ιο-ς (beside παν-ήμερο-ς) 'lasting the whole day', ψευδ-όρκ-ιο-ς (and ψευδ-ορκο-ς) 'forsworn'. Where the compound contains a preposition which, in sense, governs the latter part, -i̯o- is fairly regular; e. g. ὑπ-ασπίδ-ιο-ς 'situated under a shield', παρα-θαλάσσ-ιο-ς 'situated near the sea' (§ 31 p. 53).

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Italic. Lat. *Jov-iu-s* 'belonging to Juppiter' Umbr. *Iov-iu* abl. 'Jovio' Osc. Iúv-iia 'Joviam'. Lat. *cēnsōr-iu-s* from *cēnsor*. *praecōn-iu-s* from *praecō*. *lucr-iu-s* from *lucru-m*. *nox-iu-s* from *noxa*.

Substantives. Lat. *augur-iu-m* beside *augur-iu-s* from *augur*, *dēversōr-iu-m* beside *dēversōr-iu-s* from *dēversor*, *hērēd-iu-m* from *hērēs* (stem. *hērēd-*), *collēg-iu-m* from *collēga*. *nox-ia* beside *nox-iu-s* from *noxa*, *custōd-ia* from *custōs* (stem *custōd-*), *famil-ia* Umbr. fameř-ias nom. 'familiae' beside Lat. *famulu-s*; Osc. medikk-iaí loc. of medikk-iā- 'function of a *medix*' (cp. Lat. *vindic-ia* from *vindex*).

Adjectival compounds. Lat. *acu-ped-iu-s* 'swiftfooted', *falci-ped-iu-s*: cp. A.S. *ān-fēte* 'one-footed' (cp. below under Germanic); *falsi-jūr-iu-s*; *centi-nōd-iu-s*; *in-vīn-iu-s*. Where there was a governing preposition, other adjectival suffixes were generally employed, cp. *ante-lūc-ānus-*, *extrā-ordin-āriu-s* and similar compounds.

Old Irish. Besides the adjectives in *-de -te*, which shew an extension of the suffix (as *dāl-te* 'forensis' from *dāl* 'forum', *daur-de* 'quernus' from *daur* 'quercus'), it can hardly be said that any derived adjectives remain which are formed simply with *-i̯o-*. But manyof the substantives connected with these adjectives have been preserved; e. g. *aue ōa* 'grandson' = O.C.Sl. *u-jĭ* Pruss. *awi-s* 'uncle', beside Lat. *avo-s* 'grandfather'. Neut. *orbe orpe* 'inheritance, heritage' = Goth. *arbi* 'heritage', common ground-form **orbh-i̯o-m* (I § 139 p. 124 f., § 335 p. 267, § 524 p. 380), beside Armen. *orb* 'orphan' Lat. *orbu-s* 'set free, bereft, orphaned' (the original meaning therefore of the Irish and German word was probably 'something, i. e. property, bereft, left behind'), *cenēle* 'genus' from *cenēl* 'genus' (cp. Gr. *εὐναῖο-ν εὐναία* beside *εὐνή* 'couch', *ἀναγαίη* beside *ἀνάγκη* 'necessity', *οἰκίο-ν οἰκία* beside *οἶκο-ς* 'house', O.C.Sl. *ognište* n. 'fireplace, hearth' for **-isk-i̯e* beside Pol. *ognisko* n., and the like). Fem. *lāne* 'plenitudo' from *lān* 'plenus', *ōge* 'integritas' from *ōg* 'integer', *galarche* 'aegritudo' from *galrach* 'aeger'.

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Cp. also Gallic proper names like *Cintugnāt-iu-s* beside *Cintugnātu-s*, *Tout-iu-s* beside *Toutu-s* (cp. Gr. Ἀντιγένε-ιο-ς, Τελαμών-ιο-ς).

Germanic. In the adjectival use it is no longer a living suffix, its place having been taken by *-īna- -ʒa-* etc.; but it is frequently retained in substantives. Goth. *niþ-ji-s* 'cousin, kinsman' O.Icel. *nið-jar* pl. 'descendants, offspring' A.S. *niððas* pl. 'men' for **ne(þ)t-i̯o-* (I § 527 p. 382) beside O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew, kinsman', Idg. stem (in the weak form) **nept-*: Avest. *napt-iya-* 'kinsman', Gr. ἀνεψ-ιό-ς O.C.Sl. *net-iji̯ĭ* 'first cousin'. Goth. *hairdeis* O.H.G. *hirti* 'herdsman' ('he who belongs to the herd') pr. Germ. **χirð-ii̯a-*, beside Goth. *hairda* O.H.G. *herta* 'herd'. Goth. *gubblōstr-ei-s* 'offerer' beside O.H.G. *bluostar* 'offering'. O.H.G. *ouwa* O.Icel. *ey* (pl. *eyjar*) 'marshy land, island' ('watery' f. scil. 'earth', cp. Gr. πολεμία 'enemy's land') for **a(ʒ)u-i̯ō* (I § 444 *c* p. 330), beside Goth. *ahva* O.H.G. *aha* 'water'.

Neuter and feminine forms used as substantives. Goth. *reik-i* O.H.G. *rīhh-i* n. 'realm, lordship' beside Goth. *reik-s* 'lord, ruler': Skr. *rāj-iyá-m*, yet cp. Rem. 1 p. 125. Goth. *andbaht-i* n. 'service' from *andbahts* 'servant', *þiub-i* n. 'theft' from *þiufs* 'thief'. Goth. *háuhisti* n. 'the highest height' from *háuhists* 'highest': cp. Skr. *jyāiṣṭh-ya-m* 'highest power' from *jyéṣṭha-s* 'most powerful'; Goth. *unháili* n. 'illness' from *unháils* 'ill'. O.H.G. *diub-(i)a* f. 'theft' beside Goth. *þiubi* n. Goth. *ga-riud-jō* f. 'shame' (transferred to the *n*-decl.), beside *ga-riud-i* n., from *ga-riuþs* 'modest, chaste'.

It is probable that some of the adjectival compounds of West-Germanic (and Norse) like O.H.G. *heiʒ-muot-i* 'hot-tempered, passionate' *lang-līb-i* 'longaevus' are old *i̯o*-stems (cp. Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 77. 104). We must certainly class here Goth. *uf-áiþ-ei-s* 'under an oath, bound by oath', and the Goth. substantival neuter forms *fáura-daúri* 'that which is before the door, street' *anda-naht-i* 'the time close on night'.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the suffix is no longer in use to form adjectives; but it often occurs in groups of compounded suffixes, as *-in-i-s* (*med-in-i-s* 'wooden').

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Masculine forms used as substantives. *arkl-ȳ-s* 'horse' from *árkla-s* 'plough'. To this class also belong *musū-ji-s* 'he who is ours' from gen. *músū* 'our' (cp. O.C.Sl. *našĭ* 'our' for **nās-i̯ĭ* beside the gen. *nasŭ*), *Prūsaicziū-ji-s* 'he who belongs to the family *Prūsaicziaĭ*', and the like.

Some masc. forms are derived from substantival neuters: *ilg-i-s* 'length' from *ilga-s* 'long', *szalt-i-s* 'coldness' from *szálta-s* 'cold' etc. (cp. the Slavonic below).

This *-i̯o-* appears in adjectival and indeed in most other compounds; e. g. *tri-rą̄ž-i-s* 'three-pronged' from *rą̄ža-s* 'prong', *minkszt-galv-i-s* 'soft-headed' i. e. 'weak-headed' from *galvà* 'head', *apý-vakar-i-s* 'the time towards evening' (an adj. used as a subst.). The general practice of forming compounds with *-i̯o-* may have sprung from this group of words.

In Slavonic it is still living as an adjectival formative suffix (*-je-* = orig. *-i̯o-* and *-ĭje-*, *-ije-* = orig. *-ii̯o-*, I § 36 p. 37), forming adjectives from the names of living beings, e. g. *materĭ* 'motherly' from *mati, člověčĭ* 'human' from *člověkŭ, ovĭčĭ* and *ovĭčĭjĭ ovičijĭ* 'ovium' from *ovĭca, synovlĭ* 'filii' (for the *l* see I § 147 p. 132) from *synŭ* (*synov-*, cp. Skr. *išav-yà-* 'relating to an arrow' from *išu-*, Gr. *ἀστεῖο-ς* for **ϝαστεϝ-ιο-ς* 'town-like' from *ἄστυ*), *bož-ĭjĭ bož-ijĭ* 'divine' from *bogŭ, děvĭjĭ děvijĭ* 'maidenly' from *děva.*

Neuter forms used as substantives: *ostrĭje* 'sharpness' from *ostrŭ* 'sharp', *lakomĭje* 'greediness' from *lakomŭ* 'covetous, greedy' (cp. Lith. *ilgi-s* and the like), *polĭzĭje* 'usefulness, use' from *polĭza* 'useful', *znamenĭje* 'designation, mark, token' from *znamę* 'mark, token' and (with collective meaning) *kamenĭje* 'stone-work, stones' from *kamy* 'stone', *drąžĭje* 'timber-work, beams' from *drągŭ* 'beam', and so forth. Feminine forms: *suša* 'dryness' from *suchŭ* 'dry', *ąrožda* 'folly' from *ąrodŭ* 'foolish', *bratrĭja bratĭja* 'brotherhood, brothers' (cp. Gr. *φρᾱτρίᾱ*). In all these instances the adjectives from which the substantives came have fallen out of use.

Only isolated examples of adjectival compounds have this suffix; e. g. *bez-otĭčĭ* 'without a father, fatherless' (*otĭcĭ* 'father')

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bez-umlĭ 'without sense unintelligent' (*umŭ* 'sense') like Lith. *be-tẽvis be-prõti-s*.

Remark 3. The fact that in many cases we cannot tell whether *-i̯o-* is primary or secondary (see Rem. 1) naturally suggests the question, whether its use as a secondary suffix may not be wholly due to a relation accidentally established between *i̯o*-formations which originally were primary, and nouns containing the same root, as for instance between **rēg̑-ii̯o-* and **rēg̑-* 'ruler, king'. In this case it would be questionable whether the disappearance of the *-o-* and *-ā-* of the stem was a real phonetic process, or whether, which is far more probable, some originally primary formation, e. g. **jug-i̯o-* (√*jeug-* 'yoke to, unite') was brought into connexion with a noun like **jugó-m* 'yoke', and that this alone caused the apparent loss of the stem-final wherever it takes place. Such instances as Skr. *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* 'he is active' derived from *bhuraṇa-* 'active', Gr. *μειλίσσω* for **μειλιχ-i̯ω* from *μείλιχο-ς* must also, no doubt, be taken into account. I must content myself here with directing attention to these questions, which are still unsettled. — On these points the student may now be referred also to Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Character *R*, p. 55 f.

3. There are some adjectives in which *-i̯o-* appears to have had a comparative meaning (cp. superl. **medh-mmo-s* § 72 beside **medh-i̯o-s* 'medius'), so that *-i̯es- -is-* (e. g. in Skr. compar. *náv-yas-* superl. *náv-iṣ-ṭha-*, § 81. 135) may be regarded as an extension of *-i̯o-* by an *s*-suffix.

**al-i̯o-s* 'alius': Armen. *ail*, Gr. *ἄλλο-ς* Lat. *aliu-s* O.Ir. *aile* Goth. *alji-s*; cp. Ar. **an-i̯a-* 'alius' (Skr. *anyá-* Avest. *anya-* O.Pers. *aniya-*), which is derived from another root but is similarly formed. **medh-i̯o-s* 'medius': Skr. *mádhya-s* 'medius', Armen. *mēǰ*, gen. *miǰoy*, 'midst', Gr. *μέσσο-ς μέσο-ς*, Lat. *mediu-s*, Gall. *Medio-matrici*, O.C.Sl. fem. used substantivally *meždu* 'boundary' for **medi̯ā* (cp. O.Sax. *middea* O.Icel. *miðja* — a weak fem. — 'midst'). **neu̯-i̯o-* beside **neu̯-o-s* 'new, young' (cp. Skr. *nú*, Gr. *νύ* etc.): Skr. *návya-s*, O.Ir. *nūe* (Gall. *Noviodūnu-m*), Goth. *niuji-s*, Lith. *naũja-s*. Skr. *sav-yá-s* O.C.Sl. *šu-jĭ* 'left' (cp. I § 185 p. 161). Gr. *δεξ-ιό-ς* 'right'.

Certain possessive pronouns with *-i̯o-* should be placed in this group; e. g. Lat. *meu-s* for **me-i̯o-s* (I § 134 p. 121) Pruss. *mais* (stem *ma-ia-*) O.C.Sl. *mo-jĭ* 'my', Osc. tiium 'tu' Umbr. tiu *tiom* 'te', properly 'tuum', Pruss. *twais*

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(stem *twa-ia-*) O.C.Sl. *tvo-jĭ* 'thy', and further Skr. *mad-ĭya-s* 'my' *tad-ĭya-s* 'his, eius'. Then e. g. **me-i̯o-* would be related to **mo-* (Avest. *ma-* Gr. ἐμό-) as Gr. ὑμέ-τερο-ς to ὑμό-ς.

We should also include certain ordinal numerals with *-i̯o-*. Skr. *pūrv-iyá- pūrv-iya-* 'previous, first', Avest. *pavirya-* 'first', Gr. πρώην 'lately' for **πρωϝ-ιᾱ-ν* (I § 306 p. 242). Skr. *dvit-ĭya-* Avest. *bit-ya-* 'second'. Skr. *tṛt-ĭya-* Avest. *þrit-ya-* Lat. *tert-iu-s* Goth. *þrid-ja-n-* Lith. *trẽczia-s* for **tret-i̯a-s* O.C.Sl. *tret-ĭjĭ* 'third' beside Gr. τρίτο-ς. Skr. *túr-ya- tur-ĭya-* Avest. *tūirya-* 'fourth' for **ktur-* (I § 471 p. 343).

This third function of the suffix *-i̯o-* appears also in active use in some of the separate Indo-Germanic languages. E. g. Goth. *fairneis* O.H.G. *firni* 'old' and Goth. *alþeis* 'old' may have been formed on the model of *niuji-s*.

§ 64. The Suffix *-u̯o- -u̯ā-, -uu̯o- -uu̯ā-*. This is both primary and secondary; it is found in substantives and adjectives, but no special meaning can be assigned to it. In Latin and German we must notice its frequent use in forming adjectives to denote colour, a function it acquired simply by analogical extension. In these and in some other languages *-u̯o-* appears still as a living suffix.

Idg. **eḱ-u̯o-s* 'horse', fem. **eḱ-u̯ā* (often referred to Skr. *āś-ú-ś* Gr. ὠκ-ύ-ς 'swift' Lat. *acu-pediu-s*, but it is difficult to reconcile the vocalism): Skr. *áśva-s áśvā*, Gr. ἵππος (the fem. perhaps survives in *Ἱππῆ-μολγοί* 'milkers of mares'), Lat. *equo-s equa*, O.Ir. *ech*, Goth. *aíhva-* seen in *aíhva- tundi* 'βάτος', Lith. *aszvà*. **gĭ-u̯ó-* 'living' (√ *gei̯-* 'to be astir, to live'): Skr. *jīvá-* Lat. *vīvo-s* Mod.Cymr. *byw* Goth. *qiu-s* (stem *qiva-*) Lith. *gývа-s* O.C.Sl. *živŭ*. **u̯idheu̯o- -eu̯ā-* beside Skr. *vidh-* 'become empty, lack': Skr. *vidhávа-s* 'unmarried' *vidhávā* 'widow', Gr. ἠίθεο-ς 'unmarried' (the explanation of the ἠ- is doubtful; see Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacc. 110), Lat. *viduo-s vidua*, O.Ir. *fedb* Mod.Cymr. *gweddw* (I § 174 p. 154) Goth. *viduvō* (*n*-stem) O.C.Sl. *vĭdova* 'widow'; the word should no doubt be analysed **u̯idhe-u̯o-* and compared with words like Skr. *yaj-a-tá-s darś-*

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-a-tá-s Gr. *ἑρπ-ε-τόν λάχ-ε-σι-ς*, containing the *-e-* of thematic verbal stems (§ 79. 100), cp. Lat. *vac-uo-s* etc. below.

-ɥo- occurs as a secondary suffix in **pətr̥-ɥo-* **pətr̥̄-ɥo-* and **pətr-u-i̯o-* (a derivative form with *-i̯o-*) 'father's brother, uncle': Skr. *pitr̥vya-* Gr. (Ion. Cret.) *πάτρως* for **πατρω-ϝο-ς* (*ρω-* = *-r̥̄-*, I § 306 p. 241 f.) Lat. *patruo-s* O.H.G. *fetiro* and *fatureo* (**faðuruɥia-n-*); for the Avest. *tūirya-* see Bartholomae, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 271 f.

In the form *-uɥo-*. Skr. *dhr-uvá-* 'firm' beside O.C.Sl. *sŭ-dravŭ zdravŭ* 'sound, healthy' for **-dor-vŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *viś-va-* Avest. O.Pers. *vīspa-* (I § 159 p. 142) 'all' (in Skr. it also means 'containing or pervading all'), beside Skr. *viś-* 'enter, penetrate, take possession of' (orig. 'completely filled' or 'filling', cp. Skr. *śa-śvant-* Gr. *πᾶς* § 126). Skr. *r̥k-vá-* 'praising'. Skr. *pak-vá-* 'ripe' (from *pac-* 'to cook'). We have already noticed that Skr. *dhruvá-* 'firm' should be classed here, i. e. *dhr-uvá-* with the dissyllabic form of the suffix, cp. O.C.Sl. *sŭ-dravŭ-* 'sound, healthy' for **-dor-vŭ*[1]).

The suffix is also denominative in some instances; e. g. Skr. *kēśa-vá-s* 'long-haired' from *kḗśa-s* 'hair', *rāsnā-vá-s* 'provided with a girdle' from *rásnā-* 'girdle', *añji-vá-s* 'slippery, smooth' from *añji-ś* 'unguent', *rājī-vá-s* 'striped' from *rājí-* 'stripe'.

In some cases it is doubtful whether the suffix is primary or denominative: Skr. *pūr-va-s* 'former, earlier' Avest. *pourva-* O.Pers. *parūva-* (read *parva-*) 'earlier': Gr. **πρω-ϝο-* seen in Dor. *πρᾶν* 'formerly' for **πρω-ϝᾱ́-ν* and in *πρῶτο-ς* Dor. *πρᾶτο-ς* 'first' for **πρω-ϝ-ατο-ς* (I § 306 p. 242), O.C.Sl. *prŭ-vy-jŭ* 'first'. Similarly Avest. *aẹ-va-* O.Pers. *ai̯-va-* 'unus': Gr. *οἰ-ϝο-ς οἶο-ς* 'alone', cp. **oi̯-no-* in Lat. *oino-s ūnu-s* etc.

Armenian. *kea-*, seen in *kea-nk̔* (gen. *ken-aç*) 'life' and other words, seems to have been developed from **kiva-* and accordingly to belong to the stem **gĕ̄-ɥo-* (see above). Compare Hübschmann, Armen. St. I 35.

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1) Elsewhere *-ura-* for *-va-* in the Rig-Veda is 'a sporadic and doubtful exception'. See Edgren, Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 82.

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Greek. *ὀρθό-ς* 'upright' for **ὀρθ-ϝο-ς*: Skr. *ūrdhvá-s* 'upright', Lat. *arduo-s*, O.Ir. *ard* (*ardd art*) 'high, great, noble'; with which we may compare *Arduenna silva*, Idg. **ǯdh-ɥó-s*. *κόρ-ϝᾱ* (in Thessal.? inscr.), Ion. *κούρη* Dor. *κώρᾱ* Att. *κόρη* 'girl' (I § 166 p. 146 f.). *λαι-(ϝ)ό-ς* 'left': Lat. *laevo-s* O.C.Sl. *lěvŭ* 'left'; compare no doubt Germ. **slaiɥ-ɥa-z* 'weary, weak, dull, slow' (O.H.G. *slēo* A.S. *slāw* O.Icel. *sljōr*), so that this word for 'left' would represent the opposite of the universal Indo-Germanic word for 'right', Skr. *dákṣiṇa-* Gr. *δεξιό-ς* etc., in as much as the original meaning of the latter involved the notion of strength, ability, or cleverness, as is shewn by the Skr. *dákṣa-* 'strong, able, skilful'. **κεν-ϝό-ς* 'empty' Lesb. *κέννος* Ion. *κεινό-ς* Att. *κενό-ς* [1]); the by-form *κενε-ϝό-ς*, represented by Cypr. *κενεϝόν* Ion. *κενεό-ς*, is parallel to *ἰε-ρό-ς* beside *ἶ-ρό-ς*, and similar pairs of forms.

-ϝo- as a secondary suffix is no doubt to be traced in verbal adjectives ending in *-τέο-ς*, which stands for **-τε-ϝο-ς*, as *διωκτέο-ς* 'to be pursued', and in adjectives in *-αλέο-ς*, standing for *-αλε-ϝο-ς*, as *ῥωγαλέο-ς* 'fragmentary, torn': these are based on stems in *-το-* and *-αλο-*.

Remark 1. Hesiod's *φατειό-ς* either represents an extended stem formed with *-ɥo-*, **-τε-ϝ-ɥο-ς*, or (which seems to me less likely) is a later corruption of a true Hesiodic form *φατενό-ς*.

The Skr. accent in *kēśá-vā-* etc. (see above) suggests the conjecture that *-τέο-ς* in dactylic words came from **-τεό-ς* (cp. I § 676 p. 542 f.), and that *-αλεο-ς* afterwards conformed to the same type.

-ϝo- as a secondary suffix is perhaps also to be recognised in *ἴσο-ς* Cret. *ϝίσϝο-ς* 'equal', since the word may be referred to **ɥit-s-*, a weak from of the stem of **ɥeid-es-* *εἶδ-ος* (cp. § 132); the pr. Gr. form will then have been **ϝιτσ-ϝο-ς*, cp. Umbr. mersuva from **med-(e)s-* cited below. *ἴσος* has already been connected with *εἴδομαι* by Bechtel, Philolog. Anzeiger 1886 p. 15, who also gives the pr. Gr. form as '**ϝιδσϝος*', but suggests no satisfactory explanation of the *σ*.

1) In the Att. *κενότερος κενότατος* the use of *ο* instead of *ω* (contrast *σοφώτερος*) is a reminiscence of the older form **κενϝο-ς*. Cp. § 75.

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Here too we should no doubt class ξένϝο-ς 'strange, foreign' Ion. ξεῖνο-ς Att. ξένο-ς (I § 166 p. 146); yet it is not clear whether -ϝο- is primary or secondary.

Italic. Lat. *ar-vo-m*, Umbr. arvam-en 'in arvum': Mod.Cymr. *er-w* 'cultivated land' Bret. *er-v* 'furrow'. Lat. *sal-vo-s*, Umbr. *salvom saluvom* 'salvum' *salvam* 'salvam': compare Skr. *sár-va-s* Gr. οὖλο-ς ὅλο-ς (*ὁλ-ϝο-ς) 'all, whole'. Lat. *vī-vo-s* Osc. bivus nom. 'vivi': Skr. *jī-vá-s* etc., see p. 133 above. Lat. *cal-vo-s*: Skr. *kul-va-s* 'bald'. Lat. *scae-vo-s*: Gr. σκαι-(ϝ)ό-ς 'left', and add O.Icel. *skeika* 'go awry, go wrong' (**skaikō-* for **skaiu̯ā-*, see S. Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 515). In words denoting colours: *hel-vo-s*: O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow', common ground-form **ǧhel-u̯o-s*; *gil-vo-s*, *ful-vo-s*, *flā-vo-s* (for **bhl̥-u̯o-s*, compare O.H.G. *blāo* 'blue'?), *rā-vo-s*, *fur-vo-s* (I § 569 p. 426). Such forms as *vacuo-s*, *nocuo-s*, *perspicuo-s*, *assiduo-s* may be of the same kind as *viduo-s*; *vacuo-s*, for instance, will then have come from **vace-u̯o-s*, the intermediate stage being **vacou̯o-s* (I § 65 p. 52).

The suffix is secondary in *Minerva* for **menes-u̯ā* beside Skr. *mánas-* Gr. μένεσ- n. 'mind, sense' (cp. Skr. *manas-vín-* 'having sense, intelligent'); Umbr. mersuva abl. 'solita' for **meřs-uā(d)*, i. e. **med(e)s-u̯o-* from meř-s 'ius'. Also in Lat. *annuo-s* from *annu-s*, *strēnuo-s* beside Gr. στρῆνο-ς 'strength', *cernuo-s* from **cerno-* (or **cernā-*) for **cers-no-* 'head', cp. Gr. κράννᾱ κρήνη (ἀμφί-κρᾱνο-ς) for **κρᾱσ-νᾱ*; here too we should probably place the examples of *-uo-s* from **-e-u̯o-s*, cp. Skr. *kēśa-vá-s* Gr. διωκτέ-(ϝ)ο-ς.

Remark 2. Do the adjectives in *-īvo-s*, as *captīvo-s furtīvo-s sēmentīvo-s nocīvo-s cadīvo-s*, come from feminine forms in *-ī-* (cp. Skr. *rājī-vá-s*), or from derivative verbs in *-īre* (**nocīre*), like Lith. *dalý-va-s* from *dalý-ti*, Slav. *chodi-vŭ* from *choditi* (see below)? In either case there must have been a change of usage, from the primary to the denominative or *vice versa*.

Old Irish. *tar-b* Gall. *tar-vo-s* Mod.Cymr. *tar-w* 'ox', usually compared with Gr. ταῦρο-ς, which is said to stand for **ταϝ-ϝο-ς* (I § 639 p. 479). *mar-b* Mod.Cymr. *mar-w* 'dead', compared with √*mer-* 'die' (cp. Rem. 3).

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Remark 3. Osthoff regards *marb* as modelled on the form of its opposite **gī-u̯o-s*, O.Ir. *biu beo* Mod.Cymr. *byw*, whilst Bréal (Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 127) holds that even the Lat.-Slav. **mr̥tu̯o-* 'dead' (Lat. *mortuo-s* O.C.Sl. *mrĭtvŭ*) was originally **mr̥to-* and that it was altered on the same analogy. This seems to me not unlikely; and I would also suggest that possibly the Kelt.-Germ. **deḱs-u̯o-* 'dexter' (O.Ir. *dess* O.Cymr. *dehou*, Goth. *taihsva*) may owe its suffix to one of the two words for the opposite idea, **lai̯-u̯o-* **skai̯-u̯o-* (see pp. 135, 136) (cp. Gr. *δεξίτερό-ς* on the analogy of *ἀριστερό-ς*, late Lat. *senexter* instead of *sinister* on the analogy of *dexter*, and many similar examples, Ber. der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss., 1883, p. 191 f.)

Germanic. Goth. *hláiv* u. O.H.G. *hlēo*, gen. *hlēwes*, 'grave-mound' ground-form **kloi̯-u̯o-*: Lat. *clī-vo-s*, √ *ḱlei̯-* 'lean, incline'. A.S. *earo* O.Icel. *ǫrr* 'swift' from which Finn. *arvas* is borrowed: cp. Skr. *ár-van-* 'hasting, swift'. O.H.G. *rāwa ruowa* 'quietude, rest' pr. Germ. **rē-u̯ō-* **rō-u̯ō-*: Gr. *ἐρω-(ϝ)ή* 'letting loose, cessation, rest'. Words denoting colour; O.H.G. *gelo*: Lat. *helvo-s*. O.H.G. *salo* 'black, dirty', O.H.G. *blāo* 'blue' (compare Lat. *flāvo-s*?), A.S. *baso* 'purple' etc. (Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 81).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *pȳ-va-s* 'beer' O.C.Sl. *pi-vo* 'draught, intoxicating drink', compared with *pī-* 'to drink' (O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink' Skr. *pī-ti-ṣ* 'draught' Gr. *πῖ-νω* 'I drink' etc.); and since this is no doubt identical with *pī-* 'swell, be fat' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 41. 167), the word must be closely related to Skr. *pī́-va-s* Gr. *πῖ-(ϝ)ο-ς* 'fat'. Lith. *paĩ-va-s* O.C.Sl. *pla-vŭ* 'yellowish white, tawny' (it is possible that the Lith. word was borrowed from the Slav.): O.H.G. *falo* 'fallow, tawny'. Pruss. *sy-và-* O.C.Sl. *si-vŭ* 'gray': related to Skr. *śyā-va-* 'dark brown'. Pruss. *pel-wo* O.C.Sl. *plĕ-va* 'chaff', beside Lith. *pelaĩ* pl. 'chaff'. Lith. *pil̃-va-s* 'belly'; *kal-và* 'hillock' (from *kél-ti* 'to lift'). O.C.Sl. *krava* 'cow' for **kor-vā* (Lith. *kárvė*, containing a further suffix), compare Lat. *cer-vo-s*; *gri-va* 'mane': Skr. *grī-vá* 'nape, neck'.

In Lithuanian it occurs in adjectives in *-y-va-s*, connected with verbs in *-y-ti*, as *dalý-va-s* 'sharing in' (*dalývu búti* be a sharer in') from *dalý-ti* 'to divide', *aký-va-s* 'provided with eyes, inquisitive' from *akýti* 'to get eyes, become porous' (cp. *akýla-s* 'observant'). In Slavonic there are adjectives in *-i-vŭ -a-vŭ*,

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connected with verbs in *-i-ti -a-ti*, as *chodi-vŭ* 'moving' from *chodi-ti* 'to go', *ljubi-vŭ* 'loving' from *ljubi-ti* 'to love', *laska-vŭ* 'coaxing, flattering' from *laska-ti* 'to flatter', *dĕla-vŭ* 'effective, active' from *dĕla-ti* 'to effect, work'. These adjectives in *-y-va-s -i-vŭ* are parallel to the Latin adjectives in *-īvo-s*; see Rem. 2.

§ 65. The Suffixes *-no- -nā-, -ŋno- -ŋnā-* and *-eno- -enā-, -ono- -onā-*[1]).

With regard to the relation of *-ŋno-* to *-no-*, see I § 227 p. 193 f.

It is often maintained that the first vowels of *-eno -ono-* are the same as the verbal thematic vowels *e* and *o*, so that e. g. the stem of Skr. *bháraṇa-m* 'act of bearing' is to be divided into *bhára-ṇa-*, and compared with the *bhára-* of the 3. sing. *bhára-ti*; and that of Goth. *baíran* 'to bear', into *baíra-na-*, and compared with the *baíra-* of the 1. pl. *baíra-m*. This analysis cannot be justified by reference to forms like **dōno-m* 'act of giving' (Skr. *dā́na-m*, Lat. *dōnu-m*) beside **bher-eno-m *bherono-m* 'act of bearing', or to such as part. pass. **dhēno-s* seen in O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done' O.C.Sl. *o-dĕnŭ* 'done round with, set round with, clothed' beside O.H.G. *gi-zog-an* 'drawn' (*-ono-*) O.C.Sl. *nes-enŭ* 'borne' (*-eno-*). In these forms it is very far from certain that the suffix is *-no-* (stem **dōno-* = √*dō-* + suffix *-no-*, and so forth), since there is good reason for believing that the initial vowel of the suffix was contracted with the vowel of the root in proethnic Indo-Germanic, in just the same way as, for instance, the 3. sing. conj. **dōti* (Skr. *dā́ti*) from **dō-e-ti* (see I § 115 p. 107). Now if we consider that it is just in tenses which have no thematic vowel that *-eno- -ono-* has firmly established itself as a participial suffix (Skr. *bibhid-āná-s* Goth. *bit-an-s* from √*bheid-* 'split, bite', Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden', O.C.Sl. *nes-enŭ* 'borne', Skr. *dviṣ-āná-s* beside the indic. *dviṣ-ṭé*, *dviṣ-* 'hate', Avest. *ɣn-āna-* beside the indic. *ɣn-ē*, *jan-* 'slay') it will be seen that for our purpose it

1) Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Das lat. Suffix *ānus*, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 177 ff.

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is absolutely necessary to regard *-eno- -ono-* as a simple indivisible suffix. From its usage it is clear that this suffix is very closely related to *-no- -n̥no-*; and there is nothing to prevent our assuming that *-no- -n̥no-* are the weak-grade forms corresponding to *-eno- -ono-*, just as we have side by side *-mno-* (*-mn̥no-*?), *-méno- -mono-* (§ 71) and *-tro- -tr̥ro-*, *-tero- -toro-* (§ 75). The assumption of this ablaut-relation, i. e. that *-no-* arose from *-eno-* (*-ono-*), would still hold good even though we regarded *-eno-* as ultimately divisible into two elements (*-e-*, *-o-* + *-no-*), cp. **rudn̥t-* the weak-grade form beside **rudo-nt-* (§ 125).

This *n*-suffix formed chiefly verbal nouns, partly adjectives and partly substantives; the latter especially in the neuter and feminine, with abstract meaning (see § 158).

The suffix *-(e)no-* is characterised by its fertility as a participial and infinitival suffix in several languages, and some of the groups of adjectives and participles which it formed were very extensive.

As a secondary suffix it did not spread far until the Indo-Germanic languages had begun their separate developement, and then only in a few branches.

Remark. Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish whether in any particular word we have the suffix *-(e)no-* or an *en*-stem extended by the suffix *-o-*, i. e. an example of transference into the *o*-declension. The latter is undoubtedly the case e. g. in Skr. *áśn-a-s* beside *áśan-* m. 'stone', *pūṣáṇ-a-s* beside *pūṣán-* name of a deity (§ 60 p. 112), Gr. *ἐλλό-* 'young stag' for **ἐλν-ο-ς* beside O.C.Sl. *jelen-* 'stag', *ἀκόν-η* 'whetstone' beside Skr. *áśan-*, Lat. *pullu-s* for **puln-o-s* beside Goth. *fulin-* 'foal', Lith. *jekn-os* pl. 'liver' beside Skr. *yakn-*. On the other hand it is doubtful whether Lat. *rēgnu-m* contains the suffix *-no-*, or is an *en*-stem which has passed over to the *o*- declension, and is therefore identical with Skr. *rājáṇ-* 'government, regimen'. Cp. § 71 Rem., § 94 Rem.

§ 66. 1. The Suffix in the form *-no- -n̥no-*. The form *-no-* is found especially in verbal adjectives, which, like those in *-to-* (§ 79), were made from the verbal stem (not from a particular tense-stem). In Sanskrit these adjectives formed a fairly large class of participles by the side of the *to*- participles and of similar character. They are chiefly passive in meaning.

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Besides these there are numerous substantives, many of which can be shown to have existed in the proethnic language, of different genders and generally abstract in meaning.

The form -*n̥no*- has on the whole the same value as -*no*-. Yet it must be observed that not -*no*-, but only -*n̥no*- appears to occur as the medial participial suffix of non-thematic present forms.

The nouns formed with -*no*- -*n̥no*-, when used as adjectives (participles), have almost always the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable (the suffix bearing the accent, e. g. **pl̥-nó-* 'filled' √*pel*-, Skr. *pūr-ṇá*-), but as substantives more commonly the strong grade form (e. g. **qoi̯-nā* 'requital', √*qei̯*-, Gr. *ποι-νή*). Differences like **sup-no- *su̯ep-no- *su̯op-no-* 'sleep' are indications that the strength of the root-syllable varied within the case-system of the same word.

Idg. **pl̥-nó- *pl̥-nó-* 'filled, full', from √*pel*- 'fill': Skr. *pūrṇá-s* Avest. *per^{e}na*- Gr. perhaps *πολλοί* 'many' (see I § 306 p. 242), O.Ir. *lān*, Goth. *fulls* pr. Germ. **fulna-z*, Lith. *pìlna-s* O.C.Sl. *plŭnŭ*; cp. Skr. *pūr-tá-s* Lith. *pìl-ta-s* 'filled'. **plē-nó-* 'filled' from *plē-* 'to fill': Skr. *prāṇá-s* Lat. *plēnu-s*; cp. Skr. *prā-tá-s* Lat. *im-plē-tus* 'filled'. Skr. *ánna-m* 'food' for **ad-na-* (I § 477, p. 352) Gr. *ἐδ-ανό-ς* 'catable' *ἐδ-ανό-ν* food' (with -*n̥no*-, see below), √*ed*- 'eat'. Avest. *per^{e}nā*- f. Goth. *fullō* f. (which has passed over to the *n*-declension) 'fullness'. **qoi̯-nā*- f. 'requital' from √*qei̯*- (Skr. *cay*- Gr. *τει̯*-): Avest. *kaẹnā*- 'punishment', Gr. *ποινή* 'requital, punishment, reward', O.C.Sl. *cěna* 'price'. **sup-no- *su̯ep-no- su̯op-no-* m. 'sleep, dream': Skr. *svápna-s*, Arm. *k̔un* (**suop-no-*, I § 162 p. 145, § 201 p. 169) Gr. *ὕπνο-ς*, Lat. *somnu-s* (probably **su̯ep-no-*, I § 172 p. 152) O.Ir. *suan* O.Cymr. *hun* (cp. I § 339 Rem. p. 269), O.Icel. *svefn*, Lith. *sãpna-s* O.C.Sl. *sŭnŭ*.

**leu̯qsno-* or **lou̯qsno-* 'shining': Avest. *raoxšna*- 'shining', Lat. *lūna* O.Lat. inscr. *losna* for **lou̯csnā*, O.Ir. *luan* 'moon', Pruss. *lauxnos* pl. 'stars', compared with *leu̯q-s*- in Skr. *rukṣá-* 'shining', Lat. *illūstri-s* for **in-lou̯cs-tri-s*, A.S. *līxan lȳxan* 'give light' for **liuhs-jan*, from √*leu̯q*-; on the other hand, without -*s*-, O.Sax. *log-na* (*o* probably short) 'flame'. Words

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of this kind with *-s-* gave rise to a form *-sno-*, regarded as a single suffix, which occurs in a few words; see below. Cp. *-s-ni-* § 94.

Pres. medio-pass. part. with *-ṇno-* (beside this is found *-ono-*, cp. § 67). **ḱei̯-ṇno-* 'lying' beside the indic. Skr. *śé-tē* Gr. *κεῖ-ται*: Avest. *say-ana-* 'lying' (Skr. *upari-śayaná-m* 'resting-place'), Gr. *Ὠ-κεανό-ς* 'he who surrounds' (cp. Skr. *á-śētē*; von Fierlinger, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 477). Gr. *ἐδ-ανό-ς* 'eatable' beside the indic. Skr. *ád-mi*; *ἑανό-ς* 'dress, cloak' for **ϝεσ-ανο-* beside the indic. Skr. *vás-tē*.

Remark. This view of Ar. *-ana-* and of Gr. *-ανο-*, so far as they have the same meaning as *-māna- -mna-* and *-μενο-*, cannot be called certain. As my pupil Herr H. Hirt reminds me, they may be regarded as having arisen from **-ṇno-*, just as the participial Ar. *-āna-* can be referred to *-ṇno-*; see § 67, b. Rem. p. 152.

The meaning of *-no-* is not clear in **oi̯-no-s* 'unus': Gr. *οἰνό-ς οἰνή* 'ace on a die', Lat. *oino-s oenu-s unu-s* O.Ir. *oen* Goth. *áins* Lith. *vẽna-s* O.C.Sl. *inŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *ū-ná-* 'where something is lacking, defective' Avest. *ūna-* 'empty' from √*eu̯-* (Gr. *εὐ-νι-ς* 'needing, bereft'). Skr. *kṣī-ná-* 'diminished, vanished, waning': compare perhaps Gr. *φθι-νό-καρπος* 'with fruit vanishing or vanished' (cp. Fick, Wörterb. I³ 236, Osthoff Morph. Unt. IV 115). Skr. *dīrṇá-* 'torn to pieces, scattered, beheaded' Avest. *dar*-nā-* f. 'cleft, ravine': O.H.G. *zorn* A.S. *torn* n. 'indignation, anger', properly 'a torn or rent condition of the temper' (ground-form **dṛ-no-m*). Skr. *di-ná-* 'bound' (*dā-* 'bind'), *bhug-ná-* 'bent' (*bhuj-* 'bend'), *bhinná-* 'split' for **bhid-na-* (*bhid-* 'split'); thus it frequently appears as a living participial suffix. Skr. *uṣ-ṇá-* 'hot', also subst. m. and n. as well as f. (*uṣ-ṇā-*) 'heat'. Skr. *bradh-ná-s* 'pale', O.C.Sl. *bronŭ* 'whitish' for **brod-nŭ*. Skr. *tūṇa-s* 'sheath, quiver', ground-form **tl̥-no-s*, √*tel-* (Gr. *τελαμών* etc.) Skr. *yaj-ñá-* Avest. *yas-na-* m. 'worship, sacrifice', √*i̯aǧ-* 'to honour' (for the *-s-* of the Avest. form see I § 403 Rem. p. 298): Gr. *ἁγ-νό-ς* 'revered, hallowed, pure'. Skr. *praś-ná-* Avest. *fraš-na-* m. 'question', √*preḱ-*. Skr. *sthúṇā-* 'post, pillar' for **sthūr-ṇa-*, Avest. *stūnā-* in *hazaŋrō-stūna-* 'with 1000 pillars', ground-form **stl̥-nā-*: Gr. *στήλη*, see p. 143.

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With -s- between root and suffix: Skr. *tīk-ṣṇá-* 'sharp' (cp. *tig-má-* 'sharp'), *kṛt-snά-* 'whole, complete', and other examples.

The existence of Aryan *-ana-* = *-ɱna-* is hard to verify, because of its coincidence in form with orig. *-eno-*. Besides examples like Ved. *yaj-aná-* beside *yaj-ñá-* (I § 227 p. 193 ff.) and the above mentioned medio-pass. pres. part. (cp. also Avest. *aoj-ana-* beside impf. indic. *aox-ta*, *hu-nv-ana-* beside pres. indic. *hu-nū-itē* and others), we should perhaps add here Sanskrit oxytone adjectives like *krōṣ-aná-* 'screaming', *rōc-aná-* 'shining' *jar-aṇá-* 'perishable', with the abstract substantives *śvēt-aná* 'the dawning' *jaraná* 'old age' (cp. Gr. *στεγανό-ς* and *στεγ-άνη*); the palatal sound instead of the guttural in *rōcaná-saṇcaná-* and other words was taken from such forms as *rṓcatē* (see I § 448 Rem. p. 333). Cp. *-ani-* = *-ɱni-* § 95, and *-anu-* = *-ɱnu-* § 106.

It is only occasionally used as a secondary suffix. Skr. *strāí-ṇa-* 'female' from *strī-* 'woman', *pāṇs-ná-* 'male' from *pṇs-* 'man', *purā-ṇá-* 'former, old' from *purá* adv. 'formerly'. Here also come *vadhasná-m* 'deadly weapon' beside *vadhá-s* and *vádhar*, of similar meaning, and *karásna-s* 'forearm' (cp. *karά-s* 'hand'), if they contain *-as*-stems, cp. Goth. *hláivasnōs* pl. f. 'grave' beside neut. *hláiv* with similar meaning; the Sanskrit ending is in most cases explained as *-a-sna-*.

Armenian. *k̔un* 'sleep' from **sɱop-no-*, see p. 140 above. *gi-n*, gen. *g-no-y*, 'cost' from **ɱes-no-* or **ɱēs-no-*: Skr. *vas-ná-s* Gr. *ὦνο-ς ὠνή* 'sale-price, value' for **ϝωσ-νο- -νᾱ-*, Lat. *vēnu-m* for **ves-no-* or **vēs-no-*. Perhaps we should add *vasn* 'on account of' (beside O.Pers. *vaš-na-* and Avest. *vas-na-* 'will, favour', √*ɱeḷ-*; the Avest. form is for **vašna-* through the influence of the pres. *vas*ᵉ*mi*), and the derivative *un-ain* 'empty' (beside Skr. *ū-na-*; Armen. *u-* for Idg. *eɱ-*, cp. Gr. *εὖ-νι-ς*).

Greek. *στυγ-νό-ς* 'hated'. *σπαρ-νό-ς* 'scattered, rare, thin', beside *σπείρω*. *σεμνό-ς* 'revered' for **σεβ-νό-ς*, √*tjeg-* (I § 492 p. 362). *στεγ-νό-ς* 'covered, covering'. *ɱμερδ-νό-ς* 'terrible'. *περκ-νός* 'sprinkled, motley, dark': O.H.G. *forhana* f. 'trout', ground-form **pr̥k-nā*. *δᾶ-νος* n. 'loan' is no doubt based upon a form

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**də-no*- from √*dō*- 'give' (cp. § 132). *λάγ-νο-ς* 'lewd, wanton': cp. Lat. *lēna* for **lēx-nā* (beside *laxu-s*). *λίχ-νο-ς* 'dainty, greedy': cp. O.H.G. *lecchōn* 'lick', for pr. Germ. **likkōna-n* from stem **liʒ-na*- I § 538 p. 394. *φρῦ-νο-ς φρύ-νη* 'toad': O.H.G. *brū-n* 'brown'. *θῦ-νο-ς* 'throng, battle': Skr. *dhū-na-s* 'violently moved'. *οἶ-νο-ς* 'wine' *οἴ-νη* 'vine' *οἶ-νο-ν* 'vine-leaf, vine-branch': Lat. *vī-nu-s vī-nu-m* and the derivative Armen. *gi-n-i* 'wine' (§ 63 p. 127), from √*u̯ei̯*- 'to wind', and hence we should place in the same group Russ. *věn* 'wreath' and the derivative O.C.Sl. *věn-ĭcĭ* Lith. *vain-ìka-s* 'wreath'. *πύρ-αυνο-ς -αυνο-ν* 'that with which fire is held, fire-tongs, coal-pan' for **-αυσ-νο-* (see Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 488), to which add possibly *κερ-αυνό-ς* 'lightning flash'. *τέκ-νο-ν* 'child' ('that which is begotten', from *τεκεῖν*): O.H.G. *degan* m. 'boy, servant' pr. Germ. **þeʒ-ná*-s. *στέρ-νο-ν* 'breast': Skr. *stīr-ṇá*- 'outspread', cp. also O.H.G. *stirna* f. 'star' ground-form **ster-n-i̯ā*, √*ster*- 'spread'. **δεμ-νο-*, whence *δέμνιο-ν* 'bedstead', as being a 'place built' for a bed, from √*dem*-. *κλί-νη* 'couch, bed': O.H.G. *li-na le-na* 'support', √*k̂lei̯*- 'acclinare'. *στήλη* Lesb. *στάλλᾱ* 'sepulchral pillar' for **στάλ-νᾱ* ground-form **stl̥-nā*- (by-form *στήλλη* = **σταλν-ι̯-ᾱ*?): Skr. *sthū́ṇā* 'post, pillar' see above p. 141. *ζώνη* 'girdle' for **ζωσ-νᾱ*, √*jōs*-. *φερ-νή* 'dowry' *πόρ-νη* 'whore' beside *πέρνημι* 'I sell', ground-form **por-nā*- or **pr̥̄-nā*-.

-ανο- = *-n̥no-*. There are a considerable number of participial words besides those given above on p. 140. *στεγ-ανό-ς* beside *στεγ-νό-ς*. *πιθ-ανό-ς* 'easily persuaded, persuasive'. *στέφ-ανο-ς -άνη* 'wreathing, wreath'. *χοδ-ανο-ς* 'buttocks' (from *χέζ-ω*). *δρέπ-ανο-ν -άνη* 'sickle'. *ὄχ-ανο-ν -άνη* 'shield handle' (from *ἔχω*). *θήγ-ανο-ν -άνη* 'whetstone'. *σκέπ-ανο-ν* 'covering' (beside *σκεπ-ανό-ς*). *κόπ-ανο-ν* 'pestle, hatchet'. *ἑρκ-άνη ὁρκ-άνη* 'enclosure'.

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

First should be mentioned the words in *-εσ-νο-* (Lesb. *-εννο-*, Ion. Att. *-εινο-*, Dor. *-ηνο-*) and *-ασ-νο-* (Lesb. *-αννο-*, Ion. Att. *-ηνο-*; Dor. *-ᾱνο-*). *ἀλγεινό-ς* 'paining, painful' from *ἄλγος* n. 'pain'. *φαεινό-ς* 'shining' from *φάος* n. 'light', etc. Homeric (Lesb.) *ἐραννό-ς* 'lovely' beside *ἔρως* (see Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr.

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XXIX 70. 109). σελήνη 'moon' (Lesb. σελάννᾱ) from σέλας n. 'brightness'. In the oldest adjectives of this sort, which were participles of denominative verbs, -no- may have been primary; compare ποθεινό-ς κοτεινό-ς with ποθέσαι κοτέσαι (*ποθεσ-σαι *κοτεσ--σαι) and ἐρασ-τό-ς beside ἐρασσό-ς.

Further, under this head come adjectives of time like ἐαρινό-ς ἠαρινό-ς (misspelt εἰαρινός) 'vernus', ἡμερινό-ς 'daily' νυκτερινό-ς 'nocturnus' περυσινό-ς 'from last year, a year old'. These appear to have been formed from locatives, ἔαρι, πέρυσι (cp. also ἦμαρ, νύκτωρ). Then -ινο- broke off and became an independent suffix, hence δειλ-ινό-ς 'of the evening', and the like. For analogous adjectives in Italic, see below.

With -ανο- as a secondary suffix: κόπρ-ανο-ν 'stool' (κόπρο-ς), ἕδρ-ανο-ν 'seat' (ἕδρᾱ) and others. Was the suffix -δανο- taken from οὐτιδανό-ς 'useless' = οὐ-τιδ-ανό-ς (*τιδ = Lat. *quid*)? Cp. -δ-απο-ς, taken from ποδ-από-ς and the like (§ 16 p. 32).

Italic. Lat. *plē-nu-s* Umbr. *plener* 'plenis': Skr. *prā-ṇa-s*, see p. 140 above. Lat. *cānu-s* for **cas-no-s*, Osc. Pelign. *casnar* 'senex' (extended by an *r*-suffix). Lat. *vī-nu-s -nu-m*, Umbr. vinu 'vinum' Volsc. *vinu* abl. 'vino'. Lat. *urna* for **urc-nā*, Umbr. urnasier 'urnariis, feriis'. Lat. *fānu-m* for **fas-no-m*, Umbr. fesnaf-e fem. pl. 'in templum', Osc. fiísnam físnam fem. acc. 'templum', Pelign. *fesn.* (abbreviated) 'templum', beside Lat. *fēs-tu-s fēr-iae*, in the *ē*-series of Ablaut.

Lat. *dīgnu-s* as compared with *decet*, for **dec-no-s* (I § 65 p. 53, § 500 p. 366), or with O.Icel. *tīgenn* 'distinguished' *tīgn* f. 'distinguished rank', for **dic-no-s* (√ *deiḱ-* 'show') *āgnu-s*: Gr. ἀμνό-ς 'lamb' for **ἀβ-νο-ς*, O.Ir. *uan* Mod.Cymr. *oen* 'lamb' (I § 428 p. 315, § 437 p. 325), also O.C.Sl. **jagnŭ*, implied by the formation *jagnę* 'lamb'. *pūgnu-s*, *pūgnāre*, beside Gr. πυγ-μή 'fist, fight with fists'. *grā-nu-m* 'grain, kernel', ground-form **gr̥̄-no-m*: Skr. *jīr-ṇá-* 'ground, crumbled', Goth. *kaúr-n* n. 'grain', O.C.Sl. *zrŭno* 'grain, kernel, berry', compare also O.H.G. *kerno* O.Icel *kjarne* m. 'kernel', formed from the *ĕ* grade of the root (*ĝer-*). *līgnu-m* is no doubt to be compared with *legō*; *tīgnu-m*: cp. Gr. τέχ-νη 'power of production, art, skill'. *lāna* for **μlā-nā*, ground-form

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**u̯l̥-nā*: Skr. *ūr-ṇā* 'wool' Gr. *οὖλο-ς* 'curly' for *Fολ-νο-ς*, Goth. *vulla* 'wool' pr. Germ. **u̯ul-nō*, Lith. *vìl-na* 'fibre of wool' O.C.Sl. *vlъ̀-na* 'wool'. The same suffix appears to be contained, though less obviously, in *fundu-s*: Skr. *budh-ná-s* 'ground' (I § 221 p. 189).

With *-s-*: Lat. *annu-s* for **at-sno-s*: cp. Goth. *aþn*; *penna* O.Lat. *pesna* for **pet-snā*, √ *pet-* 'fly'[1]), and other examples.

Lat. *-ino-* unaccented = *-ṇno-*. It is of course hard to say what forms are to be classed here, since unaccented *-ino-* may equally well represent Idg. *-ṇno-*, *-eno-* or *-ono-*. The words we have to deal with are such as *dom-inu-s pāg-ina sarc-ina*, probably also *verna* for **ves-inā* (√ *u̯es-* 'live').

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

Lat. *aēnu-s* for **aës-no-*, Umbr. ahes-nes 'aenis', beside Lat. *aes, aeris*, Skr. *áyas-* n. 'metal, iron'. Lat. *īlīgnu-s* for *ilec-no-* from *īlex, salīgnu-s* from *salix* (the ending was referred by popular etymology to √ *gen-*, cp. *abiēgnu-s, fabāginu-s* and so forth), *acer-nu-s* from *acer, ebur-nu-s* from *ebur*; the final vowel of the stem has been lost in *pōpulnu-s* from *pōpulu-s*, *quernu-s* for **querc-nu-s* from *quercu-s* etc. Besides these we have *pater-nu-s, māter-nu-s*; *alter-nu-s, īnfer-nu-s, exter-nu-s*. Stems in *-ā* seem to have given rise to *-ānu-s*: *silvānu-s (silva) īnsulānu-s (insula) Capuānu-s (Capua)*; hence in other local adjectives, *urbānu-s, cismontānu-s Rhēnānu-s* etc.

vērnu-s, nocturnu-s, hībernu-s, vesperna and the like are parallel to Gr. *ἐαρινό-ς, νυκτερινό-ς, χειμερινό-ς, ἑσπερινό-ς* (see

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1) *Penna* must be distinguished from *pinna*. The latter, with *pannus* Gr. *πῆνο-ς* (common ground-form **pē̆-no-*, see I § 253 p. 206 f.) belongs to A.S. *finn* Mod.H.G. *finne* 'fin', a Germanic word which Müllenhoff (Altertumskunde II 54) connects in an interesting way with the name of the *Fenni*, although he is certainly wrong in taking a ground-form **pet-nā* as his starting-point. The words most nearly akin to it are O.H.G. *spannan* 'to stretch', Goth. *fana* 'cloth, rag' (Mod.H.G. *fahne*), O.C.Sl. *pьnǫ* 'I stretch, hang' *o-pona* 'curtain'. On √ *spen-* and *pen-*, see I § 589 p. 445 f. The bird's wing and the fin therefore received their name as being something 'outstretched'.

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p. 144), and perhaps in Latin also *-no-* was added to the locative in *-i*, and this vowel afterwards lost [1]).

Umbr.-Osc. **kom-no-m* 'τὸ κοινόν' from *kom* 'cum', Umbr. kumne loc. 'in comitio' Osc. *comenei* loc. 'in comitio' *comono* pl. 'comitia' (for the Oscan anaptyxis cp. I § 627, p. 471). Osc. amnod 'circuitu' from *am-* 'amb-'. Lat. *prōnu-s* no doubt for **prōd-no-*, compare *prō(d)*.

Lastly, there are the distributive numerals derived from adverbs, like Lat. *bīnī* from **bis-no-*, *trīnī* from **tris-no-*, *ter-nī*, *quater-nī*.

Old Irish. *lā-n* 'full': Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* etc., see p. 140. *slān* 'whole, sound, complete, full' may be for **sl̥-no-*, as Lat. *sal-vo-s* for **sl̥-ṇo-*. *cloe-n* 'awry, unjust, bad': cp. Goth. *hlái-n-s* 'hill', √ *kleiˌ-* 'to lean', whence also Gr. *κλῖ-νη* O.H.G. *li-na* (p. 143). *suan* O.Cymr. *hun* sleep: Skr. *sváp-na-s* etc., see p. 140. *uan* Mod.Cymr. *oen* 'lamb': Gr. *ἀμνό-ς* etc., see p. 144. *domun* m. 'world', Gallic *Dubno-rīx* 'world-king'; with this should probably be compared *fu-domain* 'deep' Mod.Cymr. *dwfn* 'deep' (I § 520 p. 378): O.C.Sl. *dŭno* n. 'ground' for **dŭb-no-*, Lith. *dùgna-s* 'ground' (with *g* for *b*, I § 346 p, 271). *ēn* m. 'bird' (I § 518 p. 377 f.), O.Bret. *etn* 'bird': cp. Lat. *penna* for **pet-snā* p. 145, √ *pet-* 'fly'. *fēn* m. 'waggon' (I § 526 p. 381): O.Icel. *vagn* m. 'waggon', √ *ueĝh-* 'vehere'. *dū-n* n. 'walled stronghold', Gall. *-dūnū-m* in place-names like *Novio-dūnu-m* 'New-castle, New-town': O.Icel. *tū-n* n. O.H.G. *zū-n* m. 'fence, hedge'. *rū-n* f. 'secret': Goth. O.H.G. *rū-ṇa* f. 'secret', with which, in a different grade of Ablaut, cp. O.Icel. *rau-n* f. 'attempt, proof, test, experience'. This suffix, though less clearly discernible, appears to be contained in *bond bonn* 'solea': Skr. *budh-ná-s* 'ground' (I § 221 p. 189).

Pr.Kelt. *-ano-* = *-ṇno-*. Since this, if unaccented, became in Irish identical with orig. *-ono-*, it is hard to say which of the examples should be classed here. Perhaps *lethan* O.Cymr.

1) Does *hībernu-s* stand for **hi̯brino-s*, as *in-certu-s* for **in-crito-s* (I § 93 p. 93 f.)? The word is undoubtedly connected with *hiems*, but the *ī* has never been explained.

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litan 'broad': cp. Gr. *πλάτανο-ς* 'plane' (named after its broad leaves, compare *πλατύ-ς*). Infinitive nouns like *blegon* m. 'milking' may also perhaps be referred to *-ŋno-*.

As a secondary suffix it is found in Gall. *Arebrig-nu-s (pagus)* 'lying on a hill' compared with *Arebrigiu-m*, beside O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'hill'. Also no doubt in Keltic words in *-er-no- -ar-no-* (Zeuss-Ebel G.C. 774), as Gall. *Tigerno-, isarno-* 'iron', O.Ir. *iarn* O.Bret. *hearn* (I § 576 p. 431), whence perhaps were borrowed Goth. *eisarn* O.H.G. *īsarn* 'iron' (the suffix in O.H.G. *diorna* 'wench' Goth. *viduvairna* 'one bereaved' etc. cannot be held to prove that this is a real Germanic word.)

Germanic. Goth. *fulls* O.H.G. *vol* (gen. *volles*) 'full', pr. Germ. **ful-na-z*: Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* etc. see above p. 140. Goth. *alls* O.H.G. *al* (gen. *alles*) 'whole, all' (beside *ala-*) ground-form **al-no-s*, beside *alan* 'to grow up, increase' (cp. Gr. *πᾶς* 'whole, all' compared with Skr. *śvā-* 'swell out', § 126, and Lat. *omni-s* for **op-ni-s* beside *ops*, § 95); Osc. *allo* is the same word if it is to be translated 'tota' and not 'alia' (Fick, Bezzenberger's Beitr. I 170; Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 177 f.). Goth. *ib-n-s* O.H.G. *eban* 'flat, even'. O.H.G. *scī-n* 'visible, shining', as subst. m. 'visibility, brightness, sheen'. Goth. *us- -lūk-n-s* 'opened, open'. Goth. *faíhu-gaír-n-s* 'avaricious' O.Icel. *gjarn* 'greedy'. O.H.G. *mei-n* 'false, treacherous', as subst. 'falseness, wickedness'; Lith. *maĩ-na-s* 'barter' O.C.Sl. *mě-na* 'change, exchange', common ground-form **moi̯-no- nā-*, cp. **moi̯-ni-* § 95. O.H.G. *loc* (pl. *loccha*) O.Icel. *lokkr* m. 'lock' pr. Germ. **lug-ná-s* (I § 534 p. 391): Lith. *lug-na-s* 'bent'. O.H.G. *sker-n* m. n. 'jest'. Goth. *aþ-n* n. 'year': cp. Lat. *annu-s* for **at-sno-* p. 145. Goth. *haúr-n* O.H.G. *horn* pr. Norse *horna* n. 'horn': Gall. *κάρνο-ν* acc. 'trumpet' (Hesych.) beside Lat. *cornu* (also *corno-*, § 106). Goth. *-bar-n* 'child' ('that which is born'): Lith. *bér-na-s* 'servant', dimin. *bernēli-s* 'little boy' (cp. a similar change of meaning in Gr. *τέκνο-ν*: O.H.G. *degan*). Goth. *láu-n* O.H.G. *lō-n* n. 'wages', beside Gr. *ἀπο-λαύω* 'enjoy' O.C.Sl. *lovŭ* 'prey, booty'. O.H.G. *zeihhan* O.Sax. *tēkan* n. 'token' pr. Germ. **taiḳ-na-* (compare Goth. *táikns* f., stem *táik-ni-*, 'token'), from

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√ *deiḱ- deiḡ-* (Goth. *ga-teihan* 'point out'). O.H.G. *feihhan* O.Sax. *fēkan* n. 'deceit' pr. Germ. **faiḱ-na-*, from √ *peiḱ- peiḡ-* (Goth. *fáih* n. 'deceit'). O.H.G. *loug-na* O.Icel. *lau-n* f., in O.H.G. also *lougan* (subst. m.) 'giving the lie, denying': the root has a different grade of ablaut in Goth. *liug-n* n. 'lie'. O.Sax. *log-na* (*o* probably short) 'flame': cp. Lat. *lūna* for **loucsnā* etc. p. 140.

Germ. *-uno-* = *-ṇno-* cannot be identified with certainty.

In secondary use the suffix only occurs in Goth. *jái-n-s* 'that, yonder' from loc. **ioi* (beside it stands a pr. Germ. **ī-na-* from the locative form **iei* in A.S. *bē-ʒen* m. 'both' according to Holthausen, Paul Braune's Beitr. XIII 372. 590), unless Goth. *hláivasnōs* pl. f. 'grave' from *hláiv* n. 'grave' and *arhvazna* f. 'arrow' beside A.S. *earh* n. 'arrow' are to be classed here, as derivatives from *es*-stems, cp. Skr. *vadhasná-* p. 142.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *pìl-na-s* O.C.Sl. *plŭ-nŭ* 'full': Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* etc., see p. 140 above. A few other adjectives of this kind occur in Baltic, as Lith. *kìl-na-s* 'lofty' beside *kél-ti* 'to raise' (*kálna-s* 'hill' should perhaps be divided *kal-n-a*, see the Author in Morph. Unt. II 173), *sìlp-na-s* 'weak, powerless' beside *sìlp-ti* 'to grow weak'; *lūd-na-s* 'sad' beside *lūsti* 'to grow sad', Lett. *wiſ-n-s* 'glimmering' beside *wiſ-ét* 'to glimmer', Lett. *táis-n-s* 'straight, right' beside Lith. *taisýti* 'to direct'. Lith. *dë-na* f. adj. of cows 'in calf': Skr. *dhḗ-nā* 'milch cow', from √ *dhēi-* 'suckle' (I § 150 p. 136).

Lith. *peĩ-na-s* 'merit' O.C.Sl. *plĕ-nŭ* 'booty': Skr. *paṇa-s* 'wager, stipulated wage' for **par-ṇa* (I § 259 p. 211 f.). Lith. *vaĩ-na-s* 'raven' *vár-na* 'crow' O.C.Sl. *vra-nŭ* 'black, raven' *vra-na* 'crow', possibly to be compared with Skr. *vár-ṇa-s* 'colour'. There seems to be some connexion between the roots of Lith. *szẽ-na-s* O.C.Sl. *sĕ-no* 'hay' (the Lith. word was no doubt originally neuter) and Skr. *śyā-na-s* 'grown dry' *śī-na-s* 'curdled'. Lith. *szal-nà* O.C.Sl. *sla-na* 'rime', beside Lith. *szál-ta-s* Skr. *śí-śir-a-s* adj. 'cold'. Pruss. *spoay-no* f. 'foam' or 'scum' O.C.Sl. *pĕ-na* 'foam': Skr. *phé-na-s* 'foam', cp. also Lat. *spūma* for **spoi-mā* (for the initial, see I § 599 p. 445 f.)

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With *-s-*; Lith. *lẽp-s-nà* 'flame', *varsnà* 'length of a furrow' for **vart-snā* (cp. *varsma-s* 'length of a furrow' for **vart-sma-*).

Lith. *spañ-na-s* 'wing': Skr. *par-ṇá-m* 'wing', √ *sper-* 'strike away, push off, jerk'. *skut-nà* 'shaved place'. *žar-nà* 'intestine': O.Icel. *garnar* pl. 'intestinae'. *dai-nà* folk-song': Avest. *daę-nā-* f. 'law, teaching, faith'.

O.C.Sl. *trъ̀-nŭ* 'thorn': Skr. *tŕ-na-m* 'grass-stalk', Germ. with *-nu-* Goth. *þaúr-nu-s* 'thorn'. *synŭ sunŭ* 'tower' no doubt stands for pr. Slav. **sūp-no- *soup-no-* 'that which is piled up', cp. *sŭpą* 'I pile' *sŭpŭ* 'heap'. *člěnŭ* 'limb' for **čel-no-*. *trěs-nŭ* 'fimbria' for **trěsk-nŭ*, beside *trěskŭ* 'noise' *trěsnąti* 'to strike'. *stĭg-no* 'shank'. *ru-no* 'fleece', beside *rŭv-ą* 'evello'. *sukno* 'woollen garment', beside *sukati* 'to twist'. *věno* 'dowry' for **věd-no-*: Gr. *ἔδ-να ἔεδ-να* 'bridal gifts', √ *u̯edh- u̯ed-* 'lead, lead home' (I § 469, 8 p. 346 f.). *vlŭ-na* 'wave': O.H.G. *wella* 'wave' ground-form **u̯el-nā*, with *-ni-* Lith. *vil-nì-s* 'wave'. *sli-na* 'spittle', beside Mid.H.G. A.S. *slī-m* 'slime'. *strana* 'side, region' for pr. Slav. **stor-nā*, i. e. Idg. **stŗ̄-nā* (Skr. *stīr-ṇá-* 'outspread') or Idg. **stor-nā*, √ *ster-* 'spread out'. *stě-na* 'wall': Goth. *stái-n-s* O.H.G. *stei-n* m. 'stone'.

Lith. *-ina-* Slav. *-ĭno-* = *-u̯no-* may perhaps be traced in Lith. *kùp-ina-s* 'heaped up', *tẽk-ina-s* 'running', O.C.Sl. *do-kos-ĭnŭ* 'that can be touched or held' *do-stiž-ĭnŭ* 'that can be reached', etc.

-no- in secondary use. Lith. *jáu-na-s* O.C.Sl. *ju-nŭ* 'young from *jaū ju* 'already', just like Skr. *náva-s* Gr. *νέϝο-ς* beside Skr. *nú nú* etc. 'now': from the same adverb come also O.C.Sl. *ju-tro u-tro* 'morning', see § 75. It is doubtful how far, if at all, the common secondary suffix Lith. *-ina-* Slav. *-ĭno-* represents Idg. *-u̯no-*.

§ 67. 2. In the form *-eno- -ono-*. This is almost entirely primary, and it occurs chiefly in participles and abstract nouns. It is used to form classes of words with special meanings, most commonly in Aryan, Germanic and Slavonic. *-eno-* is in active use as a participial suffix in A.S., Norse (O.Icel)

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and Slavonic, as an abstract nominal suffix in Aryan; *-ono-* is a participial suffix in Aryan, Gothic and High German, and an abstract nominal suffix (infin.) in Germanic.

The suffix bears the accent where the root-syllable has the weak grade of ablaut; e. g. Skr. *vavr̥t-āná-s* O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* (I § 530 p. 387).

a. *-eno-* added to stems ending in a consonant:

Indo-Germanic. **u̯eǵh-eno-*, √*u̯eǵh-* 'vehere': Skr. *vah--ana-s* 'carrying' *váh-ana-m* 'act of carrying', O.C.Sl. *vez-enŭ* 'carried'. **ed-eno-*, √*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *ád-ana-m* 'food, fodder', O.Icel. *et-enn* 'eaten'. **u̯ert-eno-*, √*u̯ert-* 'vertere': Skr. *vart-ana-s* 'setting in motion' *várt-ana-m* 'a turning', O.C.Sl. *vrŭt-eno* n. 'spindle'.

Aryan. *cét-ana-s* 'visible', *ján-ana-s* 'begetter', *táp-ana-s* 'afflicting'; O.Pers. *drauj-ana-* 'lying'. Skr. *cét-ana-m* 'an appearing, appearance', *ján-ana-m* 'a begetting' and other substantives of the same kind. Avest. *hav-ane-m* 'pressing, pressure': Skr. *sáv-ana-m*; O.Pers. *ham-ar-ana-m* 'encounter, fight', Ar. √*ar-* 'go'. In Avestic we find the masc. *zav-ana-* 'call, summons'; contrast Skr. neut. *háv-ana-m*.

Armenian. *jaune-m* 'I offer, dedicate' from the noun stem **jauno-*, which must stand for **jau̯-eno-* (Skr. *háv-ana-m* 'offering'), or for **jau̯-ono-*.

Greek. Here perhaps should be classed Aeol. *φερέν̄α* 'dowry' (*φέρενα*, if it be the more correct reading, would at all events imply a form **φερέν̄α*) beside *φέρ-νη*: cp. Skr. *bhár-aṇa-*.

Remark. *-ενο-* may perhaps be traced also in *ἐκεῖνο-ς* (with spurious diphthong) Dor. *κῆνο-ς* 'that' for **(ἐ)κε̯ι̯-ενο-ς* from *ἐκεῖ* 'there'. Similarly Dor. *τῆνο-ς*, 'is iste, ille' would stand for **τει̯-ενο-ς* from *τεῖ*; or it might be analysed *τῆ-νο-ς* and derived from the instr. **τῆ* (cp. Goth. *jái-n-s* § 66 p. 148). It must be admitted that *-eno-* is not elsewhere used in this way as a secondary suffix.

Italic. *beno-* (in *bene*, *benīgnu-s*, *bellu-s* for **ben-lo-*), the by-form of *bono-*, *duono-*, should be classed here, if it stands for **du̯-eno-* and belongs to the root seen in Skr. *dúv-as* n. 'reverence, honour' and other words, so that the original meaning would be 'that which is held in honour, enjoys recognition'

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(see Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 370 ff.). *dom-inu-s* (cp. Skr. *dám-ana-s* 'horse-tamer') and the like are ambiguous; see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. I know of no noun-formations which fall under this head.

Germanic. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden' (beside *filhan* 'to hide'), with the accent on the suffix in pr. Germ. (I § 530 p. 386). O.Icel. *tīg-enn* 'distinguished' (√*deiḱ-* 'show'). O.H.G. *sceff-in* 'sheriff', also *sceffino*, which has passed over to the *n*-declension; its original sense was no doubt 'arranger, orderer', compare O.H.G. *scaffen* 'to shape, set in order'. Add such participles as A.S. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* 'bound'; cp. below, under *-ono-*. Goth. *áig-in* O.H.G. *eig-in* n. 'property', the original sense being no doubt 'the having for one's own': Skr. *īś-anа-m* 'rule, control'. Goth. *rag-in* n. 'counsel, decree'; if it belongs to Skr. *rac-ana-m* 'an arranging, regulating', we must assume, as in the case of Goth. *fulg-ins*, that the suffix originally bore the accent. O.H.G. *lug-ina* f. 'lie', O.Sax. *drug-ina* f. 'treachery' *stul-ina* f. 'theft' *thec-ina* f. 'covering, roof'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here should be classed certain Lettic adjectives like *glud-en-s* 'smooth', (compare *glōd-en-s* 'blind-worm') beside *glaud-ét* 'to stroke'; *slidd-en-s* 'smooth, where one slips', beside *slidd-ét* 'to slip'; *slepp-en-s* 'secret' beside *slép-t* 'to hide'. Were the Lithuanian verbs in *-enù*, like *gab-enù* 'I bring', developed from noun-stems of this kind, in the same way as *kruv-inù* 'I make bloody' from *krùv-ina-s* 'bloody'?

In Slavonic we have the common past part. pass. in *-enŭ*, as *nes-enŭ* 'carried' (from *nes-ti* 'to carry'), *za-bŭv-enŭ* 'forgotten' (from *za-byti*; cp. Skr. *bhúv-ana-m* 'being, thing, world'). The neut. *vrĕt-eno*: Skr. *várt-ana-m* has been already mentioned on p. 150.

b. *-ono-* added to stems ending in a consonant.

Idg. Pres. or aor. part.: **gr-ono-* from *ger-* 'make', beside indic. Skr. *á-kar*: Skr. *kr-aṇá-s* 'working, eager, busy' (frequent epithet of deities), Gr. *Κρ-όνο-ς*; **ǧus-ono-* from *ǧeus-* 'taste', beside the indic. Skr. *á-juṣ-ran* (3. pl. med.): Skr. *iušaṇá-s* Goth.

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kusan-s. Part. perf. **bhe-bhid-onó-s* from *bheid-* 'split, bite' beside indic. Skr. *bibhéd-a* Goth. *báit*: Skr. *bibhid-āná-s* (Goth. *bit-an-s*).

Remark. This view of the Aryan forms with *-āna-* cannot be called certain. As a participial suffix of the middle we may (with Hirt) refer *-āna-* to **-ηno-*, as the analogous *-ana-* to **-ηno-* (see § 66 Rem. p. 141). The same *-ηnó-* may also be concealed in Gr. *πτᾱνό-ς πτηνό-ς* 'fledged' (cp. Osthoff, zur Gesch. des Perf. 409) and the adjective *ἑᾱνό-ς* (or is this for **ἡανό-ς*?). In the Ar. *-āna-* it is possible that *-ηno-* and *-ono-* have coalesced. The considerations urged by Fröhde (Bezzenberger's Beitr. VII 322 ff.) against my comparison of *Κρόνο-ς* with *krāṇá-s* are not sound. The different accent of *Κρόνο-ς* is explained by the fact of its being a proper name. See what is said below in the Greek section on *κλόνο-ς* etc.

Aryan. Pres. aor. med. pass. part. Skr. *duh-āná-s dúh-āna-s*, also *dúgh-āna-s*, the *gh* being phonetically regular (I § 445 p. 331, § 452. 453 p. 335), beside *dógdhi* 'he milks', *júhv-āna-s* beside *ju-hó-ti* 'he offers', *su-nv-āná-s* beside *su-nó-ti* 'he presses out', and so forth. Similarly Avest. *γn-āna-* beside *jáin-ti* 'he slays', and the like. Skr. *īś-āná-s īś-āna-s* 'having for one's own, possessing, ruler' Avest. *iš-āna-* 'ruling, mighty' beside Skr. *íṣē īṣ-tē* 'he possesses, rules': O.H.G. *eig-an* 'own', beside Goth. *áih* 'he has', cp. Skr. *īś-ana-m* Goth. *áig-in* p. 151). Pert. med. pass. part. Skr. *riric-āná-s* beside *rirēc-a* 'he let loose, removed, abandoned': O.H.G. *gi-liw-an*, √ *leiq-*; Avest. *vāver°z--āna-* beside indic. med. Gāthic *vāver°z-ōi* from *var°z-* (*u̯erĝ-*) 'work'.

It is an open question whether the denominative Skr. *-āna-*, as in *vásav-āna-s* 'possessing goods' from *vásu* n. 'goods', falls under this head (cp. Goth. *þiud-an-s*).

Armenian. Perhaps *jaune-m*, see above p. 150.

Greek. Besides *Κρ-όνο-ς* (see above) we should probably class here *κλ-όνο-ς* 'stir, turmoil', beside *κέλ-ομαι*, *θρ-όνο-ς* 'seat, throne' from *dher-* 'hold, support', *χρ-όνο-ς* 'time' orig. 'a limit of time which contains, span', beside *χερ-*; for the meaning cp. *ἔμετο-ς* 'a vomiting' beside *ἐμετό-ς* 'vomited' and the like, § 158.[1]) Of

1) The accent may have been assimilated to that of *γόν-ο-ς λόχ-ο-ς τρόπ-ο-ς* and similar words. Fröhde's assumption (in the article cited in the Remark above) that *θρόνο-ς χρόνο-ς* stand for **θορνο-ς *χολνο-ς*, cannot be justified on phonetic grounds, in spite of Cret. *θόρναξ*.

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feminine forms we should perhaps class here *ἡδ-ονή* 'joy', but in *περόνη* 'clasp, buckle' *σφενδ-όνη* 'sling' and others we must recognise *-on-ā*, an extension of *-on-* by *-ā-*, cp. *ἀκόν-η* 'whetstone' beside Skr. *áśan-* 'stone'.

Italic. Lat. *b-ono-* must ultimately be classed here; as to *beno-*, see p. 150. *dom-inu-s* and the like are ambiguous. see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. On account of the coincidence of *-ŋno-* and *-ono-* in Irish there are no examples that can be assigned with certainty to this section.

Germanic. O.H.G. *eig-an*, see above, p. 152. Goth. *v-an-s* O.H.G. *w-an* 'wanting, lacking', √ *eu̯-* (Gr. *εὐ-ν-ς*, Skr. *ū-ná-s*). O.H.G. *offan* A.S. *opan* 'open'. O.H.G. *wes-an* 'decayed'. O.Sax. *fag-an* 'glad', the accent being on the suffix in pr.Germ., cp. Goth. *fah-ēþs* f. 'joy'. Participles like Goth. *vaúrþ-an-s* (the regular phonetic form would be **vaúrdans*, I § 530 p. 387), O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* 'having become': Skr. *vavṛt-āná-s*; Goth. *qum-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-kom-an* 'having come': Skr. *jagm-āná-s*; Goth. *fra-vitan-s* 'avenged': Skr. *vid-āná-s*; Goth. *ana-budan-s* 'commanded, enjoined' O.H.G. *gi-botan*: Skr. *budh-āná-s*. Instead of this we find in other dialects *-ina-* = Idg. *-eno-*. We may conjecture that in Germanic *-eno-* and *-ono-* were originally distinguished as in Sanskrit. When the reduplicating syllable in the perfect fell off, the two types were no longer clearly separated, and *-eno-* drove out *-ono-* in one part of the Germanic area. We have *-ana-* in secondary use in Goth. *þiud-an-s* 'king', from *þiuda* 'people' (cp. Skr. *vásav-āna-s*?).

-ono- occurs as an abstract suffix in the Germanic infinitives formed with pr. Germ. **-ana-m*, as Goth. *áih-an* O.H.G. *eig-an* 'possess, have', Goth. *vit-an* O.H.G. *wizz-an* 'know', Goth. *baír-an* O.H.G. *ber-an* 'bear, bring, forth'.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *álk-ana-s* (fem. *alk-anà*) 'rather hungry, fasting' from *álk-ti* 'to hunger', *úk-ana-s* 'gloomy, overclouded' (*úkanos dẽnos* 'gloomy days') beside *ūk-stýti-s* 'to become gloomy, cloud over'. Lett. *plakk-an-s* 'flat' from *plak-t* 'to grow flat' etc. Lith.

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dov-anà Lett. *dâw-ana* 'gift' beside *dŭ́-ti dŭ-t* 'to give', Lith. *ûk-ana* 'mass of cloud, cloudy sky'.

Whether Slavonic forms like Mod. Sloven. *jah-on* 'fortis equitator', beside *jahati* 'vehi' (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. II 140) should also be classed here, is doubtful. We cannot analyse O.C.Sl. *zvonŭ* 'sound' as *zv-onŭ* (cp. *zov-ą zv-ati* 'to call') and compare it with Skr. *kr-āṇá-s* etc. (cp. Fick, Wtb. I^3 84, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 373), unless we allow that the whole verbal base *zven-* in Slavonic (O.C.Sl. *svĭnĕti* 'to sound') has been developed out of a noun formed with *-eno- -ono-*.

c. *-eno- -ono-* added to stems ending in a vowel. It has been already remarked on p. 138, that the contraction was complete even in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. *sōma-dhāna-s* 'containing soma' *vasu-dâna-s* 'giving good' *vi-mâna-s* 'traversing', like *cĕt-ana-s. dâna-m* 'a giving' (Lat. *dōnu-m*), *sthâna-m* 'a standing, standing-place' (Avest. *stāna-* m. 'position', Gr. *δύστηνο-ς* 'in a bad position, unhappy', Lith. *stóna-s* O.C.Sl. *stanŭ* 'position'), *yâna-m* 'a going, moving' like *cĕt-ana-m*. Pres. med. pass. part. *yâna-s* beside indic. *yâti* 'he goes', like *dúgh-āna-s*. Perf. med. pass. part. *jajñāná-s* beside indic. *jajñáu* 'he knew' (Slav. part. *po-znanŭ* 'known'), like *riric-āná-s*.

Gr. *δύστηνο-ς*, see above. **εὔ-σθηνο-ς* 'in good position whence *εὐσθηνέω* 'am in good position': add also El. *συν-σθῆναι* pl. 'compact' (Collitz' Samml. d. gr. Dial.-Inschr. no. 1168).

Ital. Lat. *dōnu-m*, Umbr. *ŕunu* Osc. dúnú-m Mars. *duno-m* 'donum', see above.

Ir. Perhaps *bān* 'white, pale', from √*bhā-*, Skr. *bhâ-ti* 'he appears, shines' *bhâna-m* 'an appearing or growing visible'.

German. O.H.G. perf. part. *gi-tān* 'done' (O.C.Sl. *o-dĕnŭ* part. of *o-dĕti*, 'to put round, clothe'), like *gi-wort-an*. O.H.G. inf. *tōn tuon* 'do' *gān* 'go', like *ber-an*.

Balt.-Slav. Lith. *stóna-s* O.C.Sl. *stanŭ*, see above. Lith. *klóna-s* 'space behind the barn' beside *klóti* 'to spread out. O.C.Sl. perf. part. *po-znanŭ* (see above), *danŭ* 'given' beside *dati*, *sĕnŭ* 'sown' beside *sĕti*, like *nes-enŭ*.

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In some of these vowel-stems we may conjecture that forms with *-no-* and forms with *-eno- -ono-* once existed side by side. It is no longer possible to ascertain exactly how far this was the case.

§ 68. The Suffixes *-ino- -inā-*, *-īno- -īnā-*, and *-aˣi̯no- -aˣi̯nā-*. These suffixes are found side by side with practically the same meaning. They are used especially to form secondary adjectives, with such meanings as 'made or consisting of', 'springing from', 'belonging to the same kind as' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived. They are used very much in the same way as the secondary suffix *-i̯o-* (§ 63, 2), compare e. g. Lith. *av-ýna-s* with Pruss. *auc-i-s* O.C.Sl. *u-jĭ* 'uncle' beside Lat. *avo-s* 'grandfather', the meaning of these words being 'he who is descended from the grandfather'. Whether it bears any very close relation to the termination of Gr. *ἐαρινό-ς* Lat. *vērnu-s* and the like (§ 66 p. 144), and what etymological relation subsists between the initial sounds of the three forms *-ino- -īno- -aˣi̯no-* (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 357) I cannot here decide. The connexion in sense (compare e. g. Gr. *δρύ-ινο-ς* 'of oak' — Goth. *triv-ein-s* 'wooden' — Avest. *drv-aŋn-i-* 'wooden'), combined with their connexion in point of sound, justifies us in discussing the three suffixes together.

1. *-ino-*.

Idg. **deḱs-ino-* 'dexter': Skr. *dákṣiṇa-s* Avest. *dašina-* O.C.Sl. *desĭnŭ*, in Lith. extended by a further suffix *deszin-ė̃* 'the right hand': cp. Gr. *δεξιό-ς* Lat. *dex-ter* O.Ir. *dess* Goth. *taihs-va* 'dexter'; the word is closely allied to Skr. *dákṣ-a-s* 'able, strong'. Skr. *aj-ína-m* 'skin' O.C.Sl. *az-ĭno* beside Skr. *ajá-s* 'he-goat' *ajá* 'she-goat', Lith. *ožỹ-s* 'he-goat', cp. also Lith. *ož-ìni-s* 'belonging to a he-goat'.

In Aryan *-ino-* was not fertile. Forms like Skr. *malinā-* 'spotted' (*mala-m* 'dirt') Avest. nom. *raocah-inō* 'shining' (*raocah-* 'light') can scarcely be classed here: it is most probable that they

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only arose in later times through a transference of *-in*-stems to the *o*-declension (cp. § 60 p. 111 f.).

In Greek we have many adjectives, denoting material, origin or kind: *φήγ-ινο-ς* 'beechen' from *φηγό-ς* (: Lat. *fāg-inu-s*), *βύβλ-ινο-ς* 'made of papyrus' from *βύβλο-ς*, *ἄνθ-ινο-ς* 'consisting of flowers' from *ἄνθος* n., *λᾶ-ινο-ς* 'of stone' from *λᾶας*, *χύτρ-ινο-ς* 'of clay, earthen like a pot' from *χύτρο-ς*, *γή-ινο-ς* 'earthen, earthly' from *γῆ*, *ἄέρ-ινο-ς* 'consisting of air, airy' from *ἀήρ*, *ἰχθύ-ινο-ς* 'derived from fish' (e. g. *ἔλαιον*) from *ἰχθύ-ς*, *ἀνθρώπ-ινο-ς* 'human' from *ἄνθρωπο-ς*, *ἐκείν-ινο-ς* 'of that kind, of the same kind as that' from *ἐκεῖνο-ς*, *πεδ-ινό-ς* 'found in the level country' beside *πεδίο-ν*, *ἀληθ-ινό-ς* 'true' beside *ἀληθής*.

In Latin Idg. *-ino-* can hardly be distinguished from Idg. *-ŋno- -eno- -ono-* (§ 66. 67.) Here should be placed adjectives like *fāg-inu-s* (see above), *laur-inu-s*, *junc-inu-s*, *lentisc-inu-s*, which are not very numerous.

Keltic. Perhaps Gall. *Mor-inī* pl., name of a seaboard tribe (cp. Lat. *mar-inu-s*), and others to be found in Zeuss-Ebel G. C. 772.

In Germanic the suffix cannot be traced.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian adjectives of material, origin, kind, are only rarely formed with *-ina-s*, usually with *-ini-s*, which shows the further suffix *-i̯o-*: *áuks-ina-s* 'golden' from *áuksa-s* 'gold', *sidabr-ìni-s* 'silvern' from *sidābra-s* 'silver', *med-ìni-s* 'wooden' from *mẽdi-s* 'tree, wood', *žem-ìnė bitìs* 'humble-bee' from *žẽmę* 'earth', *rūksztìnis óbůlas* 'a sour kind of apple' from *rúksztas óbůlas* 'some apple'.

Slavonic *-ĭnŭ*: *želĕz-ĭnŭ* 'of iron' from *želězo* 'iron' (Lith. *geležìni-s* 'of iron'), *medv-ĭnŭ medov-ĭnŭ* 'of honey, like honey' from *medŭ* 'honey', *zem-ĭnŭ* 'earthly' from *zemlja* 'earth'. Further, some of the adjectives in *-ĭnĭ* may belong to this section.

2. *-īno-*. The accentuation of the suffix was original, as shewn by the Sanskrit accent and by O.H.G. *magat-īn* beside *mägad*.

Indo-Germanic. Cp. Lat. *filr-īnu-s*, O.H.G. *bibir-īn* 'of

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beaver' beside Avest. *baiwr-aẹni-š* Lith. *bebr-ìni-s* 'of beaver. Lat. *su-īnu-s*, Goth. *sv-ein* n. 'swine', O.C.Sl. *sv-inŭ* 'suinus'. Lat. *haed-īnu-s*, Goth. *gáit-ein-s* 'of goats, relating to goats'. Skr. *nav-ína-s* 'new', O.C.Sl. *nov-ina* f. 'newly ploughed land, fallow'.

Aryan. In Sanskrit it forms adjectives whose meaning implies relation to something, without specifying the nature of the relation. *saṿatsar-íṇa-s* 'yearlong, yearly' from *saṿatsará-s* 'year'. *prāvṛṣ-íṇa-s* 'belonging to the rainy season, rainy'. *viśvajan-ína-s* 'containing all sorts of people, ruling over all people, blessing all the world' from *viśva-janá-* 'all the world'. *sat-īná-s* 'genuine' from *sánt-* 'true' (cp. *ἀληθ-ινό-ς* and O.H.G. *wār-īn*). *kan-ína-s* 'young' from *kaná* f. 'young girl, maiden' (cp. O.H.G. *jung-īn*). *nav-ína-s* 'new' from *náva-* 'new'. *añjas-ína-s* 'leading straight on' from *añjasa-* 'direct, immediate'. Extended formations with *-īna-* from adjectives of direction in *-añc-* are especially common; e. g. *apāc-ína-s* leaning back' from *ápāñc-*, *pratīc-ína-s* and *pratīc-īná-s* 'turned towards' from *pratyáñc-*.

Greek. Here we have adjectives and substantives derived from adjectives, implying more or less clearly the meaning 'possessing the character or attributes denoted by the original noun'. *ἀγχιστ-ῖνο-ς* 'very near together' from *ἄγχιστο-ς*. *ἐρυθρ-ῖνο-ς*, 'red mullet' (cp. Mod.H.Germ. *rötling* 'rudd'). *κορακ-ῖνο-ς* 'a sea fish black as a raven', also 'young raven', from *κόραξ* 'raven'. *κεστρ-ῖνο-ς* a kind of fish, from *κέστρᾱ* a kind of hammer, 'pick'. *τυφλ-ῖνο-ς* a kind of snake, from *τυφλό-ς* 'blind'. *γελασ-ῖνο-ς* 'laugher' from *γέλασι-ς*; *ἐλεγξ-ῖνο-ς* 'blamer' from *ἔλεγξι-ς* (cp. Goth. *ga-láub-ein-s* 'believing' O.H.G. *huor-īn* 'libidinosus'). *πολυποδ-ίνη* a small kind of polypus. *βολβ-ίνη* a kind of bulb. *δελφακ-ίνη* from *δέλφαξ* 'swine, sucking pig' (cp. O.H.G. *siw-īn* beside *sū*). *χοιρ-ίνη*, a kind of sea mussel, from *χοῖρο-ς* 'sucking pig'.

Italic. The suffix is frequently used to indicate material, origin, kind, that to which anything belongs. Lat. *capr-īnu-s* from *caper capra*, Umbr. *cabriner* gen. 'caprini'. Lat. *equ-īnu-s* from *equo-s*, Umbr. ekvine loc. 'equini' (borrowed from the Lat.? I § 431 p. 320). Lat. *bov-īnu-s*, *can-īnu-s*, *vulp-īnu-s*,

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columb-īnu-s, *noctu-īnu-s*; *dīv-īnu-s*, *fūr-īnu-s*, *sūtr-īnu-s*, *sobr-īnu-s* for **sosr-īno-* from *soror* (I § 570 p. 428); *mar-īnu-s*, *vīc-īnu-s* (cp. Lith. *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour'), *cisalp-īnu-s*, *peregr-īnu-s*, *Lat-īnu-s*, Umbr. Ikuvinus pl. 'Iguvini', Osc. Nuvkirinum 'Nucerinorum'. A few neuter substantives occur like *terg-īnu-m* 'whip of leather'. Feminine substantives are more numerous, as *capr-īna* goat's-flesh' *haed-īna* 'kid's flesh', *su-īna* 'pig's flesh' (cp. O.C.Sl. *bĭbrov-ina* 'flesh of beaver', Lith. *ož-ėnà* 'goat's flesh'); *sal-īna* 'salt works, salt mine', *moletr-īna* 'mill', *pisc-īna* 'fishpond', *cēp-īna* 'onion field', *rāp-īna* 'turnip field' (cp. Lith. *avíž-ėnà* 'oat-field' and Skr. *āúm-īna-m* 'flax-field' from *úmā* flax); cp. § 154.

Keltic. Here perhaps may be classed Gall. *Tīc-īnu-s* name of a river, ground-form **tēq-īno-*, √*teq-* 'run, flee, flow' (O.Ir. *techim* 'flee', Lith. *tek-mẽ* 'small river', O.C.Sl. *tokŭ* 'stream').

In Germanic it forms numerous adjectives denoting material, origin, and quality. Goth. *gulþ-eins* O.H.G. *guld-īn* 'golden' from *gulþ gold* n. 'gold'. Goth. *stáin-eins* O.H.G. *stein-īn* 'of stone' from *stáins stein* m. 'stone'. Goth. *aírþ-eins* O.H.G. *ird-īn* 'earthen, earthly' from *aírþa erda* 'earth'. Goth. *bariz-eins* 'of barley'; *þáurn-eins* 'of thorn'; *riqiz-eins* 'dark'. O.H.G. *rindir-īn* 'of cattle'; *swīn-īn* 'suillus'. Goth. *sunj-eins* 'truthful' from *sunji-s* 'true'. O.H.G. *wār-īn* 'truthful' from *wār* 'true' (cp. Skr. *sat-īná-s*). O.H.G. *huor-īn* 'wanton, dissolute'. Goth. *áiv-eins* O.H.G. *ēw-īn* 'everlasting'.

-īno- was added to adjectives formed with an *l*-suffix, e. g. *luzzil-īn* from *luzzil* 'little', whence there arose in O.H.G. an independent suffix *-ilīn -alīn*, as in *huor-ilīn* 'wanton' (beside *huor-īn*), *luog-alīn* 'spying, lurking'.

The neuters of adjectives of material, used substantivally, gave rise to diminutives in Germanic; from the meaning 'belonging to another thing in respect of kind' it is only a short step to that of 'subordination', of 'having its attributes only to a limited extent' (cp. Gr. *-ιο-ν* § 63 p. 128). So Goth. *gáit-ein* O.H.G. *geiz-īn* 'kid' from *gáit-eins geiz-īn* 'haedinus', Goth. *gum-ein* 'mannikin' *qin-ein* 'little woman' from *guma* 'man' *qinō*

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'woman', O.H.G. *magat-īn* A.S. *mægd-en* 'little maid, girl' from O.H.G. *magad* 'maid, girl'. It is doubtful whether the diminutival sense ever existed in Goth. *sv-ein* O.H.G. *sw-īn* 'swine', which strictly belongs to this class of neuters: it would seem that it was isolated in form by the accentuation of the suffix (which in a monosyllable could not but be regarded as part of the root), and so separated from the others in point of meaning.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour' from *kẽma-s* 'precinct, court' (I § 84 Rem. 2 p. 81), cp. Lat. *vīc-īnu-s*. Old neuter forms appear to be represented by *saldum-ỹnai* pl. 'sweetmeats' from *saldùma-s* 'sweetness', *kartum-ỹnai* pl. 'bitter things' (*kartù-s* 'bitter'), and also by collectives like *aužůl-ýna-s* 'a number of oaks standing together, oak grove' from *áužůla-s* 'oak', *krūm-ýna-s* 'thick shrubbery' from *krūma-s* 'bush', *akmen-ýna-s* 'heap of stones' from *akmů̃* 'stone', *ang-ýna-s* 'nest of adders' from *angì-s* 'adder'. In these latter cases, the special meaning seems to have been developed through the contrast of the idea of the species with that of the individual thing.

In Slavonic we find adjectives of kind and connexion, like *mater-inŭ* 'motherly, of the mother', *neprijazn-inŭ* 'devilish, of the devil', *zvěr-inŭ* 'bestial'. Also feminine substantives like *zvěr-ina* 'flesh of wild beasts', *bĭbrov-ina* 'beaver-flesh' (cp. Lat. *capr-īna*, Lith. *ož-ėnà*); *vlŭč-ina* 'wolfskin', *ovĭč-ina* 'sheepskin'; *medov-ina* 'an intoxicating drink' from *medŭ*; *měsęč-ina* 'moonlight' from *měsęcĭ* (cp. Lith. *mėnes-ėnà*), and others of the same sort, cp. § 154.

3. *-aⁿi̯no-* can be traced with certainty only in Aryan and Baltic.

In Sanskrit we find only *sāmidh-ēná-s* 'relating to firewood' from *samídh-* 'firewood'; no doubt, however, it is contained in the suffix *-ēnya-* (an extension of it by *-i̯o-*): *vīr-éṇya-s* 'manly, heroic' from *vīrá-s* 'man, hero', *prāvṛṣ-éṇya-s* 'rainy' beside *prāvṛṣ-íṇa-s* (see above, p. 157).

-aęna- is common in Avestic to denote material, origin and the like, as *ayanh-aęna-* 'of metal, iron' from *ayah-*, *zaran-*

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-aęna- 'golden' from **zaraŋa-* = Skr. *hiraṇa-* n. 'gold', *er'zat--aęna-* 'silvern' from *er'zata-* (cp. Lat. *Argent-īnu-s*), *temarəh--aęna-* 'dark, murky' from *temah-* 'darkness'; neut. *fravāxš-aęne-m* 'woodwork, pieces of wood, beams' from *fravāxša-* m. 'branch, twig'. Transferred to the *i*-declension it becomes *-aęni-*, as *zaran-aęni-ṣ*.

Lithuanian. *-ĕna-* is common in names of inhabitants, to denote their belonging to or springing from a place, as *Tilž-ĕna-s* 'a man from Tilsit (*Tilžė*)'. Subst. fem.: *ož-ĕnà* 'goatsflesh', *jaut--ĕnà* 'beef', *žąs-ĕnà* 'gooseflesh (cp. Lat. *capr-īna*, O.C.Sl. *zvěr--ina*); *avíž-ĕnà* 'oat-field', *rug-ĕnà* 'rye-field', *mëž-ĕnà* 'barley-field' (cp. Lat. *cēp-īna*); *mėnes-ĕnà* 'moonlight' from *mėnů* 'moon' (cp. O.C.Sl. *měsęč-ina*), and other examples.

Remark. It is a point for further investigation whether Lat. *alīēnu-s*, *terrēnu-s* belong to this group. The Slavonic adjectives of material in *-ĕnŭ-* like *drěv-ĕnŭ* 'wooden' *olov-ĕnŭ* 'leaden' must in any case be left out of consideration, since the change of *-i̯ĕ-* to *-i̯ā-*, as in *drožd'ijanŭ* 'of yeast' for **drožd'ij-ĕnŭ* proves that their *-ĕ-* represents Idg. *-ē-*, see I § 76 p. 66.

§ 69. The Suffix *-tno- -tnā-*, *-tŋno- -tŋnā-*.

1. This appears in Sanskrit, Latin, Lithuanian, (and Greek?) in adjectives formed from adverbs of time, and in Sanskrit also in some cases from stems with similar meaning.

Sanskrit. From adverbs: *pra-tná-s* 'former, old' from *prá* 'before', *nū-tna-s nū-tana-s* 'present' from *nú* 'now', *sanā-tána-s* 'not transient, constant, lasting' from *sánā* 'from the beginning', *prātas-tána-* 'in the morning, early' from *prātáḥ* 'early', *divā--tana-s divā-tána-s* 'diurnus' from *dívā* 'by day', *cirán-tana-s ciran-tána-s* 'coming from olden time' from *cirá-m* 'long ago', *švas-tana-s* 'of to-morrow' *hyas-tana-s* 'of yesterday'. Formed from stems: *saná-tna-s* beside *sanā-tána-s*, *cira-tná-s* beside *cirán-tana-s*.

Greek. *ἐπης-τανό-ς* 'lasting for ever'? The etymology of the word has not been satisfactorily explained.

Latin. *diū-tinu-s*, *prīs-tinu-s*, *crās-tinu-s*, *sērō-tinu-s*, *prīmō-tinu-s*.

Lithuanian. *dabar-tina-s* 'present' from *dabar̃* 'now'.

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2. Further, it is a primary suffix in Aryan, Latin and Balto-Slavonic, in participles and infinitives, being probably an extension of *-to-* (§ 79) by a secondary suffix *-no-* (cp. O.C.Sl. *-enŭnŭ* beside *-tĭnŭ*).

Old Persian shows infinitives in *-tanaiy*, as *car-tanaiy* from *kar-* 'do, make', *katanaiy* (read *kantanaiy*, see I § 197 Rem. p. 166) from *kan-* 'dig'; with these Persian infinitives Bartholomae connects Avest. *aiwi-šōiθnē* 'for dwelling in'. To these should no doubt be added Skr. *cyāu-tná-m* 'preparation, undertaking' Avest. *šyao-θna-* m. 'deed, work' beside Skr. *cyáv-a-tē* 'bestirs itself, moves', perhaps also Skr. *pát-tana-m* 'city', orig. 'strong-hold', compare *pad-* in *pi-bd-aná-* 'standing fast, firm', cp. also Lat. *op-pid-u-m* [1]).

In Italic *tno-* appears in the form *-ndo-* after vowels,[2]) in the gerund and gerundive, as **piiā-tno-*, Lat. *piando-*, Umbr. *pihaner* 'piandi' Osc. úpsannam 'operandam' (for the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn- -n-* in Umbr.-Osc. see I § 506 p. 371). Lat. *dando-* for **da-tno-*, *im-plendo-* for **-plē-tno-*. So *-bundo-* in *vagābundus tremebundus* etc. for **-fū-tno-* = Lith. *bú-tina-s*, cp. *vagā-bor. secundo-* for *secū-tno-*, cp. *secū-tu-s* (J. Schmidt, *apud* Bersu, *Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit* v *im Lat.* p. 134), *rotundus* for **rotō-tno-* from a verbal stem *rotō-* 'to rotate'. Further, we have the group of forms in *-cundu-s*, as *rubi-cundu-s*, *īrā-cundu-s*, *fā-cundu-s*, *fē-cundu-s* for **-cō-tno-*, derived from adjectives in *-co-*, such as **rubico-* (whence *rubicāre*, *Rubicō*) etc. With the forms in *-ō-tno-* compare *aegrō-tu-s* from *aegro-*, Gr. *κοντω-τό-ς* and the like. The change to *-ndo-* was impossible in forms coming from verbal stems which ended in a consonant (e. g.

1) In Greek only a few uncertain examples have survived, e. g. *θέπτανο-ς· ἀπτόμενος* (Hesych.), which may perhaps be identified with Lith. *dėktina-s* (√ *dheĝh-*).

2) Cp. Lat. *pandō* for **patnō*, beside *pateō*, and *tendō*, Umbr. *ostendu* 'ostendito', for **te-tn-ō*, √ *ten-*. That the *d* of *tendō* is not the 'root-determinative' *d* (*dh*), as in *fren-dō cū-dō clau-dō*, is shewn by *ten-tu-s* contrasted with *fre(s)su-s*, *in-cūsu-s clausu-s*. This 'determinative' was in fact used to form not present stems but verbal stems. *tēnsu-s* was formed later by analogy.

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**vectno-* or **vecteno-* = Lith. *vèsztina-s*, beside *vehō* Lith. *vežù*), and this gave rise to a variation in form, which was removed by a process of levelling; on the analogy of the relation of *piando-* to *piāns piantis*, of *dando-* to *dāns dantis*, of *im-plendo-* to *im-plēns -plentis* etc., *ferēns* produced a gerund-stem *ferendo-*, *faciens* the stem *faciendo-* and so on. The Umbr. *an-ferener* 'circumferendi' makes it probable that this developement was complete in proethnic Italic. The Latin by-forms with *-o-* (*-u-*) like *ferundo- faciundo- eundo-* must be explained as imitations of the variation *-ent- -ont-* in the present participle, as e. g. in *iēns euntis*, *flexuntēs* and the like (§ 126).

Lith. *Participia necessitatis* in *-tina-s*. *sùk-tina-s* 'torquendus' beside inf. *sùk-ti*. *jëskó-tina-s* 'quaerendus' beside *jëszkó-ti*. *minė́-tina-s* 'memorandus' from *minė́-ti*. *vė́ry-tina-s* 'credendus' from *vė́ry-ti*. Without the implied meaning of necessity we have *bú-tina-s* 'being, remaining, actual' from *búti* 'to be': Lat. *-bundu-s*. In Slavonic we have *-tĭno-*, an adjectival suffix, e. g. *pri-jętĭnŭ* 'pleasant' (we also find *-enĭno-*, as *ne-iz-d-rečenĭnŭ* 'inexpressible').

There was therefore in Indo-Germanic a verbal adjective in *-tno- -tn̥no-*, whose neuter was used as an abstract substantive (*nomen actionis*). The adjectival meaning appears in Latin and Lithuanian, the substantival in Old Persian and Latin. Cp. § 158.

Remark. Compare the Author, 'Der Ursprung der lat. Gerundia und Gerundiva', American Journal of Philology VIII (1887) p. 441 ff. In his recently published dissertation 'Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen' (Königsberg 1888), A. Döhring connects the Latin *-ndo-* forms with the Gr. nouns in *-ανθο-ς -ινθο-ς -υνθο-ς -ονθο-ς*. as *ἄκανθο-ς ἄιγινθο-ς*. and accordingly argues for an original Idg. *-n̥dho-*. But besides the fact that these Gr. words show no connexion in meaning with the Lat. gerund and gerundive, the Umbr.-Osc. forms with *-nn-* (*-n-*) can hardly be reconciled with this theory. By the phonetic laws hitherto discovered in the Italic dialects the forms in *-nno-* can be referred only to pr. Ital. *-ndo-*, not to *-n̥po-*. The most recent theory is that of L. Havet (Mém. de la Soc. de lingu., VI 6 ff.) who identifies *ferundu-s* with Gr. *φερόμενο-ς*: from **feromeno-* by dissimilation he would derive a supposed form **feromedo-* (what of *ferimini*?), from this **feromdo- *ferondo ferundo-*; which is simply incredible.

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§ 70. The Suffix *-tvaná-* in Sanskrit and *-συνο- -συνᾱ-* in Greek[1]).

These suffixes are no doubt rightly regarded as very closely connected.

Skr. *-tvaná-* (neut.) is a secondary suffix having the same meaning as *-tvá-* (§ 61); as *vasu-tvaná-m* beside *vasu-tvá-m* 'riches', *pati-tvaná-m* 'married state', *martya-tvaná-m* 'the manner of men'. In Avestic *-θwana-* is primary in *ā-stao-θwane-m* 'praise, guerdon'.

Gr. *-συνο-* is secondary in adjectives like *δουλό-συνο-ς* 'serving', *γηθό-συνο-ς* 'glad, joyful', *θάρσυνο-ς* 'confident' for **θαρδο-συνο-ς* (I § 643 p. 482), and in substantives like *δουλο-σύνη* 'service', *κλεπτο-σύνη* 'thievery', *μνημο-σύνη* 'memory' (cp. § 158). The ending *-ο-συνο-* became general, whence we have *μαντοσύνη* from *μάντι-ς*, *θεμιστ-οσύνη* from *θέμις*, *ἱερεώσυνα* (neut. pl.) and *ἱερεωσύνη* for **ἱερη(ϝ)-ο-* from *ἱερεύς* (Wackernagel, Philol. Anzeiger 1886 p. 73 f.).

Remark. It must be confessed that the phonetic relations of the Greek and Sanskrit suffixes are not clear, since *-συνο-* cannot be regularly derived from **τνο-* (which would be related to Skr. *-tvana-* as *ὄπνο-ς*: Skr. *svápna-s*, an Indo-Germanic variation of ablaut). Should we suppose a doublet in Greek, **-τϝενο-* beside **-τνο-*, and that the *a*-sound which was regularly developed in *-τϝενο-* (I § 166 p. 147, § 489 p. 361) afterwards invaded **-τνο-*? Cp. Att. *αὐ* for *τυ* because of *σύ*, Hom. *πάνρες* beside New-Ion. *τέσσερες* (Lith. *keturi*), G. Meyer Gr. Gr.[2] p. 258, Osthoff Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 425. Or may we assume for Skr. *-tvana-* and Gr. *-συνο-* a common ground-form *-tu-ɣno-*? Cp. Gr. Ion. *σεμνά-ς* for **σεϝσεντ-ς* and Skr. *várṇa-*, for which von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 475) assumes **ϝorɣno-* as the common ground-form (here, indeed, the relation of the Greek and Sanskrit forms would be exactly the reverse); add Skr. *catur-thá-* and Lith. *ketvirta-s* for **qetur-to-* (I § 155 p. 140).

§ 71. The Suffix *-mno- -mnā-* (*-mɣno- -mɣnā-*?) and *-meno- -menā-*, *-mono- -monā-*[2]).

In proethnic Indo-Germanic, this suffix formed middle (passive) participles from tense-stems containing the thematic

1) Th. Aufrecht, Das Affix *συνος, συνη*. Kuhn's Ztschr. I 481 ff.

2) Bechstein, De nominibus suffixo *mino* (*mno-*) instructis, Curtius' Stud. VIII 378 ff.

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vowel, cp. pres. Skr. *bŏdha-māna-s* Gr. *πευθό-μενο-ς*, fut. Skr. *bhōtsyá-māna-s* Gr. *πευσό-μενο-ς*, from *bheu̯dh-*, 'be awake, aware'. We find it in Aryan occasionally, but in Greek universally extended to non-thematic stems, which originally had *-n̥no- -eno- -ono-*; see § 65—67 and observe the Remarks on pp. 141 and 152.

It is now impossible to trace the original distribution of the forms which differ in their grade of Ablaut.

In the Umbro-Oscan dialects, and in Balto-Slavonic, *-mo-* appears with a similar function: we are hardly justified in regarding this as a regular phonetic variant of *-mno-* (§ 72, I p. 166).

Remark. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a particular form contains this suffix or a later extension of *-men-* by means of *-o- -ā-*, as must certainly be assumed in e. g. Avest. *airya-mana-* beside *airya-man-*, Gr. *νώνυ-μνε-ς* beside *ὄνομα* (§ 117), *ποί-μνη* 'herd' beside *ποι-μήν* 'herdsman', *ἡγε-μόνη* 'leader' (f.) beside *ἡγε-μών*, Lat. *colu-mna* beside *colu-men*, Goth., *na-mna-* (dat. pl. *namna-m*) beside *namō*. Cp. § 65 Rem. p. 139.

Aryan.

In Sanskrit only *-māna-* occurs. Pres. *bhára-māṇa-s* beside indic. mid. *bháratē* (*bhar-* 'bear') *juṣá-māṇa-s* beside indic. mid. *juṣá-tē* (*juṣ-* 'taste, enjoy'), *kriyá-māṇa-s* beside indic. pass. *kriyá-tē* (*kar-* 'make'). Fut. *yakṣyá-māṇa-s* beside indic. mid. pass. *yakṣyá-tē* (*yaj-* 'revere'). The Ved. perf. part. *sasr̥-māṇá-s* beside *sasr-āṇá-s*, from indic. med. pass. *sasr-ḗ* (*sar-* 'flow') is unique.

In Avestic we find *-mna-* and *-mana-*; the latter should no doubt be referred rather to *-mn̥no-* than to *-meno-*, since the forms vary merely in accordance with the requirements of the metre. Pres. *yaza-mna-* beside indic. mid. *yazaitē* (*yaz-* 'revere, praise'), *barᵉze-mna- barᵉze-mana-* 'being great or high', *aŋha-mana-* beside indic. mid. *aŋhe̥itē* = Skr. *ásya-tē* I § 558 p. 415 (*ah-* 'throw'), *vaēdaya-mna-* beside indic. mid. (caus.) *vaēdayeitē* (*vid-* 'know', causal 'make to know, show'). Fut. *varᵉšya-mna-* beside indic. mid. pass. *varᵉšyeitē* ground-form **u̯erk-sie-tai̯* I § 401 p. 296 f. (*varᵉz-* 'work'). Sometimes also in non-thematic stems, as *saya-mna* beside *say-ana-*, from indic. mid. *saē-tē* (*say-* 'lie').

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Greek. As a living participial suffix only *-μενο-* occurs. Pres. *φερό-μενο-ς* beside indic. mid. pass. *φέρε-ται* (*φερ-* 'bear'), *φιλεό-μενο-ς φιλούμενο-ς* beside indic. mid. pass. *φιλέεται φιλεῖται* (*φιλέω* 'I love'); side by side with these we find Delph. Locr. *καλείμενο-ς* Arcad. *ἀδικήμενο-ς*, and similar forms elsewhere, whose ending presupposes a form **-ε-με-μενο-ς*. Fut. *δωσό-μενο-ς* beside indic. mid. *δώσε-ται* (*δω-* 'give'). *-μενο-* also established itself in all non-thematic tenses; contrast e. g. pres. *τιθέ-μενο-ς* beside indic. mid. pass. *τίθε-ται* with Skr. *dádh-āna-s* (√ *dhē-* 'set, lay'), perf. *γεγευμένο-ς* for **γεγευσ-μενο-ς* beside indic. mid. pass. 1. s. *γέγευ-μαι* with Skr. *juju-ṣ-āṇá-s* O.H.G. partc. *-koran* (√ *ǵeu̯s-* 'taste'). The accentuation in the perfect- (Att. *-μένος*) was no doubt originally *-μενός*, see I § 676 p. 542 f.

The form *-μνο-* (cp. the last Remark) perhaps occurs in certain formations no longer felt to be participial, as *βέλε-μνο-ν* 'missile' (*τὸ βαλλόμενον*) beside *βέλος*, *στά-μνο-ς* 'crock' beside *ἵστημι* 'I place'.

Italic. In Latin we must refer to this suffix the ending of the 2. pl. *-minī*, as *legi-minī* (sc. *estis*) = *λεγό-μενοι*. The omission of *estis*, which *a priori* would be somewhat remarkable, is easily explained if (with Wackernagel, Verhandl. der 39. Philologenversammlung p. 281 f.) we compare the imperative form *legiminī* with the Greek infinitive *λεγέμεν-αι* (§ 117); the indic. *legiminī* representing both *λεγόμενοι* and *λεγόμεναι*, caused the imperat. *legiminī* to be used only as plural and as mid.-pass.; so conversely, when *legiminī* representing *λεγέμεναι* had been so established in the imperative system it caused the omission of the copula in the indicative, *-minī* being regarded as the ending of the 2nd. pers. The suffix occurs also in *fē-mina*, i. e. 'she who suckles' (cp. Gr. *θῆ-λυ-ς* 'giving suck, female'). *clēmēns* according to Osthoff (Wölfflin's Archiv IV 463) came from **clēmenos* for **cleȳ-e-meno-s*, cp. *-clīnō*: Skr. *śráya-māṇa-s*. It is doubtful whether this old Lat. *-meno-* was originally *-mn̥no-*, *-meno-*, or *-mono-*.

-mno- is seen perhaps in Lat. *alumnu-s*, *Vertumnu-s*, *Volumnu-s* and similar forms (cp. the last Remark).

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Pruss. *pò-klausi-mana-s* (ī) part. 'becoming heard' beside Lith. *klausý-ti* 'to hearken' is the only form of this kind in the Baltic dialects.

§ 72. The Suffix *-mo- -mā-, -m̥mō- -m̥mā-.*

There are three classes of forms:

1. *-mo-* occurs as a participial suffix in Umbro-Samnitic and in Balto-Slavonic, with the same meaning as *-meno-* (§ 71). It may be related to the *-mo-* in adjectives like Avest. *tū-ma-* 'strong', Gr. *θερ-μός* Lat. *for-mu-s* 'warm' (see below, 3). At the same time it is perhaps a possible alternative to refer it to *-mno-* (cp. I § 219 p. 187).

In the above-named Italic dialects, the suffix is found in imperative forms like Umbr. persnih-mu 'precamino, supplicato' Osc. *censa-mu-r* 'censemino'.

In Balt.-Slav. *-mo-* is a living suffix in the pres. part. pass., in Lith. in the fut. part. pass. also, though this is now obsolete. In Pruss. we have *-mana-* instead; see § 71.

Lith. pres. *vẽža-ma-s* 'being or capable of being carried', beside the indic. *vežù* 'veho', *jója-ma-s* beside *jó-ju* 'I ride', *jë́szko-ma-s* beside *jë́szkau* 'I seek' (1. pl. *jë́szko-me*). Fut. *vèszi-ma-s jósi-ma-s jëszkósi-ma-s* beside indic. *vèsziu* (ground-form **u̯eĝh + si̯ō*) *jó-siu jëszkó-siu.*

O.C.Sl. *vezo-mŭ* beside indic. *vezą* 'veho', *znaje-mŭ* beside *zna-ją* 'I know', *chvali-mŭ* beside *chvalją* 'I praise' (1. pl. *chvali-mŭ*).

2. *-mo- m̥mo-* is a superlative suffix in words denoting number, rank, order in space and time, and the like. This suffix is the second element in *-tm̥mo-* (§ 73). The corresponding comparative suffix is generally *-ero-*, as *-tero-* beside the superl. *-tm̥mo-* (§ 75). A possible derivation is suggested in the Remark on p. 167.

Indo-Germanic. **septmó-* (**sepdmó- *sebdmó-*? see I § 469 p. 345) *sept-m̥mó-* 'septimus': Skr. *saptamá-s* Gr. *ἕβδομο-ς* (see under Greek) Lat. *septimu-s* O.Ir. *sechtm-ad* Lith. *sẽkma-s* Pruss. *septma-s* O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jĭ*; similarly **dek̑m̥mó-* 'decimus' (see under Aryan) and **oktmó- *oktm̥mó-* 'octavus' (see under Balto-Slavonic). **up-mó- *up-m̥mó-* 'uppermost, highest': Skr. *upaup-s*,

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Lat. *summu-s* for **s-up-mo-s* (for the *s-* see I § 568 p. 425), A.S. *ufem-est*, cp. comparative Skr. *úpara-* Lat. *s-upero-*. **medh-ṃmó-* 'midmost' beside **medh-i̯o-s* 'medius' (§ 63, 3 p. 132): Avest. *maδema-* 'midmost', Goth. *miduma* subst. f. 'middle' (cp. § 158) O.H.G. *metamo metemo* 'mediocris'; beside these are forms which have been readjusted to suit the parallel **medhi̯o-*, Skr. *madh-yamá-s* 'midmost' and Goth. *midjuma-* or *midjuman-* in *midjun-gards* 'the globe' for **midjum(a)-gards* (cp. § 40 p. 69), O.H.G. *mittamo* m. 'middle' (cp. O.H.G. *mittil* A.S. *middel* beside the more archaic O.H.G. *metal* 'medius' and Gr. *νέατο-ς* beside *νέατο-ς*, 'novissimus, extremus' from **νεϝι̯ο *νεϝο-*).

Remark. **septṃmó-* may be related to the cardinal **septṃ* as the Gr. *πταρό-ς* to *πτᾰρ̥*, **udró-* (Skr. *udrá-s* etc.) to *ὕδωρ* (§ 74). The ordinal numeral appears to have been formed by the addition of *-ó-*, cp. Lat. *nōnu-s* from **neṃṃó-* from **nēṃṃ* (I § 232 p. 197, § 233 p. 198, § 249 p. 205). It is possible therefore that the superlative suffix *-mo-* was taken bodily from the the ending of the numerals. Cp. the suffix *-to-*, which serves in the same way to form both ordinal numerals and superlatives, § 81.

Aryan. Skr. *daśamá-* Avest. *dasema-* 'decimus': Lat. *decimu-s* O.Ir. *dechm-ad*, common ground-form **dekṃmó-*. Skr. *ap-amá-* Avest. *ap-ema-* 'most distant, last' beside Skr. *ápa* 'from, away'. Skr. *av-amá-* 'lowest, next' from *áva* 'off, down'. *adh-amá-* 'undermost' (ground-form **n̥dhṃmó-*) beside *adhás* 'below': the relation of this word to Lat. *īnfimu-s* and *īnferu-s* is not clear; see Ascoli, Sprachwissensch. Briefe 83, and above I § 389 Rem. p. 292 [1]). *par-amá-* 'furthest, last, best' from *pára-* 'further'.

In Greek it is rare. *ἕβδομο-ς* 'septimus' and Heracl. Delph. *ἑβδεμήκοντα* for **ἕβδμ-* with anaptyctic *-o-* and *-ε-* (see I § 626 p. 470): O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jĭ* etc., see p. 166 above. *πρό-μο-ς* 'foremost' from *πρό* 'before': cp. Umbr. *promom*, Goth. *fra-m*. Perhaps

1) In this Remark there is an error in the translation. The second sentence should read: "we might regard the *f* as regular in *in-fundō con-fundō* and thence substituted for *h* in the uncompounded verb, if there were more evidence for the suggestion that the word *īnfumus īnfimus* aroes from an old phrase **in fumo* 'in humo', etc." [i. e. if we could prove that pr. Ital. *χ* in Latin passed through the stage *f* on its way to *h* initially, and that the compounds *infundo confundo infimus* were formed just at that period.]

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also *πύμ-ατο-ς* 'last' (cp. *ἕβδόμ-ατο-ς* beside *ἕβδομο-ς*, *τρίτ-ατο-ς* beside *τρίτο-ς*), although its base is certainly obscure (in J. Schmidt's derivation from *ἄπο*, as though it came from **(α)πν-μο-* (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 24) the *ν* presents some difficulty).

Italic. Lat. *decimu-s* Osc. dekmannioís 'decumanis': Skr. *daśamá-* and similar ordinals (see p. 167 above). Lat. *summu-s* Umbr. *somo* 'summum' pr. Ital. **s-up-mo-s*: Skr. *upamá-s* 'uppermost, highest'. Lat. *prīmu-s* Pelign. *pris-mu* 'primo' or 'primum' beside *prius*. Lat. *īmu-s* Osc. imad abl. 'ima'; the word no doubt belongs to O.Ir. *īs* 'below' *īchtar* 'the lower part'[1]). Lat. *min-imu-s*, *plūr-imu-s*, *brūma* (beside *brevi-s*); formed from adverbs in *nē*, *extrē-mu-s postrē-mu-s suprē-mu-s*. Osc. *pos-mo-m* 'postremum', cp. Lat. *pōne* for **pos-ne*. Umbr. prumum *promom* 'primum': Gr. *πρό-μο-ς* Goth. *fra-m*; šimu šimo 'ad citima, retro'. Umbr. nuvime adv. 'nonum', a later formation like Skr. *navamá-s* and O.Ir. *nōma-d* 'nonus'. Umbr.-Osc. *nesimo-* 'proximus' for **necsimo-*, no doubt conneeted with Lat. *nectō nexus*: O.Ir. *nessam* 'next' beside the comparative *nessa*.

-ɱmo- is probably also to be traced in Lat. superlatives like *pulcerrimu-s celerrimu-s facillimu-s simillimu-s* (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 153). **pulcr-is-emo- *facl-is-emo-* (*-is-* is the weakest form of the comparative suffix, cp. *pulcr-ior facil-ior*) became **pulcɾsemo- *pulcersimo-* and **facɭsemo- *facilsimo-* (I § 633 p. 473 f.) and then *pulcerrimo- facillimo-* (I § 571 p. 429).

Old Irish. The ordinals in *-ɱmo-* appear to be extended by *-eto-*, as *sechtmad* 'septimus' for **sepiɱmeto-s*, *dechmad* 'decimus' for **dekɱmeto-s*, undoubtedly through the influence of *cōiced* 'quintus' *sessed* 'sextus' (§ 81); similarly in the other Keltic languages, e. g. Mid.Cymr. *seithuet* 'septimus'. Cp. Gr. *ἑβδόματο-ς* on the analogy of *δέκατο-ς*, etc. *rem-* 'ante, prae', which has lost an initial *p* (I § 339 p. 268): Goth. *fruma* Lith. *pìrma-s* 'primus', common ground-form **pɾ-mo-*.

1) See Loth, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. V, 231 f. and d'Arbois de Jubainville, ib. VI 55 f. It is better to refer it to **īk-mo-* or **īg-mo-*, than to **īks-mo-*, from which we should expect in Osc. *ismo-*.

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In Keltic this suffix was regularly used to form the superlative. In O.Ir. *nessam* 'next', and some other forms, *-am* corresponds to Lat. *-imo-*; see above. On the other hand, *-em* cannot be identified with *-ɱmo-* in e. g. *dilem* 'pleasantest' (comp. *diliu* pos. *dil*) *coemem* 'fairest' (comp. *coimiu* pos. *coem*) *toisigem* 'first, most excellent' (comp. *toisigiu* pos. *toisech*) *lugem* 'smallest' (comp. *laigiu*) *ōam* for **ō-em* 'youngest' (comp. *ōa*) *māam* for **mā-em* 'greatest' (comp. *māo*). Probably Thurneysen is right in comparing these forms with Latin superlatives like *pulcerrimu-s* (see above); **dilis-ɱmo-* became **dilisamo- *dilihum(o)-*, finally *dilem*[1]). To such superlative forms the same *-em* was sometimes added a second time, as *uaislimem* 'highest' beside the comp. *uaisliu* pos. *uasal*, cp. Gr. *-τ-ατο-ς* § 81.

Germanic. In proethnic Germanic this suffix passed over into the *n*-declension in° adjectives; the Gothic feminine ended in *ei* gen. *-eins*, as in the comparatives in *-iz-a* (see §§ 110, 135). In Gothic the forms in *-uma* also acquired a comparative meaning, so that e. g. *inn-uma* was sometimes equivalent to the O.H.G. *inn-ero* (cp. de Saussure, Mélanges Renier 383 ff.). Goth. *fru-ma* 'prior, primus' (whence *frum-ists* 'primus'), O.H.G. *fruma* f. 'use, advantage': O.Ir. *rem-* Lith. *pìr-ma-s* common ground-form **pṛ-mo-*; contrast with these Goth. O.H.G. *fra-m* adv. 'forwards', further': Gr. *πρό-μο-ς*. Goth. *aúh-uma* 'higher, highest', compare *aúh-m-ists* and *aúh-um-ists* 'highest', A.S. *ȳmest* = Goth. *aúhmists*. Goth. *inn-uma* 'inner, innermost' A.S. *inn-em-est* 'innermost'. Goth. *spēd-um-ists* 'latest, last' beside *spēd-ists*. Goth. *hleid-uma* 'left, *ἀριστερός*', compare no doubt O.H.G. *(h)lī-ta* 'slope, declivity' Gr. *κλῑ-τύ-ς* 'hill'. A.S. *sīð-em-est* 'latest' beside *sīð-est*, *laet-em-est* 'latest'; *norð-m-est* 'northernmost' *sūð-m-est* 'southernmost'.

1) "The loss of an *s* is indicated both by the medial *h* of O.British *hinham* 'eldest' for **senisam-*, and later **henilham-* (= Ir. **sinem*), and by the retention of the older tenuis before this suffix in Cymric, as in the superlative *rhataf* for **rat-ham* beside the pos. *rhad* 'cheap' Whether Gall. *Belisama* (a goddess) and *Trigisamo-* (the river 'Treisam') belong to this group is doubtful." Thurneysen.

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In Balto-Slavonic the suffix is rare. Lith. *ãszma-s* Pruss. acc. *asma-n* O.C.Sl. *osmy-jĭ* 'octavus' pr. Balt.Slav. **oš(t)-mo-*: Skr. *aṣṭamá-* Avest. *aštema-* O.Ir. *ochtm-ad*: this word, in spite of the agreement of several languages, can scarcely have been formed until after the separation of the Indo-Germanic families, as was Skr. *navamá-* Umbr. nuvime. Lith. *pìr-ma-s* Lett. *pir-má-is* Pruss. *pir-mois* 'primus': O.Ir. *rem-* Goth. *fruma*.

3. *-mo-* with other functions. It forms substantives, and adjectives. There are only a few groups of words which by their parallelism in form and meaning constitute a special class, as e. g. the Greek abstract substantives in *-μό-ς*. The substantives are generally masculine, more rarely feminine, and the neuter very seldom appears.

-mo- is used as a denominative suffix in several languages, but this use is on the whole rare and no doubt a secondary developement.

Where the suffix is primary, the root syllable, from the very earliest period, varies between the weak and the strong grade of ablaut; in the latter case, in roots of the *e*-series, the *o*-form seems to have been regular in the proethnic and later periods. It is common to find forms of the strong and weak grade in the same word, e. g. Gr. *λῑ-μό-ς*: *λοι-μό-ς*, Skr. *dhū-má-s*: O.H.G. *tou-m*, Gr. *χῡ-μό-ς*: Skr. *hŏ-ma-s*, Skr. *idh-má-s*: Avest. *aęs-ma-* (I § 94 p. 88); this indicates an original variation of ablaut within the same paradigm (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 127 f.).

In a large number of cases *-mo-* is closely connected with *-men-* (§ 117). In *e*-roots, where both suffixes are found side by side and the root-syllable has *e*, as in Gr. *κευθ-μό-ς* beside *κευθ-μών* 'hiding-place', O.C.Sl. *zi-ma* 'winter' beside Gr. *χει-μών* 'storm, winter', the presumption is in favour of the greater antiquity of the *men*-formation. In many instances there has obviously been a confusion of the two. In compound words, the *mo*-form was substituted for *men-* both in the Indo-Germanic period and later (§ 12 p. 27)[1]).

1) For this process of substitution in the use of the suffixes a reference may now be added to J. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 296 ff.

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Idg. **dhū-mó-* 'ebullition, smoke': Skr. *dhūmá-s*, Gr. *θῡμό-ς* ('spirit, passion'), Lat. *fūmu-s*, Lith. pl. *dúmai*, O.C.Sl. *dymŭ*, add O.H.G. *tū-mōn* 'to turn one's self in a circle'; beside this we have **dhou̯-mo-* in O.H.G. *toum* 'vapour, fume'. **tu-mo-* **tū-mo-* from √*teu̯-* 'swell, grow strong': Skr. redupl. *tū-tumá-* Avest. *tūma-* 'strong', Mod.Cymr. *twf* 'vigor' (a borrowed word?), O.C.Sl. *tŭma* f. 'great number' (there are many extended formations from the *-mo*-stem, as Skr. *túm-ra-* 'fat, strong', Lat. *tumeō*, O.H.G. *dūmo* m. 'thumb'); with these compare **tou̯-mo-* in O.H.G. *thaum doum* 'vapour', which was confused with *toum*. **ḡ-mó-* 'arm, something bowed or bent': Skr. *īrmá-s* Avest. *ar°ma-* Armen. *arm-ukn* Lat. *armu-s* O.H.G. *aram* O.C.Sl. *ramo*. **ǧhi--mo-* **ǧhi-mā*: Skr. *himá-s* 'cold' *hi-mā* 'winter' Avest. *zima-* m. 'winter', Armen. *jm-eṙn* (gen. *jm-eran*) 'winter' for **jim-er-* (for the suffix compare *amaṙn* 'summer'), Gr. *δύσ-χιμο-ς* 'exposed to dangerous storms, fearful', Lat. *bīmu-s* for **bi-himu-s* (I § 510 p. 374 § 604 p. 458); the vocalism of Idg. **ǧhei̯-men-* (Gr. *χει-μών*) appears in Lith. *žẽmà* O.C.Sl. *zima* 'winter'; and we can trace the form **ǧhi̯em-* **ǧhim-* in Avest. *zyå*, gen. *zim-ō* 'winter's frost' Gr. *χιών* 'snow' Lat. *hiēms* (§ 160, 2). **stī-mó-* (cp. Skr. *styā-* 'curdle, thicken', also connected with Goth. *stái-n-s*): Skr. *stīmá-* 'lazy, creeping' *pra-stīma-* 'pressed, heaped', Mid.H.G. *stīm* m. 'bustle, confused mass' O.Icel. *stīm* n. 'wrestling, trouble' (Lith. *stymas* and *styma* 'shoal of moving fish' are no doubt borrowed from Scandinavian, cp. Swed. *stim* 'tumult, shoal of tumbling fish'); Mid.H.G. *stei-m* 'turmoil' shows a stronger form of the root. **ǧhor-mó-s* (√*ǧher-*): Skr. *gharmá-s* 'heat' Avest. *gar°ma-* 'warm' *gar°me-m* 'warmth' (see especially I § 78 p. 69, § 445 p. 331), Lat. *formu-s*, O.H.G. *warm* 'warm', Pruss. *gorm-e* 'heat'; beside these, with *e*, Armen. *jerm* 'warm', Gr. *θερμό-ς* 'warm' *θέρμη* 'warmth'. **oi̯-mo-* 'way' (√*ei̯-*): Skr. *é-ma-s* 'way, path' Gr. *οἶ-μο-ς* *οἶ-μη* 'path, tract'.

For its use as a secondary suffix there seems to be only one example which we can regard as proethnic: Skr. *dru-ma-s* 'tree' Gr. *δρυ-μά* pl. 'wood' *δρῡ-μό-ς* 'woodland', beside Skr. *dru-* Gr. *δρῦ-* 'wood'.

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Aryan. In Sanskrit it is nearly always masculine. Skr. *sū-má-m* 'milk, water', *sṓma-s* Avest. *hao-ma-* 'sap, soma-drink', from *su-* 'press'. Skr. *iṣ-má-s* *īṣ-má-s* 'god of love' Avest. *aęš-ma-* m. 'chiding, wrath': cp. Gr. ἵμερο-ς 'longing, desire'. Skr. *bhā́-ma-s* 'light, sheen' Mod.Pers. *bām* 'light' Avest. *bāmya-* 'shining, clear'. Skr. *tōk-ma-s* 'green stalk of corn' O.Pers. *taumā-* 'family' for **tauxmā-*, cp. Skr. *tṓk-man-* n. 'green stalk of corn' (older than *tōk-ma-s*) Avest. *taox-man-* n. 'seed, kernel, offspring'; the O.Pers. *tau-mā-* however should perhaps be explained otherwise, see § 117 under Aryan. Skr. *áj-ma-s* 'path, course' (beside *áj-man- j-mán-*, which mean the same): Gr. ὄγ-μο-ς 'path' (with prothetic ὀ-?). Skr. *ū́-ma-s* *ō-ma-s* 'helper, companion' beside *ō-mán-* 'help, support', compared with *áva-ti* 'he helps'. *bhī-má-s* 'terrible', cp. Lith. *bái-m-ė* 'fear'. *tig-má-s* 'sharp'. *ruk-má-s* 'shining, ornament'. *yudh-má-s* 'fighter': cp. Gr. ὑσμίνη 'fight, battle' from **ὑθ+σμ-* (cp. p. 173). *yug-má-* 'even, forming a pair' neut. subst. 'pair'. *dar-má-s* (beside *dar-mán-*) 'he who shatters'. *dhár-ma-s* (beside older *dhár-man-* n.) 'order, law, institution'.

It is secondary only in Skr. *dru-ma-* (see above p. 171) and *dyu-má-* 'clear, shining' from *dyu- div-* 'brightness, day'.

Armenian. *arm-ukn* 'elbow', *jm-eṙn* 'winter', *jerm* 'warm, see above under Idg., p. 171.

Greek. λῑ-μό-ς 'hunger' λοι-μό-ς 'plague, pestilence': cp. Skr. *srí-ma-s* 'nightly spectre' from √ *slei̯-* 'hurt'. Substantives with the strong-grade of the root-syllable are not uncommon: ὁρ-μή 'onset': Skr. *sár-ma-s* 'flow, flowing' perhaps also O.H.G. *stur-m* 'storm, fight' (*stur-* for *sr̥-*, cp. I § 580 p. 433 f.); τόρ-μο-ς what is bored, a hole': O.H.G. *dar-m* O.Icel. *þar-m-r* 'intestine' (i. e. 'that which goes right through the body', or 'the channel through which the food passes'); φλογ-μό-ς 'brand' (φλέγω); πλοχ-μό-ς 'lock of hair' (πλέκω); ὅλ-μο-ς 'cylindrical body, mortar' (ἐλύω); ὅρ-μο-ς 'cord, necklace' (cp. ἕρμα); λόχ-μη 'thicket, bushes' (λέχος). Further we have examples with weak vocalism: κρῡμό-ς 'frost' (for **κρυσ-μο-*, beside κρυσ-ταίνω), ἀρδ-μό-ς 'drink, drinking-place', πταρ-μό-ς sneeze'. In forming abstract verbal nouns -μό- was very fertile,

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e. g. μυγ-μό-ς μυχ-μό-ς 'groan' (beside μύζω μέμῡκα), ἰῡγ-μό-ς 'shriek' (beside ἰύζω), ὀδῡρ-μό-ς 'lamentation' (beside ὄδῡρομαι), ἁρπαγ-μό-ς 'plundering' (beside ἁρπάζω), κηρῡγ-μό-ς 'calling out' (beside κηρύσσω — for the γ see I § 486 Rem. p. 359), μερισμό-ς 'division' (beside μερίζω — for the -σ- see below). Feminines of the same kind are: πυγ-μή 'fight with fists', τῑ-μή 'estimation, honour', χάρ-μη 'joy of battle, battle', ἀκ-μή 'edge, sharpness', γνώ-μη 'intent, opinion', μνή-μη 'memory', ἐπι-στή-μη 'science'.

Sometimes we find -τ-μο- (cp. -τ-μεν- § 117): ἐρε-τμό-ς 'oar' beside ἐρέσσω ἐρέ-της, ἐφετμή 'injunction' beside ἐφ-έ-τη-ς ἐφ-ίημι, etc., cp. O.S. *brahtum* and the like, p. 175. More frequently -ϑ-μο- (cp. -ϑ-μεν- § 117): ἀρι-ϑμό-ς 'number' (no doubt connected with O.H.G. *rīm* 'orderly succession, number'), ἀρ-ϑμό-ς 'tie', στα-ϑμό-ς 'standing-place, stall, post' στά-ϑμη 'plumb-line', ῥυϑ-μό-ς 'rhythmical motion', κλαυ-ϑμό-ς 'crying' κηλη-ϑμό-ς 'bewitching', μηνῑ-ϑμό-ς 'wrath' etc., cp. -ϑ-ρο- -ϑ-λο- (§ 77).

-s-mo- according to Morph. Unt. I 81. occurs in δασμό-ς 'division' beside δατέομαι, ὠσμό-ς 'push' beside ὠϑέω, ἀφλοισμό-ς 'foam' beside πέφλοισϑα, ὀσμή beside older ὀδ-μή 'smell', σχισμό-ς 'split' beside σχίζω, and in substantives in -ισμό-ς and -ασμό-ς connected with derivative verbs in -ίζω ἄζω, as μερισμό-ς ἀκοντισμό-ς ἐνϑουσιασμό-ς. Yet it may also be assumed (cp. Solmsen Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 123) that in such forms there was originally only -mo- (which would give us *δατμό-ς *ὠϑμό-ς ὀδμή); that then, where perfect forms in -σμαι -σμεϑα -σμενο-ς (the σ came from -σται, δέδασμαι being formed on the model of δέδασται) occurred in the paradigm of the verb, the σ from these forms took the place of the explosive; and that afterwards, on the analogy of such words, the explosive was replaced by σ in other instances (e. g. ὀδμή). The occurence of -μο- and -σμο- side by side in derivatives of these dental stems led to the substitution of -σ- for ϑ in several of the forms in -ϑμο- mentioned above, as ῥυσμό-ς instead of ῥυϑ-μό-ς, δυσμή instead of δυ-ϑμή, ϑεσμό-ς for (Lacon. and other dial.) ϑε-ϑμός. Cp. -σμεν- § 117.

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-mo- is secondary in *δῠ̯ν-μό-* (p. 171), and also in the adjectives in *-ιμο-ς*, which were derived from *i*-stems; as *φύξιμο-ς* 'protecting, whither one can flee' (from *φύξι-ς* 'flight'), *βάσιμο-ς* 'that can be traversed, safe' (from *βάσι-ς* 'a going'), *λῠ́σιμο-ς* 'that can be ransomed' (from *λύσι-ς* 'ransom'); on the model of these were formed *ἄλκιμο-ς* 'strong', *νόστιμο-ς* relating to one's return', *νόμιμο-ς* 'lawful' and others. It occurs also in *ἔτυ-μο-ς ἐτήτυ-μο-ς* 'true, genuine' (cp. *ἐτεός* for **ἐτεϝο-ς*).

Italic. Lat. *lī-mu-s* 'crooked' *lī-mit-* crossway, dividing line, boundary', Osc. liímítú[m] 'limitum': the Oscan word cannot have arisen from **lixmo-* (cp. *lixula*) which would have become **lismo-* in Oscan, and if this derivation is correct, it must have been borrowed from Latin. Osc. *eg-mo* 'res', stem *eg-mā-*.

Lat. *lī-mu-s* 'grease, slime, mud': O.H.G. *lī-m* 'glue' *lei-m* 'loam'. *fi-mu-s fi-mu-m*: no doubt connected with Gr. *θύ-μο-ν* 'scented plant' (see I § 49 p. 41 f.). *ani-mu-s ani-ma*: Gr. *ἄνε-μο-ς* 'wind', cp. also O.Ir. *anim*, dat. *anmain*, 'soul'. *fā-ma*: Gr. *φή-μη* 'news, rumour'. *for-ma*: cp. Skr. *dhari-mán* 'figure'. *spūma* for **spoi̯-mā*: O.H.G. *fei-m* m. 'foam' (cp. § 66 p. 148).

Lat. *dūma-s* (*dusmo in loco* Paul. Fest.), *rāmu-s* no doubt for **rād-mo-* ground-form **u̯rd-mo-*, beside *rādix*, with other examples. The neuter is rare: *pō-mu-m*, *ar-ma*. There are a fairly large number of feminines: *lī-ma*, *rū-ma* (beside *rū-men*), *rī-ma*, *gem-ma* etc.

-mā- is secondary in *lacru-ma lacri-ma*: cp. Gr. *δάκρυ* 'tear'.

Old Irish. *le-m* m. 'elm' ground-form **l̥-mo-*): Lat. *ul-mu-s*, O.H.G. *el-m* O.Icel *ul-m-r* 'elm'. *lā-m* f. 'hand': Gr. *παλά-μη* Lat. *pal-ma* O.H.G. *fol-ma* 'hand, flat hand'. *rī-m* f. 'number', *āram* f. 'number, counting' for **ad-rīmā* (cp. I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 474 f.): cp. O.H.G. *rī-m* Gr. *ἀρι-θμό-ς* p. 173. O.Ir. *gor-m* 'blue' Mod.Cymr. *gwr-m* 'dusky': Skr. *ghṛ-ṇó-mi* 'I shine'? (see Curtius Grdz.[5] 494). O.Ir. *lua-m* 'celox': cp. Lith. *plaū-s-ma-s* 'raft'.

Infinitival *nomina actionis* are formed with *-mā-*; as *cretem* 'faith, believing', *sechem* 'a following'.

Germanic. O.H.G. *bodam* m. 'bottom': cp. Gr. *πυθ-μήν*

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'ground, bottom', (cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 537). Goth. *hái-mōs* pl. fem. 'villages, market-towns', O.H.G. *hei-m* 'dwelling': Lith. *kẽ-ma-s* 'village, farm' *kaim-ýna-s* 'neighbour'. O.Icel. *strau-m-r* O.H.G. *strō-m* 'stream': we should doubtless add (with orig. *ou*) Lett. *stráu-m-e* f. 'stream', and (with *ū*) Thrac. Στρύ-μη a town on the Lissos; compare with these **sreu̯-men-* (§ 117). A.S. *far-m* 'a going, pressing forward' O.H.G. *far-m* 'boat': cp. Gr. πορ-θ-μός 'ferry'. O.H.G. *halm* 'stalk' O.Icel. *hāl-m-r* 'straw': Gr. κάλα-μο-ς 'reed, stalk', Lat. *cul-mu-s*, Lett. *sal-m-s* O.C.Sl. *sla-ma* f. 'stalk'; pr. Germ. **χalmo-* may represent either **kol-mo-* or **kl̥-mo-* (I § 306 p. 242 f.). O.H.G. *fadam* m. 'fathom, ulna' A.S. *fathmōs* pl. 'both outstretched arms' O.Icel. *faðmr* 'cord, fathom, embrace': cp. O.Cymr. *etem* 'fathom'. Goth. *dō-m-s* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'sentence, trial, standing, worth': Gr. θω-μό-ς 'stack', from √ *dhē-* 'set, place'; beside it we have **dhē-men-* (§ 117).

Goth. *rū-m-s* 'room, roomy' O.H.G. *rū-m* m. 'room': cp. Avest. *rav-ah-* 'road, free way'. O.H.G. *scū-m* m. O.Icel. *skū-m* n. 'foam'. Forms with the 'high' grade of ablaut (*o*-grade in *-e-*-roots) are far commoner. We may add O.H.G. *bar-m* O.Icel. *bar-m-r* 'womb' ('that which bears', √ *bher-*); O.H.G. *zou-m* O.Icel. *tau-m-r* 'bridle, rein' pr. Germ. **tau̯gu̯-má-* 'that which pulls or is pulled', √ *deu̯k-* 'ducere').

A smaller number of forms have *e* in the root syllable; von Bahder (Verbalabstr. 136 f.) assumes that these were originally *men*-stems; as O.H.G. *melm* m. 'dust' beside O.Icel. *mālmr* 'metal' and Lith. *melmů̃*, gen. *melmeñs*, 'nephritic stone'. Cp. further O.H.G. *ātum* A.S. *āthom* 'breath' pr. Germ. **ēp-ma-* (for the history of the original tenuis in Germanic see Kögel, Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil. 1887 no. 3) beside O.Fris. *ēthma* 'breath', Skr. *āt-mán-* 'breath, soul'.

Several instances of *-t-mo-* occur (cp. Gr. *-τ-μο* p. 173), as Goth. *mái-þm-s* A.S. *mē-thom* 'present, jewel' beside Gr. μοῖ-τό-ς 'thanks, payment', Lat. *mū-tuo-s*, Lith. *maĩ-na-s* 'barter'; O.Sax. *brah-tum* 'noise' beside O.Sax. O.H.G. *braht* 'noise'; O.H.G. *brā-dam* 'vapour, steam, exhalation' beside A.S. *brǣð*

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f. 'vapour' (cp. Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 279); O.H.G. *krā-dam* 'shriek' beside O.H.G. *hano-krāt* 'cock-crow' (cp. Bremer loc. cit.); Mid.H.G. *blādem* 'wind' beside O.H.G. *blā-t* 'breath, fulness'.

Remark. The different explanation of the latter forms given by von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 144 does not convince me.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. pl. *dú-mai* O.C.Sl. *dy-mŭ* 'smoke': Skr. *dhū-má-s* etc., see p. 170 above. Pruss. *irmo* 'arm' (perhaps nom. sing. of an *n*-stem, like Lith. *-mů*) O.C.Sl. *ramo* beside *ramę* 'shoulder': Skr. *īr-má-s* etc., see p. 171 above. Lith. *szál-ma-s* 'helmet' (Pruss. *salmi-s*): Goth. *hilm-s* O.H.G. *helm* 'helmet', Skr. *śár-man-* n. 'shelter, protection, armour'; may we therefore assume Idg. **ḱol-mo-* and **ḱel-men-*? O.C.Sl. *sramŭ* 'shame': O.H.G. *haram* O.S. *harm* 'insult, outrage'.

Lithuanian. Masculines are rare; *szár-ma-s* 'potash', *at-szłai-ma-s* 'fore-court' (√ *ḱleį-* 'clinare'). Feminines are more common, as *tar-mà* (also *tarmẽ*) 'statement', *szar-mà* 'rime, frozen dew', *až-mà* 'payment of fare'. On the other hand, there are many masculines formed with *-s-ma-*, as *garsma-s* 'call' from **gard* + *sma-* beside *gařsa-s* 'noise' from **gard* + *sa-s* (*gird-mì gird-žiù* 'I hear'), *varsma-s* 'the length of a furrow' for **vart-sma-*, *lañk-sma-s* 'bending', *vaĺk-sma-s* 'pull, draught', *kaũk-sma-s* 'howl', *rẽk-sma-s* 'roar', cp. also *-s-mẽ* in *drausmẽ* 'training', Lett. *dráusma* 'threat' beside Lith. *draudžiù* 'I protect, forbid', *bausmẽ* 'punishment' beside *baudžiù* 'I punish', *gẽsmẽ* Lett. *dſisma* 'song' beside Lith. *gẽd-mi* 'I sing', etc. Adj. *sziř-ma-s* Lett. *si'r-m-s* 'grey'.

-ima-s -yma-s form abstract verbal substantives from any given verb, as *sukìma-s* 'a turning' from *sùk-ti* 'to turn', *sākyma-s* 'saying' from *saký-ti* 'to say'. How (i. e. from what model) this group of forms took its rise is doubtful; cp. also *jaunìma-s* 'the dance of youth, company of young folks' from *jáuna-s* 'young', *minksztìma-s* 'soft part of bread' from *mìnkszta-s* 'soft'.

Secondary: *tóli-ma-s* 'distant' from *tolì* adv. 'afar', *árty-ma-s* 'near' from *artì* adv. 'near'.

The secondary suffix *-ìma-s* forms abstract substantives.

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This arose in forms like *gražù-ma-s* 'beauty' from *gražù-s* 'beautiful', on the model of which were formed such words as *sausùma-s* 'dryness' from *saũsa-s* 'dry'. By the side of this we find *-umà* used to denote some part of the land, as *lygu-mà* 'a level place' (beside *lygù-ma-s* 'levelness, the being level') from *lýgu-s* 'even, level', *sausumà* 'dry place'.

O.C.Sl. *kos-mŭ* and *kos-ma* 'hair'. *u-mŭ* 'thought, understanding', no doubt connected with Skr. *av-* Lat. *avēre* and therefore similar in formation to Skr. *ō-ma-s* 'helper' (p. 172). *glu-mŭ* 'sport, scena' *glu-ma* 'licentiousness'. *-s-mo-* is the suffix in *usmŭ usma* 'indumentum, corium', if the word is connected with *ob-u-ti* 'to cover the feet'.

§ 73. The Suffix *-tŋmo- tŋmā-*, forming superlatives. We may analyse it as *-t-ŋmo-*, and the second element *-ŋmo-* is itself a superlative suffix (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.). As a single indivisible suffix, *-tŋmo-* must have been rare in the Indo-Germanic period.

-t-ŋmo- is linked with the comparative *-tero-* (§ 75) in the same way as *-ŋmo-* with *-ero-*, cp. Goth. *af-tuma*: O.H.G. *aftro aftero* and Skr. *ap-amá-s*: Skr. *áp-ara-s* Goth. *afar*, further Skr. *ut-tamá-s*: Skr. *út-tara-s* Gr. *ὕσ-τερο-ς* and A.S. *ūt-em-est* (an extension of an original **ūt-ema*): Skr. *ud-arà- ūd-ara-* ('belly') O.H.G. *ūz-ro*. *-tero-* however had become an independent suffix earlier than *-t-ŋmo-* and it appears from the evidence of the different languages that it was widely used even in the proethnic period.

Indo-Germanic. **trīḱŋt^s-tŋmo-* or **trīḱŋt^s-tŋmo-* 'tricesimus': Skr. *triṡat-tamá-s* (*ṛ* for *r̄* is hysterogenous) Lat. *trīcēnsimu-s trīcēsimu-s* (*-s-* for *-ss-*, see I § 501 p. 367 f.): compare (and contrast) Gr. *τριᾱκοστό-ς* i. e. *τριᾱκοντ-+το-*. Similarly Avest. *vīsąstema-* (Skr. *viṡati-tamá-s*) 'vicesimus' Lat. *vīcēnsimu-s vīcēsimu-s*: compare and contrast Gr. Att. *εἰκοστό-ς* Boeot. *Fῑκαστό-ς* (I § 238 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 367 f.).

Skr. *án-tama-s* 'innermost, nearest, intimate', Lat. *in-timu-s*: cp. the comparative Skr. *án-tara-s* 'inner' Gr. *ἔν-τερο-ν* 'entrails', Lat. *inter-ior*, beside Gr. *ἐν* and Lat. *in*; beside these we

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have Gr. ἐν-τός Lat. *in-tus*, so that we may fairly compare the relations of Skr. *adh-amá-s* : *ádh-ara-s* : *adh-ás* and **pŗ-mo-* (Lith. *pìrma-s* Goth. *fruma*): **pŗr-ós* (Skr. *purás* Avest. *parō* Gr. πάρος). Avest. *ni-tema-* 'lowest, smallest', A.S. *neo-ðem-est* 'lowest, undermost': cp. the compar. Skr. *ni-tarām* A.S. *ni-ðer-ra*.

Skr. *ka-tamá-s* 'which (of several)?', Lat. *quo-tumu-s* beside *quo-tu-s*: cp. compar. Skr. *ka-tará-s* Gr. πό-τερο-ς.

Aryan. Skr. *pra-thamá-s* Avest. *fra-tema-* O.Pers. *fra--tama-* 'primus' (the *th* of the Skr. form follows *cathur-thá-* and the like) beside the compar. Skr. *pra-tará-m* Avest. *fra--tara-*; Gr. πρό-μο-ς Umbr. *pro-mo-m* Goth. *fra-m* § 72, 2 p. 167 show a more ancient formation. Skr. *sahasra-tamá-s* Avest. *hazaŋrō-tema-* 'millesimus', Skr. *śata-tamá-s* 'centesimus', *aśīti--tamá-s* 'octogesimus' etc. The feminines of these numerals have in Sanskrit *-tam-í* instead of *-tamā*.

Skr. *ut-tamá-s* 'highest, uppermost, best' Avest. *us-tema-* 'outermost', beside Skr. *úd* 'up, out' compar. *úttara-*: cp. Gr. ὕστ-ατο-ς 'latest' compar. ὕσ-τερο-ς.

Even in proethnic Aryan *-tama-* was the regular superlative ending for adjectives whose comparative was formed with *-tara-*. Where it was added to *a*-stems, their final *-a-* was in Avestic almost entirely replaced by *-ō-*; cp. the same phenomenon in compounds, as *daęvō-dāta-*, § 25 p. 42. Skr. *yajñiya-tama-* Avest. *yęsnyō-tema-* 'most honourable', Skr. *ugra-tama-* Avest. *uyrō-tema-* 'strongest, mightiest'. Some words however have *-a-* in Avestic, e. g. *aiwyāma-tema-* 'most helpful'. Skr. *váhni-tama-* 'carrying best', Avest. *hubaoiði-tema-* 'with sweetest scent or perfume'. Skr. *ama-vat-tama-* Avest. *ama-vas-tema-* 'most violent, strongest, mightiest'. Skr. *mīḍh-úṣ-ṭama-* 'most gracious', Avest. *jaymuš-tema-* 'most helpful'. Skr. *vŗṣan-tama-* 'manliest, strongest'.

-tama- is sometimes added as an intensive suffix to superlative forms in (Ar.) *-ištha-*, as Skr. *śréṣṭha-tama-* from *śréṣṭha-* 'brightest, most glorious', Avest. *vahištō-tema-* from *vahišta-* 'best'.

It was affixed to substantival stems, as Skr. *mātŕ-tama-* most motherly', Avest. *daęvō-tema-* 'most devilish'.

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Skr. *ka-tamá-* 'which (of several)' beside *ká-tara-* 'which (of two)', interrogative. *ya-tamá-* 'which (of many)' beside *yá-taráf* 'which (of two)', relative.

Italic. *vīcēsimu-s trīcēsimu-s*, see p. 177 above. Later analogical forms are *cent-ēsimu-s mill-ēsimu-s mult-ēsimu-s.*

in-timu-s, ex-timu-s, ci-timu-s, ul-timu-s. dex-timu-s, sinis--timu-s. mari-timu-s, fini-timu-s, lēgi-timu-s, originally meaning 'most closely connected with the sea, with a boundary, with law'. *op-timu-s*, in inscr. also *opi-tumu-s* (differently regarded by von Fierlinger in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 478, who derives it from a verbal stem *ō-pet-* 'strive after, wish'). *sollis-timu-s.* Umbr. *hon--domu* 'infimo' beside compar. *hon-dra* 'infra' Osc. hu[n]truis 'inferis', beside Lat. *humu-s*, see I § 207 p. 174.

-simo- occurs as well as *-timo-*, but its *-s-* cannot be derived from *-t-* merely by phonetic change. *maximu-s*, archaic *ōximē* (beside *ōcissimē*), *medioximu-s* (cp. *medioc-ri-s*). The most common ending is *-is-simu-s* (cp. *sollis-timu-s*), which no doubt drove out an older *-is-to-s* (§ 81), as *pot-issimu-s, alt-issimu-s. -issimo-* was also added to superlatives with intensive force, especially in later times, e. g. *postrēm-issimu-s, minim-issimu-s.* It is added to the stems of substantives in the language of the comedians, as *patru-issimu-s.* But it is doubtful whether the formation with *-simo- -issimo-* is in any way connected with *tŋmo-*.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. III 135 I explained these forms as modelled upon the *-ens(s)imo-* of the numerals. We might also with Osthoff (Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 542) regard *pessimu-s* beside *pējor* as another form that served as a type for the new developement in *-issimo-*, since the *ss* in this word as well as in the numerals arose by a regular phonetic process, whether we accept Corssen's or W. Schulze's derivation (see Osthoff *loc. cit.*, Schulze, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 426, Stolz Lat. Gr. p. 220). On the other hand, Stolz (*loc. cit.*) holds that *-simo-* was taken from **plūsimo-* (*plūrimo-*) before the law of rhotacism came into operation. According to § 72 p. 168 we could also regard forms like **pulcr-is-emo *pulcṛsemo-* as prototypes of the formation. Danielsson on the other hand (Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 153. 192) starts from the two words *maximus, oxime*, which he analyses *macs-imo- ōcs-imē*, regarding the first elements as comparative stems for **mahis-*, **ōcis-* (op. *ploir-umē plūr-imu-s* and the like § 72 p. 168), and supposing that it was these forms which led to the analogical

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change of *-istimo-* to *-issimo-*. Danielsson compares with these forms Umbr. Osc. *nesimo-* O.Ir. *nessam* 'next' (beside the compar. O.Ir. *nessa*). But the assumption of syncope, which is required by the supposed forms in *-is-ɱmo-* (**mah-is-ɱmo-*, **ōc-is-ɱmo-*) cannot be allowed without considerable hesitation (see p. 168); hence it is very doubtful whether Danielsson's explanation of *maximu-s* etc. can be allowed. Can **neks-* and Lat. **max-* contain the weak form of an old *es*-stem (cp. Skr. *máhas-* 'greatness' *mahás-* 'great')? The whole question needs further investigation.

Germanic. What was said of *-uma-* (§ 72, 2 p. 169) also applies to the inflexion of *-tuma-* and its meaning in Gothic. Goth. *af-tuma* 'hinder, hindmost, latter, last', A.S. *æf-tem-est* 'hindmost'. Goth. *hin-dum-ists* 'outermost' A.S. *hin-dema* 'hindmost, last'. Goth. *if-tuma* 'next': Gr. ἔπι 'on, to'. A.S. *neoðem-est*, see p. 178 above.

§ 74. The Suffix *-ro- -rā-, -ɣro- -ɣrā-*[1].

On the variation between *-ɣro-* and *-ro-* see I § 287 p. 229.

This suffix was both primary and secondary from the earliest period; but the latter use is comparatively rare.

In its primary use the root syllable has generally the weak grade of ablaut; as we should therefore expect, the accent falls on the suffix, e. g. **spə-ró-*. Sometimes we have a variation of ablaut in the root, as Skr. *chid-rá-s* 'perforated': Lith. *skẽd-rà* 'splinter'; Gr. *ἰθ-αρό-ς* 'clear, bright': *αἴθ-ρᾱ* 'bright weather'; Gr. *ἰδ-ρώ-*: Lett. *swîd-ri* pl. 'sweat'; O.H.G. *bitt-ar*: Goth. *báit-r-s* 'bitter'; O.H.G. *munt-ar* 'cheerful': O.C.Sl. *mąd-rŭ* 'wise'.

In some words *-ro-* seems to be connected with the *-ɣ -ɣ̄* ending of the nom. acc. neut. (§ 118); cp. e. g. Idg. **ud-ro-*: Gr. *ὕδ-ωρ* O.H.G. *wazz-ar*; Gr. *πῖε-ρό-ς πῖα-ρό-ς* 'fat': *πῖαρ* 'fat' (subst.); *ἡμέ-ρᾱ*: *ἦμαρ* 'day' (cp. also Armen. *aur*, gen. *avur*, 'day'); Gr. *ὦ-ρο-ς* Goth. *jē-ra-* 'year': Avest. *yā-r^e* 'year' (for further examples see Morph. Unt. II 232). It is also connected with *-er-* (§ 119), cp. e. g. Idg. **us-ro-*: Skr. *uṣ-ár-* 'early light' Gr. *ἦρ-ι* 'in the early time' from **āu̯s-er-*; Gr. *αἴθ-ρᾱ*: *αἰθ-ήρ*

1) H. Osthoff, Über *-ra- -la-* als instrumentales suffix der indogerm. Sprachen, Forschungen I 157 ff. G. Curtius, De adjectivis Graecis et Latinis *l* litterae ope formatis, Leipz. 1870.

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'the pure light of heaven'; further with the comparative *-(t)ero-* (§ 75).

This suffix formed adjectives and substantives both in the proethnic and in later periods of Indo-Germanic; the substantives were chiefly concrete. In the separate languages *-ro-* was rarely fertile to any great extent; Gr. *-η-ρο-* in *ποντηρός* etc. is an exception.

Indo-Germanic. **rudh-ró-* (in Skr. *-ɣró-*) 'red': Skr. *rudh-irá-s*, Gr. *ἐρυθ-ρός*, Lat. *ruber rub-ra*, O.Icel. *rauð-ra* f. 'blood', O.C.Sl. *rŭd-rŭ*. **sk(h)id-ró-* and *-ɣró-*: Skr. *chid-rá-s* 'perforated' *chid-rá-m* 'hole, interruption, break' *chid-irá-s* 'axe, sword', Gr. *σχιδ-αρός* 'thin, weak, breakable', O.H.G. *scet-ar* 'thin, defective', Lith. (with a different grade of ablaut) *skëd-rà* 'splinter'. **spə-ró-* from √ *spē-* 'to expand' (Lat. *spēs spatium* &c.): Skr. *sphi-rá-* 'fat, great, rich', Lat. *pro-sper -spera* (for **-spa-ro-*, like *réd-dere* : *dáre*, see I § 97 p. 91), O.C.Sl. *spo-rŭ* 'rich'. Skr. *iṣ-irá-s* 'quick, lively, fresh', Gr. Hom. *ἰρός* Lesb. *ἴρος* for **ἴσ-ρο-* (Lesb. *ἴρρος* beside *ἴρρος*, like gen. *μῆν-ος* beside *μῆνν-ος* and the like) and Corcyr. *ἰαρός* Boeot. *ἰαρός* for **ἰσ-αρο-* 'lively, fresh, strong, healthy'; for Att. *ἱερός*, see below. Skr. *us-rá-s* 'belonging to the morning' beside *us-r-íyā* 'brightness', Gr. *ἄγχ-αυρος* 'near morning' (adj.) *αὔρ-ιο-ν* 'on the morrow' for **αὐσ-ρο-* (**aus-* or **āus-*); cp. also Lith. *ausz-rà* 'red of the morning', whose *sz* no doubt was borrowed from *aũszo* 'it dawned' (cp. I § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.). **ud-ro-* (in Gr. also *-ɣro-*) beside Skr. *ud-án-* 'water': Skr. *an-udrá-s* 'waterless' *sam-udrá-s* 'billowy, the sea', Gr. *ὑδ-αρός* 'watery' *ἄν-υδρος* 'waterless'; and meaning a 'water-creature', Skr. *ud-rá-s* 'a creature that lives in water', Gr. *ὕδ-ρος ἴδ-ρᾱ* 'watersnake' O.H.G. *ott-ar* O.Icel. *ot-r* 'otter', Lith. *ùd-ra* O.C.Sl. *vyd-ra* 'otter'. Skr. *vī-rá-s* 'man, hero', Lat. *vi-r*, O.Ir. *fe-r* Goth. *vair* Lith. *výr-as* 'man'. **aǧ-ro-s* 'pasture, level meadow, field' from √ *aǧ-* 'drive': Skr. *áj-ra-s* Gr. *ἀγ-ρός* Lat. *ag-er* (gen. *ag-rī*) Goth. *ak-r-s*.

-ro- in secondary use. **temə-ro-* 'dark' (the neut. or fem. can be used as an abstract subst., see § 158) beside Skr. *tám-as-* n. Lith. *tam-s-à* f. 'darkness': Skr. *tamis-ra-m támis-rā*

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'darkness, dark night' Avest. *taŋ-ra-* for **tams-ra- *tansra-* 'dark'[1]), Lat. *teneb-rae* pl. (cp. I § 570 p. 429), Mid.Dutch *deemster* (*-əs-ro*) O.H.G. *dinstar* (*-s-ro-*) 'dark' with parasitic *-t-* (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. *tìms-ra-s* 'light bay coloured' of a horse (the root has the weak grade of ablaut).

Beside Skr. *pī-van-* Gr. *πί-(ϝ)ων* 'fat' (adj.) and Skr. *pī-vas-* n. 'fat' (noun) we must recognise Idg. **pī-u̯e-ro-* 'fat' (adj.): Skr. *pīva-rá-* Gr. *πῖε-ρό-ς* (fem. *pīva-rī́*, *πίειρα* for **πῖϝερ-ια*), cp. also Gr. *πῑό-της πῑό-τερο-ς*; for *πῖωρό-ς* see below. Similarly Gr. *ἡ-μέ-ρᾱ* 'day' compared with the stem *ἠ-μεν-* implied in the pl. *ἤ-μα-τα*. For the *-e-* of these compound suffixes *-u̯e-ro- -me-ro-* cp. Gr. *φοβε-ρό-ς* 'fearful', from *φόβο-ς*, etc. (Skr. *phēna-la-s* 'foamy' from *phḗna-s* 'foam'). But *-ro-* can hardly be secondary in Gr. *πτ-ε-ρό-ν* 'feather, wing' Skr. *pat-a-rá-* 'flying' Avest. *pat-a-ra-*, which is implied in *hu-patarᵉta-* 'well winged', (contrast **petrā* 'feather' in O.Icel. *fjǫðr* O.H.G. *fedara*); it is far more likely that here, as in Skr. *pát-a-tra-m* 'wing', *-e-* is the 'thematic vowel' (cp. Gr. *πτ-έ-σθαι, πέτ-ε-σθαι*); cp. also Gr. *σχ-ε-ρό-ς* 'continuus' beside *σχ-ε-τό-ς σχ-έ-σι-ς σχ-έ-ς*. It is quite possible that originally *-e-ro-* was always a primary suffix, and only became secondary when it was popularly connected with nominal *e-* : *o*-stems.

Aryan. Since Idg. *r* and *l* are indistinguishable in the Aryan languages (I § 254 p. 207 f.), it is often difficult to separate *-ro-* and *-lo-*. In some cases the meaning vouches for *-lo-*, e. g. *vṛ́ša-lá-s* 'mannikin, small man' (see § 76). Often the other languages give us a criterion, since in them Idg. *l* and *r* remained distinct.

Skr. *śū́-ra-* Avest. *sū-ra-* 'strong, grand': Gr. *ἄ-κῡρο-ς* 'weak, ineffective'. Skr. *jī-rá-* 'lively, quick, active' Avest. *paouru-jīra-* 'very active' *daẹma-jīra-* 'quick of eye, with quick

1) If this explanation of the Avestic word is correct, we might compare the *p* with the same sound in *aiwi-pūra-* from *sūra-*, (see Bartholomae Hdb. § 144). No other example of *-msr- -nsr-* appears to occur, and thus there can be little serious objection to our assuming that it was just in this group of consonants that *p* was regularly developed.

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eyes': Lat. *vi-reō* 'be fresh, strong, green', O.C.Sl. *ži-rŭ* 'pasture'. Lett. *dſi-ras* pl. f. 'banquet'. Skr. *ud-rá-* Avest. *ud-ra-* m. a water animal: Gr. *ὕδ-ρο-ς* etc., see p. 181 above. Skr. *cit-rá-* 'shining, glorious, wonderful' Avest. *ciθ-ra-* 'wonderful': O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'shining, clear, bright'. Skr. *śubh-rá-* 'shining, fine': Armen. *surb* 'pure'; no doubt the suffix is the same in Skr. *śuk-rá śuk-lá-* 'clear, pure' Avest. *sux-ra-* 'flaming, red' O.Pers. *θux-ra-* proper name. Skr. *váj-ra-s* Indra's thunderbolt, Avest. *vaz-ra-* 'club' O.Pers. *vazra-ka-* 'great, mighty', beside Skr. *vája-* Avest. *vāza-* m. 'strength': cp. O.H.G. *wahh-ar* O.Icel. *vak-r* 'lively, quick, fresh, alert' and Goth. *vōk-r-s* 'profit' O.H.G. *wuohh-ar* 'increase, gain, profit'. Skr. *am-lá-* and *ambla-* (I § 199 p. 167 f.) 'sour': Dutch *amper* 'sharp, bitter' O.Icel. *apr* 'sharp' O.H.G. *ampfaro* 'sorrel' (adj. used as subst.) no doubt for pre-Germ. **am(b)-ro-*, cp. also Lat. *am-āru-s*.

Skr. *śith-irá- śith-ilá-* 'loose, unsteady': Gr. *καθ-αρό-ς* 'open, free, pure'. Skr *mand-irá-m* 'lodging, dwelling, room, house' Gr. *μάνδ-ρᾱ* 'fold, pen, stall'; Skr. *mand-urá* 'stable' either has *-urā-* for *-ɣrā-* (cp. however I § 290 p. 231 f.) or may be an extension of a stem **mandu-*.

With Skr. *pata-rá-* 'flying' (see p. 182) compare *drava-rá-* 'running', *ny-ōca-rá-* 'suited to, belonging to a place'.

-ro- in secondary use: Skr. *tamis-ra-*, *pīvará-*, see above, p. 181 f. *vy-ad-varā-* 'gnawing, rodent' beside *ad-van-* 'eating': cp. Hom. *ἔδϝαρ* (*εἰδαρ*), gen. *ἔδϝατος*, 'food'.

Examples of Aryan words with *-ra- -la-*, which, so far as we can tell, may represent either *-ro-* or *-lo-*, are given in § 76 Rem. 1.

Armenian. *surb*, gen. *srboy*, 'pure' for **sub-ro-s* (I § 263 p. 214): Skr. *śubh-rá-s*. *Kirtn*, gen. *krtan* 'sweat' for **kitr-an-*: Gr. *ἰδ-ρό-* Lett. *swid-ri* pl. 'sweat'. *tu-r* 'gift'. Gr. *δῶ-ρο-ν* O.C.Sl. *da-rŭ* 'gift'.

The *-aro-* of adjectives in *-ar*, which no doubt comes from *-ɣro-*, appears to be sometimes primary, sometimes secondary. It is primary e. g. in *dal-ar* 'green, fresh' (cp. Gr. *θαλε-ρό-ς*), and secondary e. g. in *ard-ar* 'just' (cp. Skr. *ɣ-tá-*). *mecar-em*

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'I exalt, praise' a denominative verb like Gr. *μεγαίρω* 'I rate highly, admire' (from **μεγαρο-*, cp. *μέγαρο-ν* 'large space, chamber').

Greek. *ἐλαφ-ρό-ς* 'light, brisk': O.H.G. *lung-ar* 'quick, active', common ground-form **ln̥gh-ró-s*. *ἄκ-ρο-ς* 'pointed' *ἀκ-ρο-ν ἄκ-ρᾱ* 'point, peak': Skr. *catur-aśra-* 'four-cornered', O.C.Sl. *os-t-rŭ* 'sharp'. *ξω-ρό-ς* 'unmixed' (of wine), '*ἐνεργής, ταχύς*' (Hesych.): no doubt to be compared with O.C.Sl. *ja-rŭ* 'amarus, iratus' Serv. *jara* 'heat of a stove'. *ἀφ-ρό-ς* 'foam': Skr. *abh-rá-m* 'cloud' (cp. also Lat. *imber* gen. *imbris* in the *i*-declension), common ground-form **n̥bh-ró-*; beside this *ὄμβ-ρο-ς* 'rain' with Idg. *b* like Skr. *ámb-u-* 'water', see I § 469, 8 p. 346 f. *κάπ-ρο-ς* 'boar' : Lat. *cap-er cap-ra*, O.Icel. *haf-r* 'he-goat'. *νεφ-ρό-ς* 'kidney, testicle' : Ital. Praenest. *nefr-ōn-es*, Lanuv. *nehr-undin-es* 'kidneys testicles', O.H.G. *nior-o* 'kidney, testicle' O.Icel. *nȳr-a* n. 'kidney' (I § 443 p. 329), common ground-form **negh-ró-*. *ἕδ-ρᾱ* 'seat' : O.Icel. *set-r* n. 'seat'. *λαμπ-ρό-ς* 'shining'. *σαπ-ρό-ς* 'rotten'. *φαιδ-ρό-ς* 'beaming, happy'. *νεκ-ρό-ς* 'corpse'. *τάφ-ρο-ς* 'ditch, trench'. *κόπ-ρο-ς* 'dung'. *τέφ-ρᾱ* 'ashes'.

Adjectives were formed in proethnic Greek in *-η-ρό-ς* (a fertile suffix) from verbs in *-έω*, as *πονη-ρό-ς* 'toilsome' from *πονέομαι, ὀκνη-ρό-ς* 'slack' from *ὀκνέω, ὀλισθη-ρό-ς* 'slippery' from the fut. *ὀλισθήσω* (pres. *ὀλισθάνω*).

-ŗro-. *ἰαρό-ς* beside *ἱρό-ς* see p. 181 above. *λιπ-αρο-ς* 'fat' : cp. Skr. *rip-rá-m* 'smear, stain, impurity'. *σιν-αρό-ς* beside *σιν-δ-ρό-ς* (for the *δ*, see I § 204 p. 170) 'harmful', and other examples.

-ro- is secondary in Att. (Aristoph.) *οἰζυ-ρό-ς* 'woeful' from *οἰζύς*, gen. *οἰζύος* 'woe, and similarly in *λιγυ-ρό-ς* beside *λιγύ-ς* 'clear, ringing' and *μωλυ-ρό-ς* beside *μῶλυ-ς* 'enfeebled', unless these are derived from **λιγυλο-ς *μωλυλο-ς* (cp. *παχυ-λό-ς* § 76) by dissimilation (I § 266 p. 215). Further, in many adjectives in *-ε-ρο-ς*; e. g. *φοβε-ρό-ς* 'terrible' from *φόβο-ς*, *δροσε-ρό-ς* 'dewy' from *δρόσο-ς*, whose termination *-ερό-ς* was regarded as an independent suffix, and added to other than *o*-stems, as *σκιερό-ς* 'shady' from *σκιά*, *κρατερό-ς* 'strong' from *κράτος* n.; cp. p. 182.

-ρο- can be considered either a secondary or a primary suffix in adjectives in *-ᾱ-ρο-*, as *ὀδυνηρό-ς* Dor. *ὀδυνᾱρό-ς* 'painful'

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beside *ὀδύνη* Dor. *ὀδύνᾱ* and *ὀδυνάω*, *ἀσηρό-ς* Lesb. *ἄσᾱρο-ς* 'causing disgust, disagreeable' beside *ἄση* Lesb. *ἄσᾱ* and *ἀσάω*, and in those in *-ū-ro-*, as Hom. *ὀιζῡ-ρό-ς* 'woeful' beside *ὀιζύς* and *ὀιζύω* (Att. *ὀιζῦρό-ς*, see p. 184 above), *ἰσχῡ-ρό-ς* 'strong' beside *ἰσχύ-ς* and *ἰσχύω*.

Remark. The relations of *-ερο-* and *-αρο-* are not quite clear in such instances as *ἱερό-ς* : *ἱαρό-ς* (Skr. *iṣ-irá-s*); *σκιερό-ς* (from *σκιᾱ́*) : *σκιαρό-ς*; *πίερό-ς* (Skr. *pīvará-*) : *πιαρό-ς* (see Morph. Unt. II 241 ff.). I should compare *πίαρό-ς* (and also *πίαλο-ς*) with *πιαίνω* for **pīm̥-i̯ō*, exactly as *μιαρό-ς* 'defiled' is to be derived from *μιαίνω*, so that the relation is the same as that of *θαυμα-τό-ς* (i. e. **θαυμη-το-ς*) : *θαυμαίνω*. Then new formations arose, *ἱερό-ς* (modelled upon *πτερό-ς σκιερό-ς*) on the one hand, *σκιαρό-ς* (modelled upon *μιαρό-ς πιαρό-ς*) on the other.

Italic. Lat. *rub-er rub-ra* Umbr. rufru 'rubros' rufra 'rubras': Gr. *ἐρυθ-ρό-ς* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *vi-r* gen. *vi-rī*, Umbr. *veiro* 'viros': O.Ir. *fe-r* Skr. *vī-ra-s* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *cap-er cap-ra*, Umbr. kaprum 'caprum': Gr. *κάπ-ρο-ς* etc., see p. 184 above. Lat. *ag-er* gen. *ag-rī*, Umbr. *agre* gen. 'agrī': Skr. *áj-ra-s* etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. *sac-er sac-ra*, Falisc. *sacru* 'sacrum', Umbr. sakra 'sacras', Osc. *σακ-ορο* 'sacrum' sak-arater 'sacratur' (I § 627 p. 471). Lat. *mac-er mac-ra*: Gr. *μακ-ρό-ς* 'long, lean, far', O.H.G. *mag-ar* O.Icel. *mag-r* 'lean' pr. Germ. *maɣ-rá-*. Lat. *ob-scūru-s* 'dark', properly 'covered over': O.H.G. *skū-r* 'shelter, covered place, lodging'. Lat. *plē-ru-s plērī-que*: Gr. *πλήρ-ης* 'full', which is a modification of an older form **πλη-ρο-* (cp. *πληρόω*), but its accent, in contrast to the analogous *ὕδαρ-ής* (: *ὑδαρό-ς*), followed that of compounds in *-ήρης* like *διήρης*. Lat. *pū-ru-s. dī-ru-s. clā-ru-s. gnā-ru-s* (cp. I § 253 p. 207). *in-teger* (cp. *intāctu-s*). *nig-er. glab-er* (we may conjecture that the original form of the stem was **gladh-ro-* or **glədh-ro-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *gladŭkŭ* 'smooth'). *scab-er. stup-ru-m. lab-ru-m* 'lip'. *scalp-er* and *scalp-ru-m. flag-ru-m.* At the same time in words where an *l* occurs before the suffix *-ro-*, it must be remembered that the latter may have come from *-lo-*, cp. *lu-crum* for **lu-clum* I § 269 p. 217. Sabin. *cuprum* 'bonum' *Cupra* 'bona dea', Umbr. *Cubrar* gen. 'Bonae deae', beside Lat. *cup-iō*.

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No certain examples of *-r̥ro-* can be found; perhaps it may be traced in Lat. *camur camura*, cp. Gr. *καμάρᾱ* 'vault'.

-e-ro- occurs in Lat. *līber lībera* O.Lat. *loeber-tātem*, which is usually compared with Gr. *ἐλεύθ-ερο-ς* (see I § 49 p. 42, § 65 p. 52), *puer* gen. *puerī*, *gener* gen. *generī*.

The relation of Lat. *amā-ru-s*: Skr. *am-lá-* 'sour' is obscure.

-ro- in secondary use. *teneb-rae*: Skr. *tamis-ra-* etc., see above p. 181 f. *cerebru-m* for **ceres-ro-*, cp. Skr. *śíras-* 'head'. *fūnebri-s* instead of **fūnes-ro-*, transferred to the *i*-declension, beside *fūnus fūnes-tu-s*, see I § 570 p. 423, II § 93 under Italic. *membru-m membr-āna* for **mēms-ro-*: O.Ir. *mīr* 'piece of flesh' from pr. Kelt. **mēns-r...*, beside Skr. *māṣá-* Goth. *mimza-* O.C.Sl. *męso-* 'flesh' (I § 570 p. 428, § 574 p. 430, § 585 Rem. 3 p. 440).

Old Irish. *sī-r* Mod.Cymr. *hi-r* 'lasting long' (comparative O.Ir. *sia*): Lat. *sē-ru-s*, common ground-form **sē-ro-*, beside Skr. *sāya-s* 'late time, end'. *lā-r* Mod.Cymr. *llaw-r* 'flooring, floor': A.S. *flō-r* 'floor' Mid.H.G. *vluo-r* 'level, floor'. *ār* Mod.Cymr. *ǫer* 'battle, fight' for **ag-ro-* (I § 523 p. 380): Skr. *ghāsé-ajra-* 'attractive to the taste, creating appetite' Gr. *ἄγ-ρᾱ* 'game, prey', from √*ag̑-* 'drive', cp. Idg. **ag̑-ro-* 'place where cattle are driven, field' which was formed from the same root, p. 181. *bod-ar* (acc. pl. *bod-ra*): Skr. *badh-irá-* 'deaf'. *mā-r mō-r* Mod.Cym. *maw-r* 'great' Gall. *-māro-* in *Virido-māru-s* and other proper names, beside the compar. O.Ir. *māo mō* 'greater': Gr. *ἐγχεσί-μω-ρο-ς* 'great or distinguished in throwing the spear', and the like (Bechtel, Über die Bezeichn. d. sinnl. Wahrnehm. 101; Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 431 ff.), common ground-form **mō-ro-*. *uar* Mod.Cymr. *oer* 'cold' pr. Kelt. **og-ro-*.

-ro- is secondary in O.Ir. *mīr*, see above.

Germanic. O.H.G. *sū-r* O.Icel. *sū-r-r* sour, 'bitter': Lith. *sú-ra-s* 'salt' (adj.) O.C.Sl. *sy-rŭ* 'raw'. O.H.G. *munt-ar* 'fresh, lively, hasty, Goth. *mund-r-ei* 'goal, object': O.C.Sl. *mąd-rŭ* 'wise' (Lith. *mand-rù-s* 'conceited, overbearing' instead of **mand-ra-s*). Goth. *gáu-r-s* 'troubled, sorrowful' beside *gáu-nōn* 'to sorrow, lament': Skr. *ghō-rá-s* 'horrible'. O.H.G. *weig-ar* 'teme-

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rarius' pr. Germ. **ɥaiǯ-rá-*, beside Goth. *veihan* 'to fight': Lith. *vik-rù-s* 'brisk, lively' instead of **vik-ra-s*. Goth. *jē-r* O.H.G. *jā-r* n. 'year': Gr. *ὦ-ρο-ς* 'year' *ὥ-ρᾱ* 'season' O.C.Sl. *ja-rŭ ja-ra* 'springtime', by the side of which we find Avest. *yā-r*^{e} n. 'year', cp. Skr. *yá-ti* 'he goes, travels'. O.H.G. *fed-ara* O.Icel. *fjǫð-r* f. 'feather' pr. Germ. **feþ-rō-*: cp. Gr. *πτ-ε-ρό-ν* etc., see p. 182 above. Goth. *skei-r-s* A.S. *skī-r* 'pure, clear' (: Russ. *ščiryj* pure', see I § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.). Goth. *fag-r-s* 'suitable' O.H.G. *fag-ar* 'fair' pr. Germ. **faǯ-rá-*, √ *pāk̑-*: cp. Umbr. *pacrer* pl. 'propitii' § 98. O.H.G. *hē-r* 'grand, exalted, sublime' pr. Germ. **χaį-ra-*, no doubt to be compared with Goth. *hái-l-s* 'healthy'. O.H.G. *sē-r* 'painful, sore' O.Icel. *sā-r-r* 'sore, bad', Goth. *sái-r* O.H.G. *sē-r* n. 'pain' pr. Germ. **saį-ra-*. O.H.G. *zang-ar* 'biting, sharp' pr. Germ. **taŋg-rá-*, cp. O.H.G. *zanga* 'tongs' Skr. *dáṡ-ana-m* 'a biting, bite'. O.H.G. *bū-r* m. 'dwelling' O.Icel. *bū-r* n. 'room, storehouse', beside O.H.G. *bū-an* 'build upon'. O.H.G. *scob-ar* m. 'stack, piled up heap of corn', √ *skeɥp- skeɥb-* 'shove, push': Lith. *skub-rù-s* 'hasty'. Goth. *skū-ra* f. 'shower, storm' O.H.G. *scū-r* m. 'shower'. O.H.G. *zunt-ra zunt-ara* f. O.Icel. *tund-r* n. 'tinder' beside O.H.G. *zant-ro zant-aro* m. 'glowing coal' O.Icel. *tand-re* m. 'fire' (pr. Germ. **tand-r-en-*). Goth. *lig-r-s* m. O.H.G. *leg-ar* n. 'couch'. O.H.G. *zimbar* n. 'timber, dwelling' A.S. *timbar* n. 'building', West Germ. **timbra-* for **tim-ra-*, Goth. *tim-r-jan* 'to do carpenter's work', √ *dem-*. O.H.G. *eit-ar* n. O.Icel. *eit-r* n. 'poison', beside Gr. *οἰδ-ος οἴδ-μα* 'swelling'.

-ŗro- pr. Germ. *-ura-* occurs perhaps in O.H.G. *ebur* A.S. *eofor* O.Icel. *jǫfurr* (pl. *jǫfrar*) 'boar': cp. Lat. *ap-er* gen. *ap-rī*, O.C.Sl. *vep-rŭ* (stem *vep-r-je-*) 'boar'. *-e-ro-* is even more difficult to identify in Germanic.

-ro- is secondary in O.H.G. *dinstar* Mid.Dutch *deemster* 'dark': Skr. *tamis-ra-* etc., see above, p. 181 f.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *asz-t-rù-s asz-ru-s*, instead of **-ra-s*, O.C.Sl. *os-t-rŭ* 'sharp' (for the *-t-* see I § 544 p. 398 f., § 545 p. 400): Gr. *ἄκ-ρο-ς* etc., see p. 183 f. above. Lith. *pú-rai* pl. 'wheat' O.C.Sl. *py-ro* n. 'spelt': Gr. *πῡ-ρό-ς* 'wheat'. Lith. denomin. *szvit-r-inėti*

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'to glimmer' *szvyt-r-ãti* 'to gleam': Skr. *śvit-rá-s* 'white'. Lith. *kup-rà* 'knob, boss': O.H.G. *hov-ar* A.S. *hof-er* m. 'knob'. O.C.Sl. *ved-rŭ* 'clear, bright' *ved-ro* n. 'fair wather': O.H.G. *wet-ar* n. 'weather', common ground-form **u̯edh-rò-*. O.C.Sl. *dob-rŭ* 'good': O.H.G. *taph-ar* Mid.H.G. *tapf-er* 'heavy, weighty, fast'. O.C.Sl. *da-rŭ* 'gift': Armen. *tu-r* Gr. δῶ-ρο-ν 'gift'.

Lith. *bud-rù-s* instead of **-ra-s* O.C.Sl. *bŭd-rŭ* 'watchful'. *-ra-s* is seldom kept in adjectives in Lithuanian (e. g. *tìk-ra-s* 'suitable'); they generally passed over into the *u*-declension; cp. § 107. In O.C.Sl. we have only a few adjectives, cp. besides those quoted above, *pĭstrŭ* 'gay' for **pĭs-rŭ* (like *os-t-rŭ*) from √ *peiḱ-*.

Lith. *stum̃b-ra-s* 'aurochs'. *stam̃b-ra-s* and *stemb-r-ỹ-s* 'stalk'. *gaĩs-ra-s gais-ra* 'distant gleam on the horizon', beside *gis-tu* 'exstinguor' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im Lit. 65). O.C.Sl. *pi-rŭ* 'convivium'. *ra-rŭ* 'sonitus'. *mĕ-ra* 'measure'. *reb-ro* 'rib' (beside O.H.G. *rippi* n. 'rib', pr. Germ. **rib-i̯a-*).

-ro- in secondary use: Lith. *tìms-ra-s* 'light bay coloured' (of a horse): Skr. *tanis-ra-* etc., see p. 181 f. above. Lith. *vidurỹ-s* 'middle', no doubt = *vidu-r-i̯a-* a derivative of *vidù-s* 'the inside', similarly *duburỹ-s* 'depth' from *dubù-s* 'deep and hollow'. It seems to me doubtful whether we should compare with these the *-ro-* of Lith. *nas-raĩ* pl. 'throat' O.C.Sl. *noz-dri* pl. 'nostrils' (beside Low Germ. *nuster* 'nostril' and Idg. **nas-* 'nose'), and of O.C.Sl. *męz-dra* 'fine skin on a recent wound, the fleshy part of anything' (beside *męso* 'flesh'), cp. I § 585 p. 439.

§ 75. The Suffixes *-ero- -erā-* and *-tero- -terā-*, forming Comparatives.

These are closely parallel to the superlative *-mo- -mmo-* (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.) and *-tmmo-* (§ 73 p. 177 ff.).

-(t)ero- shows a close etymological relation to the adverbs in *-(t)er* and (loc.) *-(t)er-i*, e. g. **upero-* beside Gr. ὑπὲρ Skr. *upári*, **en-tero-* beside Lat. *in-ter* Skr. *antári-kṣa-*. On the other hand *-(t)ero-* is often connected with *-ro-* (see § 74). Per Persson's suggestions for its etymology (*Studia Etymologica*, Upsala 1886,

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p. 94 ff.) are more extensive, but for the most part exceedingly bold.

Beside *-(t)ero-* is found *-(t)oro-*, e. g. Avest. *ka-tāra-* Goth. *hva-þar* O.C.Sl. *ko-tory-jĭ*, *-(t)ro-*, e. g. Skr. *an-trá-m* Gr. *ἀλλό--τρ-ιο-ς* Lat. *in-trō* O.C.Sl. *ję-tro*, and *-(t)ṛro-*, e. g. Gr. *νε(ϝ)--αρό-ς* A.S. *eafora*[1]) The original distribution of these different grades of ablaut can no longer be traced; the difference of accent however should be noticed, e. g. Skr. *án-tara- an-trá- an-tári-kṣa-*.

-tero- shows the greatest fertility in Aryan and Greek, where it was a regular comparative suffix for adjectives.

Indo-Germanic. **upero-*, beside Skr. *upári* 'above' Gr. *ὑπὲρ, ὑπεὶρ* (i. e. **ὑπερϝ*, see I § 645, 2 p. 489) Lat. *s-uper* O.H.G. *ubir* 'over' (compare further Skr. *úpa* 'towards' Gr. *ὕπο* 'under' etc.): Skr. *úpara-* 'nearer, behind, under' Avest. *upara-* 'upper', Gr. *ὕπερο-ς ὕπερο-ν* 'pestle' *ὑπέρᾱ* 'upper rope', Lat. *s-uperu-s s-uprā s-uprē-mu-s*, A.S. *ufer-ra* 'upper' (*-ra* = Goth. *-iza*); cp. superl. Skr. *upamá-s* Lat. *s-ummu-s*. **n̥dhero-* 'lower' beside Avest. *aδairi* 'under' and Skr. *adhás* 'below': Skr. *ádhara-* 'lower', Goth. *undarō* adv. 'underneath' O.H.G. *undaro undero* 'lower'; cp. superl. Skr. *adhamá-s*.

**en-tero-* 'inner', subst. n. 'intestines', beside Lat. *in-ter* Skr. *antári-kṣa-* 'that which lies in between heaven and earth, sky': Skr. *ántara-s* 'inner, dearer, more intimate' *antrá-m āntrá-m* 'intestine', Armen. *ęnder-k̇* pl. 'intestines' (possibly borrowed from the Greek), Gr. *ἔντερο-ν* 'intestine', Lat. *inter-ior intrā intrō*, O.Ir. *eter etir* 'between', O.C.Sl. *ję-tro* n. 'liver'; cp. superl. Skr. *ántama-s* Lat. *intimu-s*. **ni-tero-* 'lower': Skr. *nitarām* 'downwards, down', O.H.G. *nidaro* adj. 'lower'; cp. superl. Avest. *nitema-* A.S. *neoδem-est*. Avest. *fra-tara-* Gr. *πρό-τερο-ς* 'former,

1) *-tr̥* (cp. *-ter* beside *-tero-*) seems to occur in Skr. *sani-tár* 'beside, except, without' Gr. *ἀ-τάρ* 'sed' O.H.G. *sun-tar* 'by itself, especially, but, however' beside Skr. *samu-tár* 'away, aside' Gr. *ἄ-τερ* 'without' (is the irregular *spiritus lenis* in *ἀτάρ* and *ἄτερ* due to the influence of *αὖτάρ* and *ἄνευ*?) A.S. *sun-dir* 'except, without'; cp. also Goth. *sun-drō* 'separated, alone'. The root-syllable of the Greek and Germanic words is **sn̥-*. Cp. Bugge, Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 120 f.

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earlier', beside Osc. *pruter-pan* πρότερον ἤ, priusquam'; compare further Avest. *fra* Gr. πρό 'before'; cp. superl. Avest. *fra-tema-*.

**qo-tero-* from the stem **qo-* 'who?': Skr. *ka-tará-* Avest. *ka-tāra-*[1]) Gr. πό-τερο-ς 'which of two?' Umbr. *podruh-pei* 'utroque', Goth. *hva-þar* 'which of two?' Lith. *ka-trà-s* 'which of two? which? who?' O.C.Sl. *ko-teri-jĭ ko-tori-jī* 'who?'; cp. superl. Skr. *ka-tamá-s*, Lat. *quo-tumu-s*.

It can hardly be an accidental coincidence that several Indo-Germanic languages have a word for 'left' which shows the suffix *-tero-* added to a stem formed with the comparative suffix *-ies -is-* (§ 135), and contains the idea of 'goodness' (cp. Gr. εὐώνυμο-ς 'left'). Avest. *vairyas-tāra-*, beside *vara-* 'desirable, excellent' compar. Skr. *várīyas-*. Gr. ἀρισ-τερό-ς, beside ἄρισ-το-ς 'best' ἀρείων 'better' (not connected with Ar. *vara-*). O.H.G. *winis-tar*, beside *wini* 'beloved' *wunsc* 'wish, desire'; cp. also, from the same root, Skr. *vāma-s* 'left', identical with *vāmá-s* 'worthy, dear, good', from a ground-form **u̯ē̆-mo-s*, √*u̯en-*. Lat. *sinis-ter*, which should surely be compared with Skr. *sán-īyas-* 'gaining more' √*sen-* 'to reach a goal (which is striven after or longed for), to succeed' (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 271 f.), and not with *senior senīu-m* (when the intermediate stage of meaning would be 'weak, incapable'); for the *i* of the first syllable cp. *simili-s*. One at least therefore of these formations must date from proethnic Indo-Germanic, and at the time of the separation of the peoples must have still retained its original meaning as well as the secondary one of 'left', and so become the model for the rest. Cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII p. 399 ff.

Aryan. Skr. *ádh-ara-* Avest. *aδ-ara-* 'lower', see p. 189 above. Skr. *ap-ara-* 'more distant, later, smaller, other', *ap-arā́-m* adv. 'later' Avest. *ap-ara-* 'the other' O.Pers. *ap-ara-m* adv. 'afterwards', beside Skr. *ápa* 'from, away': A.S. *af-era eafora* O.Sax. *aƀaro* m. 'successor, offspring' (Goth. *afar* 'after' O.H.G. *abur avar* 'again, anew; on the other hand, however');

1) The quantity of the *ā* in the syllable *ka-*, if the law given in I § 78 p. 69 is correct, might be explained by reference to a by-form **katra-* in proethnic Aryan (cp. the Ital. and Lith. forms).

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with which compare O.Pers. *apa-tara-m* 'further' and Goth. *af--tarō* adv. 'backwards' *aftra* adv. 'back, anew, further' O.H.G. *aftaro* m. 'hinder part' A.S. *æftra* adj. 'hinder'. Skr. *áv-ara-s* 'lower' Avest. *aora* adv. 'down, off' (cp. Avest. *naotara-* = Skr. *navatara-* compar. from Skr. *náva-* 'new'), cp. Skr. *áva* 'off, downwards'.

Skr. *án-tara-* Avest. *an-tara-* 'inner' Skr. *an-trá-m ān-trá-m* 'intestine': Gr. *ἔν-τερο-ν* etc., see p. 189 above. Skr. *út-tara-* 'higher, upper' from *úd* 'up, out': Gr. *ὕστερο-ς* 'later' *ὕστρο-ς* 'belly'; beside this we have Skr. *ud-arά-* *ūd-ara-* 'belly, swelling' Gr. *ὄδερο-ς* 'belly' Hesych. (probably Cyprian, with *o* = *v* as in *μοχοῖ* = *μυχοῖ* and other words), O.H.G. *ūzro* 'outer'. *-tara-m* is especially frequent in Aryan as an adverbial termination. Skr. *vi-tarά-m* Avest. *vī-tare-m* 'further' (in Avestic also an adj.) beside Skr. *ví* 'away, apart': Goth. *vi-þra* adv. 'against, with-' (in composition); compare also Lat. *vi-tr-icu-s* 'stepfather', the termination being like that of O.H.G. *ent(i)rig* 'strange' = **antriǯά-s* from *anuer* 'other'. Skr. *parā-tarά-m paras-tarά-m* 'further away' from *párā parás* 'away, forth'. Instead of this later Sanskrit has generally *-tarά-m*, as *uccāis-tarām* 'higher' from *uccāíš* 'high', *śanāis-tarám* 'more softly, more gradually', from *śanāíš* 'softly, gradually'.

Skr. *ka-tarά-* Avest. *ka-tāra-* 'which of two?': Gr. *πό-τερο-ς* etc., see p. 190 above. Skr. *ya-tarά-* Avest. *ya-tāra-* 'which (of two)' (rel.), beside Skr. *yά-s* 'qui'. Avest. *a-tāra-* from the stem *a-* 'that'.

-tara- was also the regular comparative ending of adjectives in Aryan where *-tama-* formed the superlative. The same rules of formation hold as for *-tama-*, see § 73 p. 178. Skr. *āmά-tara-s* 'more raw' from *āmά-s*: Gr. *ὠμό-τερο-ς* 'more raw, more rude'; Skr. *yajñiya-tara-* 'more deserving of reverence'; Avest. *aka-tara-* 'worse' from *aka-*, *srīrō-tara-* 'nobler' from *srīra-*. Skr. *śrēṣṭha--tara-* 'more excellent' from superl. *śrēṣṭha-*, *garīyas-tara-* 'heavier, weightier' beside compar. *gárīyas-*, Avest. *vairyas-tara-* 'left' see p. 190 above; cp. also Avest. *fratarō-tara-* from *fratara-* 'more prominent'. Skr. *duḥkha-tara-* 'more painful, more unpleasant',

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and as subst. n. 'greater pain', from *duḥkhá-m* 'pain'. Avest. *ušastara-* 'easterly' from *ušah-* 'red of the morning', *daoša-tara-* westerly' from *daoša-* 'evening'.

Armenian. *nor*, gen. *noroy*, 'new': cp. Gr. *νεαρό-ς* 'young, youthful' ground-form **neu̯-ro-s*, see p. 189 above; it is doubtful whether **nau̯-ro-* was also the ground-form of the Armenian word. Gen. *mer* 'our' *jer* 'your' (nom. *me-k* 'we' *du-k* 'ye'): cp. O.Ir. possess. *ar n-* 'our' *far n-* 'your', Goth. *unsar* 'our' *izvar* 'your'; and further Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς ὑμέ-τερο-ς*, Lat. *nos-ter ves-ter*.

ender-k pl. 'intestines' cannot be quoted without suspicion, as it may perhaps have been borrowed from the Greek (*ἔν-τερα*), cp. p. 189.

Greek. *ὕπ-ερο-ς* 'pestle': Skr. *úpara-* etc., see p. 189 above. *ὀδ-ερο-ς* 'belly': Skr. *udárá-* etc., see p. 191 above. *ἔν-εροι* 'inferi' (properly those within, those dwelling within the earth) from *ἐν* 'in', cp. also *ἐνέρ-τερο-ς νέρ-τερο-ς* 'deeper' beside *ἔνερ-θε* 'apud inferos' and *ἔν-τερο-ν* 'intestine'. *νεαρό-ς* 'young, youthful': cp. Armen. *nor* (see above) and Lat. *noverca* meaning **ἡ νεαρική*.

ἔν-τερο-ν 'intestine', see p. 189 above. *ὕστερο-ς* 'later'. *ὕστρο-ς* 'belly': Skr. *úttara-*, see p. 191 above. *πρό-τερο-ς* 'earlier': Avest. *fra-tara-*, see p. 190 above. Greek has many new formations modelled upon old comparatives derived, like these, from adverbs. *ὑπέρ-τερο-ς* 'higher' from *ὑπέρ*. *κατώ-τερο-ς* 'lower' from *κάτω*. *ὑψί-τερο-ς* 'higher' from *ὕψι*. *παροί-τερο-ς* 'more prominent' beside *πάροι-θε* 'before'. *μυχοί-τερο-ς* 'further back in the corner' (only *μυχοί-τατο-ς* is actually found) from *μυχοῖ* 'in the corner, inside'. *παλαί-τερο-ς* 'older' from *πάλαι*. *παλαί-τερο-ς* was referred to *παλαιό-ς* and hence arose the forms *γεραί-τερο-ς* 'older' from *γεραιό-ς*, *σχολαί-τερο-ς* 'more idle' from *σχολαῖο-ς*, and when *-αιτερο-ς* further came to be regarded as an independent suffix, it produced the forms *ἡσυχ-αίτερο-ς* 'quieter' from *ἥσυχο-ς*, *ἰδι-αίτερο-ς* 'more especially one's own' from *ἴδιο-ς*, and many more. With the adverbial termination *-τέρω* : *ἀνω-τέρω* from *ἄνω* 'up', *προσω-τέρω* from *πρόσω* 'forwards', *ἐγγυ-τέρω* from *ἐγγύς* 'near', and many more.

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πό-τερο-ς 'which of two?': Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 191 above. Dor. Boeot. etc. *ἄτερο-ς* 'one of two, the other' ground-form **sm̥-tero-* from **sem-* (Gr. *εἷς* 'unus' (cp. *ἅ-παξ* etc.); the Attic form *ἕτερο-ς* no doubt arose through an assimilation to the vowel of *ἑν-*, just as *ἑ-κατόν* 'a hundred' replaced **ἁ-κατον* for the same reason.[1]) *ἑκά-τερο-ς* 'each of two' beside *ἑκάς*, cp. Wackernagel in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 150 f.

ἡμέ-τερο-ς 'our' *ὑμέ-τερο-ς* 'your': cp. Lat. *nos-ter ves-ter*.

The form *-tro-* occurs in *ἀλλό-τρ-ιο-ς* 'belonging to another, strange': its extension by the suffix *-ιο-* is no doubt due to the form of its antithesis *ἴδιο-ς*.

-τερο- was also the regular comparative termination in adjectives whose superlative was formed in *-τατο-* (§ 81). *ὠμό-τερο-ς* 'more raw, more rude' from *ὠμό-ς*: Skr. *āmá-tara-s*. *κουφό-τερο-ς* 'lighter' from *κοῦφο-ς*. *γλυκύ-τερο-ς* 'sweeter' from *γλυκύ-ς*. *πῑ́ό-τερο-ς* 'fatter' from *πῑ́ων -ονος*, *ἐπιλησμό-τερο-ς* 'more forgetful' from *ἐπιλήσμων -ονος*, cp. *πῑό-της* and *ἀκμό-θετο-ν* (cp. § 12 p. 27, § 29 p. 49). *μελάν-τερο-ς* 'blacker', from *μέλᾱς -ανος*. *χαριέστερο-ς* 'more charming, more gracious', i. e. **χαρι-ϝετ + τερο-*, from *χαρίεις -εντος*; *-ϝετ-* took the place of the regular phonetic *-ϝατ-* = Idg. *-u̯t-* (§ 127). *ἀχαρίστερο-ς* 'more ungraceful' i. e. **ἀχαριτ+τερο-*, from *ἄχαρις -ιτος*. *ἀληθέσ-τερο-ς* 'truer' from *ἀληθής* neut. *-ές*.

Comparatives with *ω* like *σοφώ-τερο-ς* 'wiser', from *σοφό-ς*, were formed from adverbs in *-ω* (cp. the Germanic comparatives in *-ōz-en-* formed from the instr. sing. in *-ō* § 81, and the Slavonic comparatives in *-ě-jĭ* which came from the instr. sing. in *-ē* § 135), and their use became gradually restricted to words in which the *ω* followed a short syllable. A few remaining examples of the freer use occur in literature, as *οἰζῡρώτερος* (Hom.), *δυσποτμώτερος* (Eur.) and several others. The *-ο-* of *κενότερος στενότερος* in later Attic is a reminiscence of the early Attic forms **κενϝό-ς* **στενϝό-ς*, see p. 135 footnote.

1) A different explanation of *ἄτερο-ς ἕτερο-ς* is given by Per Persson, Studia etymol. p. 102; but his arguments do not convince me.

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-ωτερο-ς was sometimes grafted upon other classes of stems, e. g. *ἐπιχαριτ-ώτερο-ς* 'more charming' from *ἐπίχαρις*.

The termination *-ιστερο-ς* (*ἀληθέσ-τερο-ς*) was very largely extended in use as an independent suffix, e. g. *εὐδαιμον-έστερο-ς* 'happier' from *εὐδαίμων*, *ἀκρᾱτ-έστερο-ς* 'more unmixed' from *ἄκρᾱτο-ς*, *ἐρρωμεν-έστερο-ς* 'stronger' from *ἐρρωμενο-ς*.

Comparative suffixes were often combined. Parallel to *ἀρ-ισ-τερό-ς* (see p. 190) arose *λαλ-ίστερο-ς* 'more talkative' from *λάλο-ς*, *κλεπτ-ίστερο-ς* 'more thievish' from *κλέπτη-ς*, *βλᾱχ-ίστερο-ς* 'lazier', from *βλᾱξ*, etc.; the spread of these double suffixes was furthered by the similar sound of the termination of *ἀχαρίστερο-ς* = **ἀχαριτ+τερο-ς*. *ἀμεινό-τερο-ς* from *ἀμείνων* 'better', *ἀρειό-τερο-ς* from *ἀρείων* 'better' etc. *κυντερώ-τερο-ς* from *κύν-τερο-ς* 'more like a dog, more impudent', *ὑπερτερώ-τερο-ς* from *ὑπέρ-τερο-ς* 'upper', *προτεραί-τερο-ς* from *πρό-τερο-ς* 'earlier' (cp. Avest. *f. xtarō-tara-* p. 191), with other examples.

Comparatives are frequently formed from substantives. *κύν-τερο-ς* from *κύων* 'dog'. *βασιλεύ-τερο-ς* 'more royal' from *βασιλεύ-ς* 'king'. *δημιό-τερο-ς* 'belonging to the people' from *δῆμο-ς* 'people', *ὀρέσ-τερο-ς* 'of the mountains' from *ὄρος* 'mountain' and the like, where the comparative suffix, just as in *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* Avest. *ušas-tara* O.H.G. *ni-daro*, only served to contrast the words with their opposites (cp. § 139).

Italic. Lat. *s-uperu-s s-upra s-uprē-mu-s* Umbr. *subra* 'supra' Osc. supruis 'superis', beside Lat. *s-uper*, with the by-form *s-up-ter* (written *subter*), like O.H.G. *aftar* beside Goth. *afar* (for the *s-* of *s-ub s-uper* see I § 568 p. 425): Skr. *úpara-s* etc., see p. 189 above. For Lat. *īnferu-s īnfrā*, which are usually connected with Skr. *ádhara-* Goth. *undarō*, see § 72 p. 167, under Aryan.

Lat. *in-ter-ior in-trā in-trō*, Osc. entraí dat. fem. 'intestinae, *ἐμφυλίῳ*': Skr. *ántara-* etc., see p. 189 above. Lat. *i-teru-m*, the stem of which is contained in Lat. *mātertera* ('quasi mater altera') for **mātēr-iterā*, Umbr. etram-a 'ad alteram': Skr. *i-tara-s* 'other', perhaps also Goth. *idr-eiga* 'repentance' O.Icel. *iðra-sk* 'repent'. Lat. *ex-ter ex-trā* Osc. eh-trad 'extra', beside Lat. *ex:*

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O.Ir. *echtr-ann* 'foreign, stranger'. Lat. *ci-ter ci-trā ci-trō*: Goth. *hi-drē* 'hither'. Lat. *pos-teru-s postrī-diē postrē-mu-s* Umbr. *postra* acc. fem. 'posteriores' Osc. pústiris 'posterius', from Ital. *pos pos-t*; it is perhaps better to analyse the word *post-eru-s*. Lat. *con-trā contrō-versia* Osc. *contrud* 'contra', beside Lat. *cum* Osc. *con*. Umbr. *hon-dra* 'infra' Osc. hu[n]-truis 'inferis', cp. Lat. *humu-s*, and Umbr. superl. *hon-domu* § 73 p. 179. Umbr. *pretra* acc. fem. 'priores', beside Lat. *prae-ter*.

Lat. *u-ter u-tra* (I § 431 Rem. 3 p. 321) Umbr. *podruh--pei* 'utroque' Osc. pútúrús-píd 'utrique' (for **potro-*, see I § 271 p. 218, § 627 p. 471): Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 190 above. Lat. *al-ter altera altrīn-secus* Osc. alltram 'alteram', beside Lat. *al-iu-s* (cp. § 63, 3 p. 132).

Lat. *nos-ter nostra*, *ves-ter vestra*, Umbr. *vestra* abl. 'vestra', Osc. nistrus 'nostros' (according to Bugge; 'propiores' according to Bücheler): cp. Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς ὑμέ-τερο-ς*.

Lat. *dex-ter dextera* and *dextra*, Umbr. *destram-e* 'in dextram': cp. O.Ir. *Dechter* a woman's name (Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214) and Gr. *δεξι-τερό-ς* 'dexter' (formed like *ῥῃ̈-τερο-ς*). Umbr. *nertru* abl. 'sinistro': Gr. *νέ-τερο-ς ἐνέ-τερο-ς* 'deeper' beside *ἔνερ-θε* (cp. p. 192); as to the meaning 'left', see Bücheler *Umbrica* p. 76 f.

Here perhaps should also be classed *palūs-ter*, from *palūd-*, *Nemes-tr-īnu-s*, from *nemus*, Volsc. *Veles-trom* 'Veliternorum', beside Gr. *ἕλος* 'low ground'; so also Lat. *campester terrester silvester* and the like, which are to be compared with the Gr. *εὐδαιμον-έστερος* (p. 194).

Combinations of comparative suffixes. *-is-tero-*: Lat. *sin--is-ter -tra* see p. 190, Lat. *magister magistrī* Umbr. mestru fem. 'maior', beside Lat. *magis* Osc. *mais* 'magis'; Lat. *minister ministrī* Osc. *minstreis* 'minoris', beside Lat. *minus*; cp. § 135. Lat. *inter-ior dexter-ior* and the like, Osc. pústir-is. Lat. *suprē-mu-s extrē-mu-s* and the like (cp. § 72 p. 168) and *postrē--m-issimu-s* (cp. § 73 p. 179).

Old Irish. *ar n- far n-* poss. 'our, your', orig. gen. pl.

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-ιωτερο-ς was sometimes grafted upon other classes of stems, e. g. *ἐπιχαριτ-ώτερο-ς* 'more charming' from *ἐπίχαρις*.

The termination *-εστερο-ς* (*ἀληθέσ-τερο-ς*) was very largely extended in use as an independent suffix, e. g. *εὐδαιμον-έστερο-ς* 'happier' from *εὐδαίμων*, *ἀκρᾱτ-έστερο-ς* 'more unmixed' from *ἄκρᾱτο-ς*, *ἐρρωμεν-έστερο-ς* 'stronger' from *ἐρρωμενο-ς*.

Comparative suffixes were often combined. Parallel to *ἀρ-ισ-τερό-ς* (see p. 190) arose *λαλ-ίστερο-ς* 'more talkative' from *λάλο-ς*, *κλεπτ-ίστερο-ς* 'more thievish' from *κλέπτη-ς*, *βλᾱκ-ίστερο-ς* 'lazier', from *βλᾱξ*, etc.; the spread of these double suffixes was furthered by the similar sound of the termination of *ἀχαρίστερο-ς* = **ἀχαριτ+τερο-ς*. *ἀμεινό-τερο-ς* from *ἀμείνων* 'better', *ἀρειό-τερο-ς* from *ἀρείων* 'better' etc. *κυντερώ-τερο-ς* from *κύν-τερο-ς* 'more like a dog, more impudent', *ὑπερτερώ-τερο-ς* from *ὑπέρ-τερο-ς* 'upper', *προτεραί-τερο-ς* from *πρό-τερο-ς* 'earlier' (cp. Avest. *f. ataro-tara-* p. 191), with other examples.

Comparatives are frequently formed from substantives. *κύν-τερο-ς* from *κύων* 'dog'. *βασιλεύ-τερο-ς* 'more royal' from *βασιλεύ-ς* 'king'. *δημό-τερο-ς* 'belonging to the people' from *δῆμο-ς* 'people', *ὀρέσ-τερο-ς* 'of the mountains' from *ὄρος* 'mountain' and the like, where the comparative suffix, just as in *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* Avest. *ušas-tara* O.H.G. *ni-daro*, only served to contrast the words with their opposites (cp. § 139).

Italic. Lat. *s-uperu-s s-upra s-uprē-mu-s* Umbr. *subra* 'supra' Osc. supruis 'superis', beside Lat. *s-uper*, with the by-form *s-up-ter* (written *subter*), like O.H.G. *aftar* beside Goth. *afar* (for the *s-* of *s-ub s-uper* see I § 568 p. 425): Skr. *úpara-s* etc., see p. 189 above. For Lat. *īnferu-s īnfrā*, which are usually connected with Skr. *ádhara-* Goth. *undarō*, see § 72 p. 167, under Aryan.

Lat. *in-ter-ior in-trā in-trō*, Osc. entraí dat. fem. 'intestinae, *ἐμφυλίῳ*': Skr. *ántara-* etc., see p. 189 above. Lat. *i-teru-m*, the stem of which is contained in Lat. *mātertera* ('quasi mater altera') for **mātēr-iterā*, Umbr. etram-a 'ad alteram': Skr. *i-tara-s* 'other', perhaps also Goth. *idr-eiga* 'repentance' O.Icel. *iðra-sk* 'repent'. Lat. *ex-ter ex-trā* Osc. eh-trad 'extra', beside Lat. *ex*:

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O.Ir. *echtr-ann* 'foreign, stranger'. Lat. *ci-ter ci-trā ci-trō*: Goth. *hi-drē* 'hither'. Lat. *pos-teru-s postrī-diē postrē-mu-s* Umbr. *postra* acc. fem. 'posteriores' Osc. pústiris 'posterius', from Ital. *pos pos-t*; it is perhaps better to analyse the word *post-eru-s*. Lat. *con-trā contrō-versia* Osc. *contrud* 'contra', beside Lat. *cum* Osc. *con*. Umbr. *hon-dra* 'infra' Osc. hu[n]-truis 'inferis', cp. Lat. *humu-s*, and Umbr. superl. *hon-domu* § 73 p. 179. Umbr. *pretra* acc. fem. 'priores', beside Lat. *prae-ter*.

Lat. *u-ter u-tra* (I § 431 Rem. 3 p. 321) Umbr. *podruh-pei* 'utroque' Osc. pútúrús-píd 'utrique' (for **potro-*, see I § 271 p. 218, § 627 p. 471): Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 190 above. Lat. *al-ter altera altrīn-secus* Osc. alltram 'alteram', beside Lat. *al-iu-s* (cp. § 63, 3 p. 132).

Lat. *nos-ter nostra*, *ves-ter vestra*, Umbr. *vestra* abl. 'vestra', Osc. nistrus 'nostros' (according to Bugge; 'propiores' according to Bücheler): cp. Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς ὑμέ-τερο-ς*.

Lat. *dex-ter dextera* and *dextra*, Umbr. *destram-e* 'in dextram': cp. O.Ir. *Dechter* a woman's name (Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214) and Gr. *δεξι-τερό-ς* 'dexter' (formed like *ῥῃ̈-τερο-ς*). Umbr. *nertru* abl. 'sinistro': Gr. *νέ̄ρ-τερο-ς ἐνέ̄ρ-τερο-ς* 'deeper' beside *ἔνερ-θε* (cp. p. 192); as to the meaning 'left', see Bücheler *Umbrica* p. 76 f.

Here perhaps should also be classed *palūs-ter*, from *palūd-*, *Nemes-tr-īnu-s*, from *nemus*, Volsc. *Veles-trom* 'Veliternorum', beside Gr. *ἕλος* 'low ground'; so also Lat. *campester terrester silvester* and the like, which are to be compared with the Gr. *εὐδαιμον-έστερος* (p. 194).

Combinations of comparative suffixes. *-is-tero-*: Lat. *sin-is-ter -tra* see p. 190, Lat. *magister magistrī* Umbr. mestru fem. 'maior', beside Lat. *magis* Osc. *mais* 'magis'; Lat. *minister ministrī* Osc. *minstreis* 'minoris', beside Lat. *minus*; cp. § 135. Lat. *inter-ior dexter-ior* and the like, Osc. pústir-is. Lat. *suprē-mu-s extrē-mu-s* and the like (cp. § 72 p. 168) and *postrē-m-issimu-s* (cp. § 73 p. 179).

Old Irish. *ar n- far n-* poss. 'our, your', orig. gen. pl.

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like Lat. *nostrum vestrum*: cp. Armen. *mer jer* Goth. *unsar izvar*.[1])

in-a-thar Corn. *eneleren* 'intestines' O.Ir. *eter etir* 'between': cp. Skr. *an-trá-m* etc., see above p. 189. *ōchtar uachtar* n. 'that which is above, the upper part', beside *ōs uas* 'above'. *echtrann* 'a stranger' from *ech-tar* 'extra' (*-tar* for **-trā*): Lat. *extero- extrā*. *air-ther* 'former, the east', from *ar air* 'ante'.

cech-tar 'each of two' from *cech* adj. 'each'. *nech-tar* 'one of two' from *nech* 'one'.

-ther is also found side by side with *-iu* (§ 135) in adjectival comparative forms, yet it is comparatively much rarer than in Aryan and Greek: *luathi-ther* from *luath* 'quick', *libri-ther* from *lebor* 'long' and so forth. It occurs also in comparatives formed from substantives: Mid.Ir. *mētither* 'larger' from *mēit* f. 'size'.

-is-tero-. *sinser* 'older, oldest', ground-form **sen-is-tero-*, cp. *sin-iu* 'older' Lat. *sen-ior*. *ōser* 'younger, youngest' ground-form **i̯a̯ŋ-is-tero-*, cp. *ōa* 'younger' Skr. *yáv-īyas- yáv-iṣ-tha-*.

Germanic. Goth. *uf-arō* 'over' A.S. *uf-er-ra* 'upper': Skr. *úp-ara-* etc., see p. 189 above. Goth. *und-arō* 'underneath' O.H.G. *unt-aro untero* 'lower' (adj.): Skr. *ádh-ara-* etc., see p. 189 above. A.S. *af-era eafora* O.Sax. *aƀaro* 'offspring': Skr. *áp-ara-* etc., see p. 190 above. O.H.G. *ūg-ro ūgaro ūgero* A.S. *ūt-ra ūter-ra* 'outer': Skr. *ūd-ara- ud-arā-* etc., see p. 191 above. O.H.G. *sūd-ero* A.S. *sūdra* 'later' (adj.), beside O.H.G. *sīd* 'late, later'.

Goth. *uns-ar* 'our' fem. *unsara*, *izv-ar* 'your' fem. *izvara*, O.H.G. *unsēr iuwēr*; *unsro* (nom. pl. fem.) *unsrēm* (dat. pl.) and the like, show the West-Germanic syncope: cp. Armen. *mer jer*, O.Ir. *ar n-*, *far n-*.

Goth. *vi-þra* O.H.G. *wi-dar* 'against, with-' (in composition):

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1) "*ar n-* and *far n-* no doubt stand for **(s)arom *(s)u̯arom*, since *s* disappears before a vowel which precedes the accent (cp. *it* = **senti*). We find in Mid.Ir. *sar*, accented, in Ps. 2, but *nar* in Ps. 1. I suppose **sarom *su̯arom* to have arisen in proclitic positions, from forms like the Goth. *unsar izrar*, by loss of the initial sonant (*uns-* for *u̯s-*), just as Romance *lo* came from *illum*, *loro* from *illorum*." Thurneysen.

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Skr. *vi-tará-m.* O.H.G. *ni-daro* A.S. *ni-ðer-ra* 'lower' (adj.): Skr. *ni-tarám.* O.H.G. *for-dro fordaro fordero* A.S. *furðra* 'former' ground-form **pr̥-tero-*, beside Goth. *faúr faúra* 'before'. O.H.G. *hin-taro* 'hinder' beside Goth. *hin-dar* 'behind', cp. A.S. superl. *hin-dema.* Goth. *af-tarō* 'from behind' *aftra* 'back' O.H.G. *aftro aftaro aftero* 'hinder part' beside Goth. *afar.* Several adverbial terminations derived from *-tero-* show considerable fertility, e. g. Goth. *hi-drē* 'hither' (Lat. *ci-trō ci-trā*) *jáin-drē* 'thither', *jáin-þrō* 'thence', *alja-þrō* 'from some other place' *dalaþ-þrō* 'from beneath'. With regard to several adverbs in *-ar*, like Goth. *af-ar hin-dar*, we cannot tell whether they are acc. sing. neut. (cp. Skr. *pratarám* Gr. *πρότερον* Lat. *iterum*) or are parallel to forms like Gr. *ὑπὲρ* Skr. *upári.*

Goth. *hva-þar* O.H.G. *hwedar wedar (wederemo wederan)* 'which of two?': Skr. *ka-tará-s* etc., see p. 190 above. Goth. *an-þar* O.H.G. *andar (andremo andran* with West Germanic syncope) 'other': Lith. *añ-tra-s* 'other'.

Combination of comparative suffixes. O.H.G. *win-is-tar* 'left', see p. 190 above. *-(t)ero-* + *-ies- -is-*: O.H.G. *unt-arōro* beside *unt-aro, for-drōro* beside *for-dro* and the like, A.S. *ūt-er-ra* beside *ūt-ra, æfter-ra* beside *æft-ra*, etc. O.H.G. superl. *unt-arōsto* from *unt-aro, for-darōsto* from *for-dro fordaro, af-tristo* from *af-tro* and the like.

Remark. O.Icel. *aus-tr* 'east' O.H.G. *ōs-tra ōs-tara* f. 'Easter' *ōstar* 'eastwards' (*ōstar* : *ōstana* = *hintar* : *hintana*), A.S. *ēástra ēásterra* 'more easterly', also Goth. *Ōstro-gotha*: cp. Lat. *aus-ter austr-āli-s*, and further Avest. *ušas-tara-* 'easterly'. Should we consider the Germanic and the Latin word as the extension of a noun-stem **aus-to-* by *-ero-*, or as derivatives in *-tero-* from an adverb **aus*, or as the regular phonetic representatives of a form **aus-(e)s-t(e)ro-*? In Germanic the names for the other quarters of the heavens are exactly parallel to the word for east, so far as their inflexional part is concerned, cp. e. g. O.Icel. *westr norðr suðr*, A.S. compar. *westerra norðerra sūðerra. norðr* appears to be connected with Gr. *νέρτερο-ς* Umbr. *nertro-*. In proper names we find also *Ausi- Auri-* beside *Austro- Austar-*, and *Wese- Wisi- (Wese-gothae Wisigothae)* beside *Westar-*.

Balto-Slavonic. *-ero-* cannot be identified with certainty. Perhaps in O.C.Sl. *sěv-erŭ* Lith. *sziau-r-ỹ-s* 'north wind'?

O.C.Sl. *ję-tro* 'liver' from Idg. **en* 'in', and beside it *ą-tro-ba*

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f. 'intestines, belly' *ą-tr-ĭ* adv. 'inside' beside O.C.Sl. *vŭ* for **on*, cp. p. 189. O.C.Sl. *ju-tro u-tro* 'morning' loc. *jutrě utrě* 'to-morrow', from *ju u* Lith. *jaũ* 'iam' (whence also O.C.Sl. *junŭ* Lith. *jáuna-s* 'young', see § 66 p. 149).

Lith. *ka-trà-s* 'which of two, which, who?' O.C.Sl. *ko-tery-jĭ ko-tory-jĭ* 'who?': Skr. *ka-tará-* etc., see p. 190 above. Lith. *añ-tra-s* 'other, second' fem. *antrà*: Goth. *an-þar*; in O.C.Sl. *vŭ-torŭ*, which corresponds in meaning, the form of the root is unexplained. O.C.Sl. *je-terŭ* 'any one', from the pronominal stem *je-*: Skr. *ya-tará-*, relat. 'which of two'.

§ 76. The Suffix -lo- -lā-, -l̥lo- -l̥lā-.[1])

For the variation between *-l̥lo-* and *-lo-* see I § 287 p. 229.

In the proethnic and later periods it is both primary and secondary, forming adjectives and substantives. In its primary use *-lo-* serves especially to form nouns of the agent and instrument; as a secondary suffix it is used especially to form diminutives: in the latter use *-lo-* was exceedingly fertile in Latin, Germanic and Lithuanian.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *tu-rá-* 'mighty, strong' *tū-la-m* 'panicle, tuft, reed, cotton' *tū-lā* 'cotton plant', Gr. *τύ-λο-ς τύ-λη* (also *τύ-λη*) 'swelling, lump', Lith. *tú-la-s* 'so many', i. e. 'a good number of' O.C.Sl. *ty-lŭ* 'neck', √ *teu̯-* 'tumere'. Skr. *ci-rá-* 'long', *ci-rá-m* 'delay, delaying', Goth. *hvei-la* 'while, time'. Armen. *dai-l da-l* 'beestings', Gr. *θη-λή* 'mother's breast', Lat. *fēlāre*, O.Ir. *de-l* 'teat', O.H.G *ti-la* 'woman's breast', Lett. *dé-l-s* (stem *dé-la-*) 'son' Lith. *pirm-dė-l-ẽ* 'one that has borne a child for the first time', √ *dhē(i̯)-* 'suck'; cp. also Gr. *θῆ-λυ-ς* 'suckling, female' Skr. *dhā-rú-ṣ* 'sucking' with *-lu-* (§ 107). Gr. Lac. *ἑλλᾱ́* 'seat' for **ἑδ-λᾱ* (I § 364 p. 277), Lat. *sella* for **sed-lā* (I § 369

1) Besides the authorities given in the footnote on p. 180 cp. Osthoff, Die Suffixform *-sla-*, vornemlich im German., Paul-Brauno's Beitr. III 335 ff.; Vogel, Lateinische Deminutiva auf *-ulus*, Mitau 1876; Lissner, Über den Suffixcomplex *-ti-li-* im Lat., Eger 1874; von Paucker, Die [lat.] Deminutiva mit dem Suffix *-c-ulus*, *a*, *um*, Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1876 p. 595 ff., and the same writer, Die [lat.] Deminutiva mit doppeltem *l* (*-ęllus*, *-illus*, *-ullus* etc.), Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIII 169 ff.

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p. 280), Goth. *sit-l-s* 'seat', O.C.Sl. *selo* 'fundus' (Lower Sorb. *sedlo* 'seat' Upper Sorb. *sydlo* 'abode' Czech *sed-l-ák* 'peasant') for **sed-lo-* (I § 548 p. 402). Idg. **ǧhes-lo- *ǧhes-l-iio-*: Skr *sa-hásra-m* 'thousand' *sa-hasríya-s* 'thousandfold', Gr. *δεκά-χῖλοι* 'ten thousand' Lesb. *χέλλιοι* Dor. *χήλιοι* Att. *χίλιοι* 'thousand' from **χεσ-λο-* (I § 565 p. 423); for the *ī* of *δεκά-χῖλοι* and *χίλιοι* I can now refer to Thurneysen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 353.

Gr. Hom. *ὀμίχ-λη* Lith. *mig-là myg-là* (also *myg-là* with the suffix *-ḷā-*) O.C.Sl. *mьg-la* 'mist'. Skr. *aj-irá-* 'mobile, quick', compare Lat. *ag-ili-s* (transferred from the *o-* to the *i-* declension), which may represent either **aǧ-ḷlo-* or **aǧ-lo-*.

In Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we frequently find *-s-lo-*, which was taken from forms where *-s-* was the so-called root-determinative, like Lat. *āla* for **axlā* (cp. *axilla*) O.Sax. *ahsla* O.H.G. *ahsala* 'shoulder' beside Skr. *ákṣa-s* O.H.G. *ahsa* Lat. *axi-s* Lith. *aszì-s* 'axle' for **aǧ + s-* from **aǧ-* 'drive, set in motion'; O.H.G. *dehsala* O.C.Sl. *tesla* 'axe' beside Avest. *taša* 'axe' Gr. *τόξο-ν* 'bow' O.H.G. *dehsa* 'hatchet, trowel' from **teḳ- + s-*.

In the same way were formed e. g. Lat. *vēlu-m* 'sail' (cp. *vexillu-m*) O.C.Sl. *veslo* 'oar' from **ϱeǧh + slo-* ('means of moving'), √ *ϱeǧh-* 'vehere'.

-lo- as a secondary suffix. Skr. *nābhīla-m* 'pudenda, navel', Gr. *ὀμφαλό-ς* 'navel, boss of a shield', Lat. *umbil-īcu-s*, O.Ir. *imbl-iu* 'navel', O.H.G. *nabolo* O.Icel. *nafle* m. 'navel', beside Skr. *nábhi-ṣ* 'nave, navel', Lat. *umbō* 'boss of a shield', O.H.G. *naba* 'nave', Pruss. *nabi-s* 'nave, navel' Lett. *nabba* 'navel'. Skr. *túm-ra-* 'swelling, fat, strong', Lat. *tumulu-s*, O.Icel. *þumall* m. 'thumb', beside Skr. *tū-tu-má-* Avest. *tū-ma-* 'strong, powerful' etc., see § 72 p. 171. Skr. *bahu-lá-* 'thick' Gr. *παχυ-λό-ς* 'rather thick', beside Skr. *bahú-ṣ* Gr. *παχύ-ς* 'thick'. Skr. *aṅku-rá-s* 'a swelling, tumour', Gr. *ὀγκύ-λο-ς* 'swollen, proud' (whence *ὀγκύλλομαι*) *ἀγκύ-λο-ς* 'crooked' (older accentuation **ὀγκυλό-ς *ἀγκυλό-ς*, see I § 676, 4 p. 542 f.); we should perhaps also compare O.H.G. *angul* O.Icel. *ǫngull* m. 'fishhook, angle', pr. Germ. **aŋgulá-*, cp. Skr. *aṅku-šá-s* 'hook'. The diminutival sense is clearly marked e. g. in Lat. *porculu-s porcil-ia* O.H.G *farhel-i* n. Lith.

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parszēl-i-s 'little pig, sucking pig' compared with *porcu-s farah parsza-s* 'pig', Lat. *rotula* Lith. *ratēl-i-s* 'little wheel' beside *rota rāta-s* 'wheel' (the diminutival sense of the *l*-derivative in Lithuanian is certainly older than the addition of the further suffix *-i̯o-*, although the latter is also a diminutive suffix, see § 63, 2). Here belong also pet-names like Skr. *bhānu-la-* Gr. *Θρασύ-λο-ς* O.Ir. *Tuath-al* Goth. *Vulfi-la* Pruss. *Bu̯til*, for which see below.

The termination *-e-lo-* is exceedingly common and certainly dates from the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic; but in many cases we cannot tell whether the stem to which it is added is verbal or nominal.

Aryan. Skr. *sthū-rá- sthū-lá-* 'massive, strong, rough, stupid': Gr. *σχῦ-λο-ς* 'pillar'. Skr. *has-rá-* 'laughing', with which Windisch would compare Gr. *χεῖλο-ς* n. 'lip' for **χεσ-λ-ος*. Avest. *tiγra-* 'point': Goth. *stik-l-s*, see below. Avest. *stax-ra-* 'strong, firm': O.H.G. *stah-al*, see below. Skr. *sa-hásra-m* Avest. *ha-zaŋre-m* 'thousand': Gr. Lesb. *χέλλ-ιοι*, see p. 199 above. Skr. *gō-la-s* 'ball', *gō-la-m gō-lā* 'spherical water-vessel': Gr. *γαυ-λό-ς* 'pail, vessel' *γαῦ-λο-ς* 'trading ship' (O.H.G. *chiol* and O.Icel. *kjōll* 'ship' can hardly be compared with this group of words; their vocalism seems to shew that they come from a different root). Avest. *zaf-ra-* n. (beside *zafar*[e]) 'mouth, throat': O.Sąx. *kaf-l* A.S. *ceaf-l* m. 'jaw' (of animals).

-l̥lo-. Skr. *ajirá-s*; see above. *suš-irá-s šuš-irá-s* (see I § 557, 4 p. 413) 'hollow, a reed', n. 'hole, wind instrument': Gr. *αὐλ-ός* 'reed, pipe, flute' for **σαυσ-λο-ς*. Skr. *áṇgira-*, name of divine beings who were regarded as mediators between men and gods: Gr. *ἄγγελο-ς* 'messenger': the *g* of the Skr. form implies that the original form was not **áṇgə-lo-* (cp. Skr. *áni-la-s* 'wind' Gr. *ἄνε-μο-ς* for **anə-*, beside Skr. *áni-mi*), but **áng-l̥lo-*, see I § 445 p. 331, § 450 p. 333 f. We should no doubt add *tum-ura- tum-ula-* 'loud, noisy' beside *tum-ala-*, with the same meaning (cp. *tṛpá-la* beside *tṛp-rá-* 'restless, anxious'): Lat. *tumul-tu-s*: the word is usually connected, and perhaps rightly, with Skr. *túm-ra-* 'swelling puffed up' (see p. 198 above.)

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-lo- in secondary use. Skr. *nābhīla-m*, *túm-ra-* (ultimately also *tum-ura-*), *bahu-lá-*, *aṅku-rá-s*; see above. Further, with diminutive sense, *vṛ́ša-lá-s* 'mannikin, small man' (*vṛ́ṣan-* 'man'), *śiśú-la-s* 'little child' (*śíśu-ṣ* 'child'), *śalāka-lá* 'small splinter' (*śalākā* 'splinter'). Add pet names like *bhānu-la-* cp *bhānu--datta-*, *pitṛ-la-* cp. *pitṛ-datta-*, *dēvila-* cp. *dēva-datta-*.

Remark 1. We may add here a number of forms from Aryan, in which it is doubtful whether the suffix is Idg. *-ro-* or *-lo-*, cp. § 74 p. 182. Skr. *dū-rá-* Avest. O.Pers. *dū-ra-* 'distant'. Skr. *krū-rá-* 'bloody, wounded, cruel, gruesome', Avest. *xrū-ra-* 'wounding, horrible'. Skr. *śrī-lá-* 'beautiful' *a-śrīrá-* *a-ślīla-* 'not beautiful, ugly' Avest. *srī-ra-* 'beautiful', cp. compar. Skr. *śrḗ-yas-*. Skr. *ugy-rá-* Avest. *uγy-ra-* 'strong, mighty'. Skr. *ágra-m* Avest. *aγ-re-m* 'beginning'. Skr. *kṣip-rá-* 'quick', *miś-rá-* 'mixed' *á-miśla-* 'intermingling', *vak-rá-s* 'crooked', *pā-lá-s* 'protector, herdsman', *rándh-ra-m* 'opening'. Avest. *hix-re-m* 'fluid, impurity'.

-ṛro- -ḷlo-. Skr. *dhvas-irá-* (beside *dhvas-rá-*) 'scattering', *mad-irá-* 'gladdening', *sar-irá- sal-ilá-* 'flowing, undulating', n. 'wave, flood', *tṛd-ilá-* 'perforated, porous'. In Iranian the regular phonetic developement reduced *-ṛro- -ḷlo-* and *-e-ro- -e-lo-* to one form *-ara-*, and they are thus indistinguishable.

-ro- -lo- in secondaryuse; Skr. *ásu-ra-* Avest. *ahu-ra-* O.Pers. *au-ra-* (in *aura-mazdāh-*) meaning perhaps 'lord', epithet of divinities, compared with Skr. *ásu-* 'vital spirit'; for the etymology of the word see von Bradke, Ztschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges. XL. 347 ff. Skr. *pū́su-rá-* 'dusty' (*pū́sú-ṣ* 'dust'). *madhu-ra- madhu-lá-* 'sweet' (*mádhu* 'sweetness, honey'). *muṣka-rá-* 'having testicles' (*muṣká-s* 'testicle'). *phēna-lá-* 'foamy' (*phḗna-s* 'foam'). In the following words the primary stem has no final *-a-*: *dhūm-rá-* 'gray' (*dhūmá-s* 'smoke'), *rath-irá-* 'travelling in a chariot' (*rátha-s* 'chariot'), *phēn--ila-* beside *phēna-lá-* 'foamy'.

The addition of *-ra- -la-* to stems in *-van-* is particularly common. The combination *-vara- -vala-* (cp. p. 182 for Skr. *pīvara-* Gr. *πιερό-ς* = Idg. **pī-ue-ró-*) was taken into common use as an independent suffix. Skr. *adhvará-s* 'festal gathering' (*ádhvan-* 'way') *it-varā-* 'going' (*itvan-* 'going'), and further *vid-valá-* 'clever' (*vid-* 'know'), *kṛṣī-valá-* 'husbandman' (*kṛṣī-ṣ* 'husbandry') and other words. *-varī* is a common fem. termination from adjectives in *-van-*; e. g. *yáj-varī* from *yáj-van-* 'pious', *ṛtāvarī* Avest. *ašāv-airi* from *ṛtā́van- ašāvan-* 'pious'. In Avestic, certain nom.-acc. neut. end in *-varə*, e. g. *miθ-varə* from *miθ-wan-* n. 'pair', *karš-varə* from *karš-van-* n., the name for the seven divisions of the earth: cp. Gr. *πῑ-(ϝ)αϱ* 'fat' beside *πιερό-ς* *πιαρό-ς*.

Compare with this *-vara- -vala-* Skr. *admará-* 'ravenous' from *ad--man-* n. 'food', *sidhmalá-* 'leprous' from *sid-man- sid-má-* 'leprosy'; further, O.H.G. O.Sax. *himil* beside Goth. *himin-s* 'heaven', A.S. *ðymel* 'thumb-stall, finger-guard' beside *ðūma* m. (acc. *ðūman*) 'thumb'.

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Armenian *dai-l da-l* 'beestings': Gr. *θη-λή* etc., see above p. 198.

Here too no doubt belong infinitives in *-l*, as *ta-l* 'to give' (indic. *ta-m*), *bere-l* 'to carry' (*bere-m*), *meṙani-l* 'to die' (*meṙani-m*).

Greek. *στῦ-λο-ς* 'pillar': Skr. *sthū-rá- sthū-lá-*, see above p. 200. *πῖ-λο-ς* 'felt': Lat. *pi-lu-s* 'hair' and the derivative *pīleu-s* 'felt' (also written *pilleus*, see I § 612 p. 463 [1]). *καυ-λό-ς* 'stalk': Lat. *cau-lae* pl. 'cavities' (cp. also Lat. *cau-li-s* 'stalk'), Lith. *káu-la-s* 'bone'. *ζεύγ-λη* 'yoke-ring, thong': cp. Lat. *jug-ulae* pl. 'Orion's girdle of stars'. *τυφ-λό-ς* 'blind'. *στρεβ-λό-ς* 'twisted'. *ἔκ-παγλο-ς* 'awful, terrible' for **ἐκ-πλαγ-λο-ς*, from *ἐκ-πλαγ-ῆναι*, see I § 266 p. 215. *φῦ-λο-ν* 'stem, race' *φῡ-λή* 'community' *ἄεθ-λο-ς ἄθ-λο-ς* 'contest' *ἄεθ-λο-ν ἆθ-λο-ν* 'prize'. *στρέβ-λη* 'roll, roller'.

By the side of the adjectives in pr. Gr. *-η-ρο-ς* (§ 74 p. 184) there were others in *-η-λο-ς*, like Hom. *κατα-ρῑγηλό-ς* 'making one shudder, terrible' (*κατα-ρρῑγέω*), *μῑμηλό-ς* 'imitative, imitated' (*μῑμέομαι*), including such substantival *nomina agentis* as *κάπηλο-ς* 'huckster', Lac. *δεί-κηλο-ς* (and the extended form *δεικηλικτᾶ-ς*) 'actor'. Cp. Lat. *cicindēla* (below, Remark 2) and Lith. *tekė̃-la-s* beside *tekė̃-tī* (see below).

πί̆αλο-ς 'fat', like *πῖαρό-ς*, from *πῖαίνω* (see § 74 Rem. p. 185), extended *πῑαλέο-ς* 'fat' (see § 64 p. 135); like the latter are formed *ἰκμαλέο-ς* 'damp', from *ἰκμαίνω*, *κρῡμαλέο-ς* 'frosty', from *κρῡμαίνω*, *δειμαλέο-ς* 'timid, terrible' from *δειμαίνω*, and many other similar words.

-l̥lo-. *κεφ-αλή* beside *κέβ-λη* 'head': Goth. *gib-la* m. 'spire' O.H.G. *gebal* m. 'skull, head', √ *ghebh-*. *πέτ-αλο-ς* 'outspread' *πέτ-αλο-ν* 'leaf'. *αἴθ-αλο-ς* 'soot'. *κρέμβ-αλο-ν* 'rattle'.

-lo- -l̥lo- in secondary use. *παχυ-λό-ς, ὀγκύ-λο-ς*, see p. 199. *ἡδύ-λο-ς* 'sweetish' (*ἡδύ-ς* 'sweet'), *ὀρῑμύ-λο-ς* 'somewhat sharp' (*ὀρῑμύ-ς* 'sharp'), both with shifted accent like *ὀγκύλο-ς* (see I § 676, 4, p. 542 f.). *δαυλό-ς* 'thickly overgrown' for **δασυ-λο-ς*, from *δασύ-ς* 'thickly grown', *τραυλό-ς* 'lisping, snarling, stuttering'

1) In the first sentence of this section of the English edition (p. 462) instead of '*nasal liquid explosive or* sonant', read '*nasal liquid explosive or* spirant' (Geräuschlaut).

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for *τρασυ-λο-ς beside Skr. *tṛṣú-ṣ* 'brisk, impetuous' (Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalaccent 63). *ὁμ-αλό-ς* 'smooth, even', from *ὁμό-*: Lat. *simili-s*, for older **sem-lo-* or **sem-l̥lo-*. *χθαμ-αλό-ς* 'low', beside *χθον-* 'earth' for **χθομ-* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 2): Lat. *hum-ili-s*. Words like *παχυ-λό-ς*, where *-λο-* acts as a diminutive suffix, gave rise to a number of new formations, most of which however appear only in later Greek; as *μικκ-ύλο-ς* 'small', from *μικκό-ς*, *ἀρκτ-ύλο-ς* 'young bear', from *ἄρκτο-ς*; and to extended formations with *-i̯o-* like *καθαρ-ύλλο-ς* 'cleanly' (*καθαρό-ς* 'clean'), to which again a further diminutive suffix was added, e. g. *ἀνθ-ύλλ-ιο-ν* 'floweret' (*ἄνθος*), *ἐπ-ύλλ-ιο-ν* 'small poem' (*ἔπος*). Pet names with *-λο-* are common. *Ὀνησί-λο-ς* cp. *Ὀνησι-κράτης*, *Ταξί-λο-ς* cp. *Ταξι-κλῆς*; hence *-ιλο-ς* became an independent ending, e. g. *Σω-ῖλο-ς* cp. *Σω-κράτης*. Further, we have names of this kind extended by *-i̯o-* as *Τ̔ρψι-λλο-ς*, cp. *Τερψι-κλῆς*; then *-ιλλο-ς* also became an independent ending, as *Δόρ-ιλλο-ς* cp. *Δορύ-λᾱος*. *Θρασύ-λο-ς* cp. *Θρασύ-μαχο-ς*, *Βαθυ-λο-ς* cp. *Βαθύ-λᾱο-ς*, hence such forms as *Ἀγ-ύλο-ς Ἠγ-ύλο-ς* cp. *Ἀγέ-στρατο-ς Ἡγέ-στρατο-ς*; with the *-i̯o-* extension we have e. g. *Βάθυ-λλο-ς* beside *Βαθύ-λο-ς*, hence forms like *Νῖκ-υλλο-ς* cp. *Νῑκο-μήδης*.

We may regard either as primary or as denominative formations adjectives in *-ā-λο-*, such as *σῑγηλό-ς* (Pind. *σῑγᾱλό-ς*) 'silent, quiet' beside *σῑγάω* 'I am silent' and *σῑγή* 'silence', *ἀπατη-λό-ς* 'deceitful' beside *ἀπατάω* 'I deceive' and *ἀπάτη* 'deceit', cp. *-ᾱ-ρο-* § 74 p. 184 f. The same is generally true of forms in *-ε-λο-* = Idg. *-e-lo-*, e. g. **τραπ-ε-λό-ς* 'turning' in *εὐ-τράπελο-ς* 'turning easily': Lat. *torculu-s* for **torcu̯-lo-* (I § 431*c* p. 320 f.); *στυφ-ε-λό-ς* beside *στυφ-λό-ς* 'solid, compact, firm, hard'; *εἴκ-ε-λο-ς* 'like, similar'; *μῡ-ε-λό-ς* 'marrow'; *σκόπ-ε-λο-ς* 'rock'; *νεφ-έ-λη* 'cloud': Lat. *nebula*, O.Ir. *nēl* 'cloud' for **neb-lo-*, O.H.G. *neb-ul* m. 'cloud'; *ἀγ-έ-λη* 'herd': cp. O.Lat. *agolo-* n. 'pastorale baculum, quo pecudes *aguntur*' (Paul. Fest.). The *-λο-* of *-ε-λο-* can be more certainly identified as a secondary suffix in *πῑ-με-λή* 'fat' and *θυ-μέ-λη* 'place of offering', to be compared with *ἡ-μέ-ρᾱ* and similar words, but in no other examples.

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Italic. Ital. **fē-lo-* in Lat. *fēl-āre fīl-iu-s*, Umbr. feliuf *filiu* acc. 'lactantes' fel. (abbreviation) 'filius': Gr. θη-λή 'mother's breast', Lett. *dē-l-s* 'son' etc., see above p. 198. Lat. *sella* for **sed-lā:* Gr. ἑλλά etc., see above, p. 198 f. *grallae* 'stilts', compared with *gradior*. *rallu-m (ā?)* 'ploughshare' beside *rādula* 'scraper' (is this for orig. **rād-ļlā*, or a new formation of later date?) from *rādō*; also *rallu-s (ā?)* 'close shorn'. *caęlu-m* 'chisel' from *caedō*. *pīlu-m* 'pestle' for **pins-lo-m* (I § 208 p. 175 f.). *exem-p-lu-m* (from *eximō*, 'something taken out', hence) 'specimen, type', *tem-p-lu-m* (cp. Gr. τέμνω, 'something cut off', hence) 'holy precinct, temple', with *-p-* as a glide sound (I § 208 p. 175). *assecla*, from *assequor*.

-ulo- ulā- are very frequent in Latin. In the forms *assecula* beside *assecla*, *vinculu-m* beside *vinclu-m*, *torculu-s (torqueō)*, *coculu-m (coquō)*, as in *trāgula (trahō)*, *-ulo- -ulā-* were developed from *-lo- -lā-* during the Latin period, see I § 269 p. 218, § 431 *c* p. 320 f., § 509 p. 373. Elsewhere it is doubtful, whether Idg. *-lo-* or *-ļlo-* or *-e-lo-* was the original suffix; e. g. in the *nomina instrumenti*, like *capulu-s capulu-m ex-cipulu-m* (cp. O.H.G. *hev-ilo* 'yeast', the means of making something rise), *cingulu-m cingula*, *tēgulu-m tēgula*, *cōpula*, *rēgula*. Further, in substantival *nomina agentis*, as *figulu-s* 'potter' *legulu-s* 'gatherer', and adjectival *nomina agentis*, which usually imply a culpable tendency to some action, as *bibulu-s*, *crēdulu-s*, *gemulu-s*, *tremulu-s*, *pendulu-s*: cp. Goth. *sakul-s* 'quarrelsome' and the like; see below. In a few cases also it is conceivable that the suffix may represent Idg. *-u-lo-*. Where there has been a transference from the *o-* to the *i-* declension, *-ili-* appears, instead of *-ulo-*. Thus we have *agili-s*: Skr. *ajirá-s*, see above, p. 199. Similarly *bibili-s*, *fragili-s*, *facili-s*, *docili-s*, *habili-s* etc., and by an extension to the *to-* participle *coctili-s*, *fissili-s*, *flexili-s*, *versātili-s*, *volātili-s* etc.

-š-lo- is of common occurrence. *āla*, *vēlu-m*, see p. 199 above. *ālu-m* 'wild garlic' for **an-s-lo-m*, cp. O.C.Sl. *ąch-ati* 'to give forth smell' for **on-s-ātī*, beside Skr. *áni-ti*. *prēlu-m* for **prem-š-lo-m*, from *premō*. *pālu-s pālu-m* for **pac-slo-* or **pāc-slo-*,

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from *pac-īsior*, √*pāk-* 'fasten': cp. Gr. *πάσσαλο-ς* 'peg, nail' as though from a present **πάσσω*, for **παχ-jω* (cp. *πήσσω*), and hence to be compared in point of formation with O.H.G. *deckel* from *decken* = O.Icel. *þekja*. *scāla* for **scantslā*, from *scandō*. For the phonetic changes in these words see I § 208 p. 175 f., § 570 p. 428.

Remark 2. Osthoff (Paul-Braune's Beitr. III 346) would also derive from *-s-lo- -s-lā-* the feminine substantives like *fugēla sequēla querēla*, and *candēla nitēla*, referring, *-ēla* in the former group to **-e-slā* (cp. *fuge-re*), in the latter to **-ē-slā* (cp. *candē-re*), and he compares such Germ. forms as O.H.G. *ruomi-sala* f. *hruomi-sal* n. 'boasting' (see below). This is possible. Still there is nothing to prevent our deriving them from Idg. *-ē-lā-*, and I rather prefer this explanation on account of *cicindēla* 'glow-worm'. This was the feminine of an adjective **cicindēlo-*, which may be compared with Gr. *μιμη-λό-ς*. Accordingly we should regard *candēla* and the other parallel forms as having been originally adjectival.

-lo- -ḷlo- is secondary in *simili-s*, *humīli-s* (with change of declension, see p. 203 above); similarly *parili-s* from *pār*, *pestili-s* from *pesti-s*, *herbili-s* from *herba*. *nūbilu-s* from *nūbēs*. *angulus*, Umbr. *anglom-e* 'in angulum' for **anc-lo-*, compared with Lat. *ancu-s*; similarly O.Lat. *ungulu-s* compared with *uncu-s*; see I § 499 p. 366. Whether *-lo-* is also secondary in Lat. *famul famulus* Osc. *famel* 'servus' *famelo* f. 'familia' (compare Lat. *famil-ia* Umb. fameř-ias pl. 'familiae') may be left an open question; see Danielsson in Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 178.

This suffix was very fertile in forming diminutives. Lat. *catulu-s* Umb. katel 'catulus' katlu 'catulum'. Lat. *porculu-s porcil-ia* beside *porcus*: O.H.G. *farhel-i* n. Lith. *paršzēl-i-s* 'sucking pig'. *rotula* beside *rota*: Lith. *ratēl-i-s*. Other substantives are: *rēgulu-s*, *adulēscentulu-s*, *vīculu-s*, *scūtulu-m*, *glandula*, *nūtrīcula*, *animula*, *mēnsula*; *servolu-s*, *clāvola*; *fīliolu-s*, *glōriola*; *līneo-la*. Adjectives: *loquāculu-s*, *valentulu-s*, *frīgidulu-s*, *barbātulu-s*; *helvolu-s*; *ēbriolu-s*, *aureolu-s*. Umbr. *fondlo-* 'fonticulus' (*fondlir-e* 'in fonticulis') for **font-lo-*, cp. *adro-* I § 499 p. 366. Osc. Núvlā- 'Nola' in Núvlanús pl. 'Nolani' corresponds to a Lat. form **novola* (beside *novo-s*). We should notice also as examples of different phonetic changes; Lat. *stella* for **ster-lā* (Gr. *ἀστήρ* 'star'), *puella* for **puer-lā*, *agellus* for **ager-lo-s*,

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nigellu-s for **niger-lo-s*, *satullu-s* for **satur-lo-s*, *paullu-s paulu-s* for **paur-lo-s* (Gr. *παῦρος* 'small, little'), see I § 269 p. 216, § 633 p. 473 f.; further *asellu-s* for **asen-lo-s*, *fēmella* for **fēmen-lā*, *bellu-s* for **ben-lo-s* (*bene*), *gemellu-s* for **gemen-lo-s*, *sūllu-s* for **suīn-lo-s*, *corōlla* for **corōn-lā*, see I § 208 p. 175; lastly *lapillu-s* for **lapid-lo-s*, see I § 369 p. 280.

In Latin *-lo-* was often added to these diminutives as a further diminutive suffix, e. g. *catellu-s* from *catulu-s*, *cistella* from *cistula*, (*catello-*: orig. **cat-lo-* ≙ **ayer-lo-* *agello-*: *agro-*), *agellulu-s* from *agellu-s*, *puellu-la*, *paullu-lu-s*, *tenellulu-s*, *bellulu-s*.

Another suffix in which the diminutive sense was doubly expressed, but which in the historical period of Latin wasr egarded merely as a single diminutive suffix, arose in proethnic Italic through the addition of *-lo-* to the suffix *-ko-* (§ 88) [1]: Lat. *diē-cula*, Osc. *zi-colois* 'diebus' *zi-culud* 'die' (see I § 73 p. 63 f., § 135 p. 123). Other examples from Latin are: *mūs--culu-s* 'little mouse, muscle' (cp. Skr. *muṣ-ká-* 'testicle' *mūṣ-aka-s mūṣ-ikā* 'rat, mouse', Armen. *mukn* 'mouse, muscle'), *jūs-culu-m*, *corculu-m* i. e. **cord+culu-m*, *māter-cula*, *latrūnculu-s*, *corpus--culu-m*, *melius-culu-s*, *īgni-culu-s*, *resti-cula*, *levi-culu-s*.

Old Irish. O.Ir. *de-l* 'teat': O.H.G. *ti-la* etc., see above p. 198. *cē-l* O.Cymr. *coi-l* 'augurium': Goth. *hái-l-s* 'sound, healthy', O.H.G. *hei-l* 'sound, whole', A.S. *hǣl* O.Icel. *heill* n. (for **hailiz-*) 'luck, favourable omen', Pruss. *kail-ūstikū-n* acc. 'health' O.C.Sl. *cě-lŭ* 'whole, complete'. *nēl* 'cloud' for **neb-lo-*, Cymr. *niwl* 'cloud': Gr. *νεφέλη* etc., see p. 203 above. *coll* m. 'hazel' for **cos-lo-*: Lat. *cor-ulu-s* (*corylu-s*) for **cos-*, O.H.G. *hasal* O.Icel. *hasl* 'hazel'. *temel* 'darkness': Skr. *tam-rá-* 'darkening'. *sē-l* n. 'seed', √*sē-*. *gabul gobul* Mod. Cymr. *gafl* 'forked branch or twig, fork of the thighs'.

-s + lo-. *uall* f. 'exaltation, haughtiness' *uasal* 'high, exalted, noble' Mod.Cymr. *uchel* 'high' Gall. *Ūxello-dūnu-m* 'High-town', compared with O.Ir. *ōs uas* Mod.Cymr. *uch* 'above' for **aŭq-s-* (cp. Lith. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high') from √*aŭq-* 'increase'; *uall* there-

1) G. Curtius (Stud. I 1, 259 ff.) treats this combination as older than the Italic period. I cannot regard this as completely demonstrated.

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fore = *aɣq-s-lā, on the other hand *uasal* must be compared with Lat. *auxiliu-m*, which represents a form **auxulo-*, cp. *famil-ia*: *famulu-s*, *Caecil-iu-s* : *Caecŭlu-s*. *ciall* Mod.Cymr. *pwyll* 'wit understanding' orig. **qei̯-slā-*, cp. Skr. *ci-ké-ti ci-nó-ti* 'observes, finds out'. Perhaps we should add *giall* 'hostage' pr. Kelt. **gēslo-*: O.H.G. *gīsal* O.Icel. *gīsl* m. 'prisoner of war, prisoner held as a surety', common ground-form **ghei̯slo-*; the etymology of the word has not been explained; the vocalism of the Keltic word is against its connexion with Lat. *haereō*, which Osthoff considered certain (Z. Gesch. d. Perf. 630).

-lo- occurs with diminutival force in pet names, such as *Tuathal* cp. *Tuath-char*; cp. also Gall. *Teutalu-s*, *Camulu-s*, *Toutillu-s*, *Catullu-s*.

Germanic. Goth. *fū-l-s* O.H.G. *fū-l* 'foul': Lith. *pú-lei* pl. 'pus, matter', stem *pū-l-ja-*. O.H.G. *siu-la* f. 'awl, punch': Lith. *siú-la-s* 'thread for stitching' *siū-l-ė̃* 'seam', perhaps also Gr. *ὑ-λ-ίαι* pl. 'pieces of leather for shoe soles' (Hesych.). O.H.G. O.Icel. *sei-l* n. 'rope' O.H.G. *si-lo* m. 'straps for draught cattle, harness': Lith. *àt-sei-l-i-s* 'the iron which joins the connecting rod to the axle, the crank', *àt-sai-l-ė* 'connecting pole between the splinter-bar and the axle'. Goth. *stō-l-s* O.H.G. *stuo-l* 'stool, seat': Lith. *pa-stó-la-s* 'stand', pl. 'carpenter's scaffolding', Goth. *stik-l-s* O.H.G. *stechal* m. 'drinking vessel, goblet' (properly used of drinking horns that run to a point, then of other drinking vessels): Avest. *tiγ-ra-* 'point'. O.H.G. *hag-al* m. O.Icel. *hag-l* n. 'hail' is presumably to be compared with Gr. *κάχλ-ηξ* 'small stone, pebble'. O.H.G. *stah-al* m. O.Icel. *stāl* n. 'steel': Avest. *stax-ra-* 'strong, firm', Pruss. *panu-stacla-n* acc. 'steel for kindling fire'.

Goth. *ag-l-s* 'terrible', beside *ōg* 'I am afraid'. Mid.H.G. *krol*, gen. *krolles* 'in ringlets, curled' pr. Germ. **kruz-lá-*, see I § 582 p. 436. O.H.G. *zī-la* 'line, row', beside *zī-t* pr. Germ. **tī-đi-* 'time'. Goth. *fug-l-s* O.H.G. *fog-al* m. 'bird', for **fluz-la-*?, see I § 277 p. 221. Goth. *þvah-l* n. 'bath'. Goth. *fair-veit-l* n. 'stage play'. O.H.G. *scūv-al* A.S. *sceof-l* f. Dutch *schoff-l* 'shovel', beside O.H.G. *scioban* 'shove, push'.

The following examples probably contain *-l̥lo-*: Goth. *hakul-s*

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O.Icel. *hǫkull* m. 'mantle' beside O.Icel. *hek-la* 'mantle'. O.Icel. *sǫðull* O.H.G. *satul* m. 'saddle'. O.H.G. *snabul* m. 'snout'. Adjectival *nomina agentis* generally imply an inclination to something: Goth. *sakul-s* 'quarrelsome', *slahul-s* (beside *slahal-s*) 'apt to strike', O.Icel. *hugull* (beside *hugall*) 'careful, thoughtful', O.Sax. *slāpol* 'lethargic' *fluzol* 'fleeting' (in O.H.G. *-al*, as *ezzal* 'ravenous', *sprungal* 'saliens'); forms like A.S. *hlaz-ol* 'inclined to laughing' (beside *hliehhan* 'to laugh') indicate that the suffix was originally accented. Also in secondary use, as Goth. *vein-ul-s* 'bibulous' from *vein* n. 'wine' (O.H.G. *wort-al* 'talkative' from *wort* n. 'word').

-s-lo- is frequent; it is nowhere so fertile as in Germanic. O.H.G. *ahsala*, *dehsala*, see p. 199. Goth. *þreihsl* n. 'distress', from *þreiha* 'I press' for pr. Germ. **þreŋχō* (I § 214 p. 181). Goth. *skōh-sl* n. 'evil spirit'. Goth. *hunsl* A.S. *hūsel* O.Icel. *hūsl* n. 'offering' for **χuunt-sla-*, compared with Avest. *spent-a-* O.C.Sl. *svętŭ* 'holy', cp. I § 180 p. 158 (where **χuunt-sla-m* should be read for **χuunt+tla-m*) and § 413 p. 303. O.H.G. *wehsal* m. O.Icel. *vīxl* n. 'change', compared with O.H.G. *wīhhan*. O.H.G. *knuosal* A.S. *cnōsl* n. 'family, cp. Gr. *γνω-τό-ς* 'a relative'. O.Icel. *beisl* n. 'bit, curb' ground-form **bhoiḍ + slo-*, beside Goth. *beita* 'I bite'. In particular many nouns were formed in *-isla-* in connexion with verbs in *-jan*, as Goth. *svartisl* n. 'blackness, ink' beside **svartjan* O.Icel. *sverta* 'to blacken', O.H.G. *irrisal* 'error' beside *irren*, *truobisal* 'affliction' beside *truoben* 'to trouble', *ruomisal* and *hruomisala* 'ostentation, boasting' beside *hruomen* 'to boast'. Later the suffix was added to noun stems, as in Mid.H.G. *twanc-sal* 'restriction' from *twanc* 'force', *fluht-sal* 'a fleeing, escape' from *fluht* 'flight'. From the Middle High German period onwards it was regarded as a distinct word in composition. Cp. *-s-tuo-* § 61, *-s-tro-* § 62, *-s-ti-* § 100, *-s-tu-* § 108, *-s-men-* § 117.

Pr. Germ. *-ila-* is very frequent, and difficult to explain with certainty. If Paul (in his Beitr. IV 235) is right in holding that pre-Germanic *-ḷlo-* in the proethnic Germanic period passed sometimes into *-ula-*, sometimes into *-ela-* later *-ila-*,

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according to the varying intensity of the accent, then some of the forms in *-ila-* must be added to the examples given above of Idg. *-ḷlo-* (with pr. Germ. *-ula-*), and we could derive Goth. *mikil-s* A.S. *mikil* O.H.G. *mihhil* O.Icel. *mikell* 'great', with Gr. *μεγάλο-*, from a ground-form **meg-ḷlo-*. But this law does not seem to me clearly established. In any case some of the forms with pr. Germ. *-ila-* are to be referred to Idg. *-e-lo-*. A certain number may represent an Idg. *-i-lo-*. If we exclude more or less isolated formations, like the already mentioned *mikil-s*, Goth. *ubil-s* O.H.G. *ubil* 'evil, bad' (perhaps the meaning is 'going beyond bounds, transgressing rules', so that we should compare O.H.G. *ubir* 'over' Gr. *ὑπέρ*), and Goth. *in-ilō* f. 'excuse, motive' (beside *fair-ina* f. 'charge, ground of complaint'), pr. Germ. *-ila-* is found especially in substantival *nomina agentis* and in diminutives. Hence these two classes may be placed here:

Substantival *nomina agentis*. O.H.G. *brūt-pitil* 'wooer, suitor's advocate' O.Icel. *biðell* 'one who asks'. O.Sax. *crupel* O.Icel. *krypell* 'cripple' ('creeper'), beside O.Icel. *krjūpa* 'to creep'. O.H.G. *tripil* 'charioteer' ('driver'), *putil* 'beadle' ('summoner'), *tregil* 'carrier', *drāhsil* 'turner'. Names of creatures like O.H.G. *wibil* O.Icel. *vifell* 'chafer, beetle' (Mid.H.G. *webelen weberen*, *wabelen waberen* 'move hither and thither'): cp. Lith. *vāb-alà-s* 'chafer', O.H.G. *tūhhil* 'mergus'. Further, names of tools (cp. § 150), like O.H.G. *meizil* O.Icel. *meitell* 'chisel' ('cutter'), beside Goth. *máitan* 'to cut', O.H.G. *sluzzil* O.Sax. *slutil* 'key' ('shutter'), O.H.G. *slegil* 'mallet', *stōzil* 'pestle, beetle', *driscil*, also fem. *driscila*, 'flail', *spinnila* 'spindle'. *-ila-* occurs also as a secondary suffix: O.H.G. *reitil wagan-reitil* 'charioteer' from *reita* 'car, carriage'. We have also examples of *nomina agentis* without an *i* preceding the *l*-suffix: O.H.G. *tāhhal* beside *tūhhil*, *staphul* 'grasshopper', *scūvala* 'shovel'.

Diminutives. O.H.G. *bendil* O.Icel. *bendell* m. 'small band, redimicula' Mod.H.G. dial. (Rh.-Frank.) *bendel*, which has lost its diminutive meaning. O.H.G. *stengil* 'stalk' (no longer regarded as a diminutive), from *stanga* 'pole'. The forms have for the most part passed over to the *n*-declension: O.H.G. *scalchilo* m. 'servulus' from *scalch* m. 'servus', *līhhamilo* m. 'corpusculum' from

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lĭhhamo m. 'corpus'; Goth. *mavilō* O.Icel. *meyla* f. 'little maiden' beside Goth. *mavi* f. 'maid, damsel', O.H.G. *niftila* f. 'niece' from *nift* f. 'niece', *turila* f. 'small door' from *turi* f. 'door'; Goth. *barnilō* n. 'little child' from *barn* n. 'child'. Add pet names like Goth. *Vulfila* O.H.G. *Wolfilo* cp. O.H.G. *Wolf-hart*, O.H.G. *Gundilo* cp. *Gund-hart*. Examples of diminutives without an *i* before the *l*-suffix: Goth. *magu-la* m. 'little boy' from *magu-s* m. 'boy', O.H.G. *morhala* f. 'moril, edible mushroom' from *moraha* f. 'carrot', O.H.G. *Bodulo Bodalo* by the side of *Bodilo*, O.Icel. *Sinfjǫtli* by the side of O.H.G. *Sintarfizzilo*.

The diminutival *l*-suffix was extended by other diminutival elements. O.H.G. *turilī* (*turilīn*) Mid.H.G. *türlīn* from *turila*. *chindilī* (*chindilīn*) 'little child'; for the origin of this extension see Kluge, Stammbild. p. 29. O.H.G. *jungal-ing* O.Icel. *ungl-ingr* 'a youth', O.Icel. *mȳslingr* from *mȳsla* 'little mouse', which itself is derived from *mūs* 'mouse'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *gai-la-s* (and with changed declension *gai-lù-s*) 'ill-tempered, liable to bite (of dogs)' O.C.Sl. *(d)zĕ-lŭ* 'violent': O.H.G. *gei-l* 'ungovernable, petulant, wanton'. Lith. *mig-là myg-là* O.C.Sl. *mĭg-la* 'mist': Gr. Hom. *ὀμίχ-λη* 'mist'. Lith. *āk-la-s* 'blind': Lat. *aquilu-s*. O.C.Sl. *strĕ-la* f. 'arrow': O.H.G. *strā-la* f. 'arrow, flash of lightning'. O.C.Sl. *si-la* 'might, strength' Sloven. *si-la* 'haste', cp. Pruss. *sei-li-* 'earnestness, endeavour, diligence' *seiliska-* 'devotion': it is not clear whether we should compare Skr. *śī-la-m* 'custom, character' or Lett. *si-t* 'to bind'. Lith. *aũ-la-s* 'leg of a boot' beside *aũ-ti* 'to cover the feet'. Lett. *ẽ-la* 'road', beside *i-t* 'to go', cp. Lith. *ei-l-ẽ* f. Lett. *ai-l-i-s* m. 'series, row'. O.C.Sl. *ąz-lŭ vąz-lŭ* 'knot'.

-ḷlo- may perhaps be traced in the following instances. Pruss. *sirs-il-i-s* O.C.Sl. *strĭš-ĭlŭ* beside Lith. *szirsz-l-ỹ-s* 'hornet': Dutch *horzel*. Lith. *sprāg-ila-s* 'flail', beside *sprag-ėti* 'to rustle'. O.C.Sl. *koz-ĭlŭ* (*kozlŭ*) 'he-goat', from *koza* 'goat'. *orĭlŭ* 'eagle', beside Lith. *erẽl-i-s* O.H.G. *aro* m. 'eagle'. O.C.Sl. *sedlo* n. 'saddle' for **sedĭlo* (are O.H.G. *satul* A.S. *sadol* 'saddle' borrowed from some Slavonic language?). *svĕtlŭ* 'luminous' for **svĕtĭlŭ*, from *svĕtŭ* 'light'. In considering the last two words itl shoud

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be noted that pr. Slav. **sedlo*, **světlŭ* would necessarily have appeared in O.C.Sl. as **selo*, **svělŭ* (I § 545 p. 399, § 548 p. 402). Cp. also Pruss. names like *Butil* (*buta-* 'house'), *Cantil* (*canta-* 'endurance').

-s-lo- is not uncommon (cp. *-s-li-* § 98). O.C.Sl. *tesla veslo*, see p. 199 above. Pruss. *san-insl-e* f. 'girdle' O.C.Sl. *sŭ-vęslo* n. 'band, fetter' *u-vęslo* n. 'diadem' for **n̥ĝh+s-lo-*, √ *añĝh-* 'tie, press tight', cp. O.C.Sl. *ąz-lŭ* 'knot'. Lith. *mók-sła-s* 'teaching', *krìsła-s* Lett. *krisl-s* 'refuse, fragment' for **krit-sla-*; *mĕszła-s* Lett. *mésl-s*, both usually in pl., 'dung, sweepings' beside Lith. *mĕž-iu* Lett. *méſchu* 'I cleanse out' (I § 414 p. 303); *gý-sła* 'vein, sinew', cp. O.C.Sl. *ži-la* 'vein'; *ůsl-ỹ-s* 'one who scents out' *ůsl-ẽ* 'nostril' for **ůtsl-* beside *ů'džiu* 'I smell': *mį-sl-ẽ* 'riddle'. O.C.Sl. *čislo* 'number' for **čīt-slo* (cp. *čismę* § 117), *pręslo* 'gradus' for **prentslo* from Slav. *prend-* or *prent-* (see Miklosich, Etym. Wörtb. 262), *maslo* 'oil, salve' beside *maz-ati* 'to smear' (I *loc. cit.*).

-e-lo-. In Baltic this is preserved in *-e-l-i̯o-*, as Lith. *dìd-eli-s* 'great' (beside *dìdi-s* 'great' like Gr. μεγάλο- beside μέγας), *er-ẽli-s* 'eagle' (cp. O.C.Sl. *orĭlŭ*); usually with diminutive meaning, as in Lith. *parszẽli-s* 'little pig' *galvẽlė* 'little head'. Cp. also Pruss. names like *Dargelo Dargels* (*darga-* 'dear'). In Slavonic the simple *-elo-* also occurs, though rarely: e. g. *dręselŭ* (beside *dręsŭkŭ*) 'sorrowful, peevish', *cvĭtelŭ* 'flower', *plěvelŭ* 'weed' beside *plěva* Pruss. *pelwo* 'chaff'.

-o-lo-, *-a-lo-* or *-ə-lo-*. In Baltic *-ala-* is fairly common, as in Lith. *mįžałaĩ* pl. Lett. *míſals* 'urine', Lith. *úž-vałkała-s* 'bed-cover' (cp. O.C.Sl. *oblěklo* 'clothing' for **ob-velk-lo*), *ãvała-s* 'foot-covering' (cp. *aũła-s* p. 210), *veĩkała-s* 'business', *snaĩgała* 'snowflake'. In Slavonic it is rarer; O.C.Sl. *sokolŭ* 'falcon'.

Remark 3. For the combinations *-o-lo-*, *-a-lo-*, *-ə-lo-* I can find no sufficiently certain parallels in the other languages to prove that they are genuine pre-Slavonic suffixes. In the case of *-o-lo-*, Gr. μαινόλης and the like must be disregarded; on the other hand Skr. *karmā́ra-* 'smith' *vācāla-* 'talkative' and Goth. *slahal-s* might be regarded as positive evidence. *-ə-lo-* appears in Skr. *ani-la-s* 'wind' (beside *ā́ni-mi*).

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Balt. *-ē-la- -ē-l-ja-*: This is derived from a verb in *-ē-ti* in Lith. *tekẽla-s tekẽ-l-i-s* 'grindstone, running on an axle' (Lett. *tezzel-i-s*, usually fem. *tezzele*), from *tekėti* 'to run'; and is also found in the numerous *nomina agentis*, which often imply contempt, e. g. *paklýdėli-s* 'rover, gad-about' from *klydėti* 'to wander about', *netìkėli-s* 'ne'er-do-weel' (*tìkti* 'to suit'), *padūkėli-s* 'raving madman' (*pa-dūkti* 'to go mad') *nudẽgėli-s* 'one ruined by a fire' (*nu-dẽgęs* 'burnt out'). Cp. O.C.Sl. part. *želě-lŭ* beside *želěti* 'to wish', *vidělŭ* beside *viděti* 'to see'; see below. Examples of *-ē-l-ja-* as a secondary suffix are *kirmėlẽ* 'worm' from O.Lith. *kirmi-s*, gen. *kirmio* 'worm', *musėlẽ* 'fly' from *musẽ* 'fly'; further, diminutives formed from words of more than two syllables, like *avinẽli-s* 'little ram' from *āvina-s* 'ram', *kepurẽlė* 'little hat' from *kepùrė* 'hat', *kirmėlẽlė* 'little worm' from *kirmėlẽ*. The origin of this secondary *-ēlja-* is not clear.

-ī-lo-. Lith. *akýl-a-s* 'observant' (beside *akýl-ta-s* 'furnished with eyes' and *aky-va-s* 'furnished with eyes, inquisitive'), beside *akýl-ti* 'to get eyes, become porous'. Cp. O.C.Sl. part. *chvali-lŭ* beside *chvali-ti* 'to praise'.

In Slavonic the suffix *-lo-*, which formed *nomina agentis*, was used very freely, and hence was developed the so-called part. praet. act. II; as *bi-lŭ* beside *bi-ti* 'to strike', with *jesmĭ* practically equivalent to a perfect, 'I have struck'. Other examples are *nes-lŭ* beside *nes-ti* 'to carry', *by-lŭ* beside *by-ti* 'to be' (cp. Gr. φῡ-λο-ν, φῡ-λή), *zna-lŭ* beside *zna-ti* 'to know', *dě̄la-lŭ* beside *dě̄la-ti* 'to do, make', *želě-lŭ* beside *želě-ti* 'to wish', *chvali-lŭ* beside *chvali-ti* 'to praise'. Cp. Lat. *legulu-s* 'one who picks (fruit)' O.H.G. *ezzal* 'ravenous' (O.C.Sl. *jalŭ* for **ěd-lŭ*), *tregil* 'bearer', Gr. σῑγᾱλό-ς 'silent', μῑμηλό-ς 'imitative', Lith. *tekẽla-s* ('runner') 'grindstone', *akýļa-s* 'observant'.

Diminutives. Lith. *-e-l-i-s* and *-ė-l-i-s* have been mentioned; with *parszẽli-s* compare Lat. *porculu-s porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* n. 'sucking pig', with *ratẽli-s*, Lat. *rotula*. *ragẽli-s* 'little horn' may be directly connected with O.C.Sl. *rog-l-ŭ* Mod.Sloven. *rogelj* beside *rogŭ* 'horn', though in the Slavonic languages the diminutival sense is lost. The pet names, however, in Slavonic belong

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to this class; e. g. Serv. *Božilo* beside *Božo Bogo-ljub*, *Bratilo Brajilo* beside *Brato Brato-ljub*; cp. Pruss. *Butil Darqelo* p. 211.

§ 77. The European suffixes *-dh-ro- -dh-rā-* and *-dh-lo- -dh-lā-*[1]).

In Greek, Italic, Slavonic, and perhaps also in Germanic, these suffixes are found beside *-tro- -tlo-* (§ 61) and *-ro- -lo-* (§ 74. 76) with similar meaning. They are used in substantives mainly to denote the means, or a tool, or a locality. They sprang from the coalescence of the so-called 'determinative' *dh* (Skr. *rá-dh--āmi*, Gr. *πλή-θ-ω*, Lat. *pū-b-ēs*, O.C.Sl. *i-d-ą*, cp. § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20) with a following *-ro- -lo-*, and are therefore paralle to such combined forms as Gr. *-θ-μο-* (§ 72) and to *-s-lo-* (§ 76) and others. Cp. Gr. *ἄρ-θ-ρο-ν* 'joint, limb': *ἀρ-θ-μό-ς* 'joining, connexion'; *βά-θ-ρο-ν* 'step, threshold, seat, foundation': *βα-θ-μό-ς* 'step'; *σκ-ε-θ-ρό-ς* 'exact, precise, careful': *σχ-ε-θ-έμεν* 'to hold, have' (*σχ-ε-θ-* for the normal *σκ-ε-θ-* is due to association with *ἔ-σχ-ο-ν* and similar forms, cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.); *κήλη-θ-ρο-ν* 'magic drug': *κηλη-θ-μό-ς* 'enchantment'; *κίνη-θ-ρο-ν* 'winnowing fan': *κῖνη-θ-μό-ς* 'movement'; Lat. *sta-b-ulu-m*, Czech. *stá-dlo* Lower Sorb. *sta-dło* 'herd, drove': Gr. *στα-θ-μό-ς* 'standing place', O.C.Sl. Pol. *sta-d-o* Czech *stádo* 'herd'; Lat. *fa-b-er*: Gr. *τε--θ-μό-ς θε-θ-μό-ς* 'statute' (for the initial *τ- θ-* cp. *σκεθρό-ς σχεθέμεν*); Italian (Tusc.) *pevera* 'a wooden funnel' = Lat. **plē--b-ra* (beside Lat. **plē-tra* implied in Milanese *pídria* 'wooden funnel' and other forms, cp. Lat. *palpe-bra* beside *palpe-tra*): Gr. *πλή-θ-ω* 'I am full'[2]) and many similar examples. With the forms having *ε*, *α* Lat. *e* after the root syllable, as Gr. *σκ-ε--θ-ρό-ς*, *ἔδ-ε-θ-λο-ν*, *μέλ-α-θ-ρο-ν*, *κρεμ-ά-θ-ρᾱ*, Lat. *illec-e-bra mand--i-bulu-m condūc-i-bili-s* should be compared (besides *σχ-ε--θ-έμεν* mentioned above) *γηθ-έω* for **γᾱϝ-ε-θ-έω* = Lat. *gaudeō* for **gāv-e-deō*, *πλεγ-έ-θ-ω*, *νεμ-έ-θ-ομαι*, *ἐργ-ά-θ-ω*, *διωκ-ά-θ-ω* etc.

1) Cp. Ascoli's essay cited in footnote 1 on p. 118; and Fr. Hanssen, Die Aktivbedeutung der Adjectiva auf *bilis* im archaischen Latein, Philologus N. F. I 274 ff.

2) Add here Gr. *πλῆθρο-ν· εἶδος μέτρου* in Hesychius, if the reading is right.

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The great majority of the nouns that belong to this class are certainly later formations which arose independently in the course of the separate growth of the various families of language. Isolated examples may date from older times, cp. Lat. *sū-bula*, *in-sūbulu-m*, Czech *šī-dlo* Pol. *szy-dło* O.C.Sl. *šī-lo* 'punch, awl', common ground-form **sḭū-dhlo- -dhlā-*; Gr. Hom. *λύ-θρο-* 'contamination', Lat. *dē-lū-bru-m pol-lū-bru-m*, common ground-form **lŭ-dhro-*; Lat. *sta-bulu-m* (**stə-*), Czech *stá-dlo* (**stā-*).

In consequence of their equivalent functions and similar sound *-dhro*, *-dhlo-* were in many cases confused with *-tro-*, *-tlo-*. On this point see § 62 p. 121 f. In Slavonic the older *t*-suffix was completely ousted by the *dh*-suffix; the substitution of the *dh* for *t* is especially clear in the word for 'plough' O.C.Sl. *ralo oralo* Czech. *rádlo* Pol. *radło*, where all the other languages, even Lithuanian, show *-tro- -tlo-*.

Remark. Some have wished to derive this suffix from *-thro-*, *-thlo-*. To this hypothesis, it must be confessed, no phonetic objections can be raised (I p. 407 footnote). But its only object is to re-establish the theory of the original identity of this suffix with *-tro-*, *-tlo-*, and I do not see how any probable ground can be given for assuming that the latter had split into double forms at so early a period. In other forms the aspirated tenuis appears for the tenuis in Aryan only (cp. I § 475 p. 350 f., § 553 p. 405 ff.), and hence we may at least demand evidence for the existence of an Aryan suffix *-thra-* = *-tra-*.

To the examples given above a few may be added from the separate groups of languages.

Greek. ὄλε-θρο-ς 'destruction', λάλη-θρο-ς 'talkative', μυλω-θρό-ς 'miller', τέρ-θρό-ν 'end, point', πλ-έ-θρο-ν πέλ-ε-θρο-ν 'acre, hide of land' (cp. πτ-ε-ρό-ν: Skr. *pat-a-rá-* p. 182), ῥέ(ϝ)ε-θρο-ν ῥεῖθρο-ν 'stream', μέλπη-θρο-ν 'delight', κόρη-θρο-ν 'besom', ἐπι-βά-θρᾱ 'means of climbing, ladder', κοιμή-θρᾱ 'sleeping-place', ἀλινδή-θρᾱ 'place to roll in, place of exercise (for horses)' ὕ-θλο-ς 'cant, empty talk' (from ὕει 'it rains'), ἐσ-θλό-ς 'excellent', θέμε-θλο-ν 'foundation', γένε-θλο-ν and γενέ-θλη 'descent, family, offspring'. Where λ precedes, the form *-θρο-* may sometimes have arisen from *-θλο-* by dissimilation, cp. I § 266 p. 215.

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Italic. In proethnic Italic *-dhro- -dhlo-* became *-fro-*, *-flo-*. These remained in Umbro-Samnitic, while in Latin they passed into *-bro-*, *-blo-*. See I § 370 p. 281. For the anaptyxis in Lat. *-bulo-*, *-bili-* see I § 269 p. 218. Pr. Ital. **sta-flo-*: Lat. *sta-bulu-m sta-bili-s*, Umbr. *sta-flarem* 'stabularem' Pelign. *pri-stafalacirix* 'antistita for **-staflā-crīx* = Lat. **prae-stabulā-trix*.

Lat. *crī-bru-m*, *flā-bru-m*, *ventilā-bru-m*. *dolā-bra*, *verte-bra*, *tere-bra* and *ē-lece-bra* ('enticer', fem.). *crē-ber* (from *crē-scō*), *candēlā-ber* (beside *candēlā-bru-m*), *Mulci-ber* (gen. *-berī*, a new formation instead of **-brī*); occasionally the forms have been transferred to the *i*-declension, as *anclā-bri-s*, *ale-bri-s* (beside *ali-bili-s*). *trī-bulu-m*, *pā-bulu-m*, *vocā-bulu-m*, *medicā-bulu-m*, *lati-bulu-m*, *mandi-bulu-m* and *mandi-bula*, *fā-bula*. Once or twice we find *-i-bulu-m* as a secondary suffix; for example *sessibulu-m* (*sessu-s sessili-s*), *tūribulum* (*tūs*). From this suffix are formed a large number of adjectives which have passed into the *i*-declension, as *sta-bili-s*, *nō-bili-s*, *mō-bili-s*, *flē-bili-s*, *dē-lē-bili-s*, *sānā-bili-s*, *ad-mīrā-bili-s*, *sepelī-bili-s*, *volū-bili-s*, *intel-ligi-bili-s*, *in-vendi-bili-s*. In a few cases *-i-bili-s* is a secondary suffix; e. g. *odibili-s* (*odiu-m*), *illūtibili-s* (*il-lūtu-s*), *flexibili-s* (*flexu-s*), *persuāsibili-s* (*per-suāsu-m*).

Just as *-clo-* became *-cro-* by dissimilation in *lucru-m* (for **lu-clo-m*) and in other words (I § 269 p. 217), so it may sometimes have happened that after a preceding *l*, *-blo-*, *-bli-* became *-bro-*, *-bri-*.

Germanic. The proethnic Germanic forms *-ăra-*, *-āla-*, e. g. in O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* f. 'riddle, sieve', may represent Idg. *-tro-*, *-tlo-* quite as well as Idg. *-dhro-* *-dhlo-*; cp. § 62 p. 121. O.H.G. *hrī-ttara* may be compared equally well with Lat. *crī-bru-m* 'sieve' (which contains Idg. *-dhro-*) or with O.Ir. *criathar* 'sieve' (Idg. *-tro-*). I know of no case where the *dh*-suffix could be identified with any degree of certainty.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *žęlo* 'point, sting' Pol. *žą-dło*. Czech *by-dlo* Upper Sorb. *by-dło* 'dwelling' Pol. *by-dło* 'cattle, property, means'. O.C.Sl. *črĭpalo* 'scoop' Pol. *czerpa-dło*. O.C.Sl. *klepalo*

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'sounding-board (of an instrument), bell' Pol. *klepa-dło*. O.C.Sl. *cědilo* 'strainer, filter' Pol. *cedzi-dło*. O.C.Sl. *bělilo* 'means for whitening, white paint'.

§ 78. The Suffix *-bho- -bhā-*.

This suffix was confined to a small area, and it is only in Balto-Slavonic (and possibly Germanic) that it shows any degree of fertility. As a secondary suffix it was no doubt used even in the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic, to form names of animals. To judge from Sanskrit, in this usage it was generally or always accented.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *ŕṣa-bhá-s* 'bull' points to an Idg. **ŕsn̥-bhó-s* (**ersn̥-bhó-s*) 'bull' beside Avest. *aršan-* 'male, man' Gr. *ἔρσην ἄρσην* 'male'), and we could at once accept the form as really proethnic, if the suggested connexion of Gr. *Εἰραφ-ιώτη-ς* Lesb. *Ἐρραφιώτᾱ-ς*, a title of Dionysus, with Skr. *ŕṣabhá-s* is correct. It does not seem to me, however, that Wackernagel (followed by Solmsen, see Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 126 ff. 352 ff.) has satisfactorily removed the difficulty of assuming an assimilation of *rs* to *ρρ* in proethnic Greek.

Aryan. Here the suffix is almost confined to names of animals. In Sanskrit besides *ŕṣa-bhá-s* we have with similar meaning *vŕṣa-bhá-s*, beside *vŕṣan-* 'male, man, bull'. *śarabhá-s* a fabulous creature with eight legs, enemy of the lion and elephant, suggests Gr. *κίραφο-ς* 'fox', *κόραφο-ς* a bird, in Hesych. (compare no doubt *κορώνη*, so that the bird must have belonged to the raven family), *κάλαφο-ς ἀσκάλαφο-ς* a kind of owl. *śēvabha-* name of a snake. *rásabha-s* 'ass' (the only Skr. form with the accent upon the root), from *ras-* 'shriek, roar, bray'.

sthūla-bhá- beside *sthūlá-* 'large, massive'.

Greek. *Εἰραφιώτη-ς, κίραφο-ς, κάλαφο-ς ἀσκάλαφο-ς*, see above. *ἔλαφο-ς* 'stag' ground-form **elŋ-bho-s*, beside *ἐλό-ς* for **ἔλν-ο-ς*, O.C.Sl. *jelen-* (gen. *jelen-e*) 'stag', Lith. *éln-i-s* 'stag, elk' (cp. § 114). Thus *κόραφο-ς* too (see above) no doubt stands for **korŋ-bho-*, cp. Lat. *corn-īx*. *κιδάφη σκιδάφη* 'fox'. *ἔριφο-ς* 'kid', with which Stokes would connect O.Ir. *heirp erb* (pl. *herbind*) 'capra, damma'; this word however cannot have lost

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a vowel beetwen *r* and *b* (*p*) (for the *p* cp. I § 524 p. 380). *κόσσυφο-ς* Att. *κόττυφο-ς* 'thrush'.

κόλαφο-ς 'blow with the fist, box on the ear'. *κρόταφο-ς* 'temple' (of the forehead) beside *κρότος κροτέω*, (named from the pulsation?). Denomin. *ψηλαφάω* 'I grope'. *κέραφο-ς σκέραφο-ς* 'abuse, calumny'. *φλήναφο-ς* 'chattering', subst. 'chatter'. *ἔδαφος* n. 'base upon which a thing rests', no doubt transferred to the *es*-stems by assimilation to *ἔδος* n. *κορυφή* 'peak', cp. *κόρυ-θ-* 'helmet' *κορυ-δο-ς* 'tufted lark'. *ἄργυφο-ς* 'gleaming like silver'.

Other examples of this kind are given in Lobeck *Proleg.* p. 291 ff.

Italic. Perhaps we should class here Lat. *mor-bu-s*, beside *mor-ior*, cp. Lith. *dár-ba-s* and the like (see below).

Old Irish. Perhaps *heirp erb* 'capra, damma'; see above.

Germanic. From this suffix are no doubt derived the Gothic adverbs in *-ba*, as *ubilaba* 'badly, wickedly' *báitraba* 'bitterly', *agluba* 'hardly, scarcely', *ana-láugniba* 'secretly'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *anksztý-ba-s* 'of an early kind, appearing early', beside *anksztì* adv. 'early', and, modelled on this word, *vėlýba-s* 'of a late kind' beside *velaĩ* adv. 'late'. Further, numerous abstract substantives in *-y-b-ė́*, derived from adjectives, as *auksztýbė* 'height, highness' from *áuksztа-s* 'high', *jaunỹbė* 'youth' from *jáuna-s* 'young', *bailỹbė* 'timorousness' from *bailù-s* 'timorous', *kantrỹbė* 'patience' from *kantrù-s* 'patient'; Lettish has preserved the older unextended *-ība*, as *áugstība, jáunība*. Again we have primary *nomina actionis* in *-yba -ybė*, as *dalýbos* pl. 'division of an inheritance' beside *dalýti*, 'to divide', *tikyba tikỹbė* 'faith' beside *tikėti* 'to believe'; cp. Lett. *tizzība* 'faith', *mázība* 'teaching, instruction' (*mázît* 'to teach'). Lastly there are a few substantives in which we have the suffix added immediately to the root: *dár-ba-s* 'work', hence *darbù-s* 'diligent' and *dìrbu* 'I work', beside *dárýti* 'to do'; *gar-ba* (Szyrwid) and *garbė̃* 'honour', hence *garbù-s* 'honourable' and *gerbiù* 'I honour', beside *giriù* 'I praise'; similarly Lett. *schķir-ba* 'a split, rift', beside *schķir-t* (Lith. *skìr-ti*) 'to split, part, divide'.

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In Slavonic the suffix appears in substantives in *-ba*. O.C.Sl. *ątro-ba* 'intestines, belly' beside *jęt-ro* 'liver', see § 75 p. 189. 197 f. *zŭlo-ba* 'wickedness' from *zŭlŭ* 'wicked'. Serv. *rugo-ba* 'disgraceful character' beside *rug* O.C.Sl. *rągŭ* 'disgrace', *grdo-ba* 'indecency' beside O.C.Sl. *grĭdŭ* 'proud, arrogant'. O.C.Sl. *tatĭ-ba* 'thievery, theft' from *tatĭ* 'thief', *gostĭ-ba* 'entertainment, cheer' from *gostĭ* 'guest'. Starting from forms like these *-ĭba* became an independent ending, e. g. *družĭba* 'companionship, friendship', from *drugŭ* 'companion, friend', *sŭlĭba* 'embassy' from *sŭlŭ* 'ambassador'. Cp. *tatĭ-stvo*, giving rise to *sŭl-ĭstvo* § 61 p. 117. The use of *-ĭba* was extended by the fact that the form became associated with verbs in *-i-ti* (like *gosti-ti druži-ti*); after this connexion had been established, abstract substantives in *-ĭba* were made directly from these verbs (cp. Miklosisch, *Vergl. Gr.* II 213 ff.). A few nouns in *-ĭba* were formed from the participle in *-tŭ* (*-to-*), as *ženit-ĭba* 'wooing, marriage, wedding' (also *ženit-ĭstvo*), *gostit-ĭba* 'hospitality', *orat-ĭba* 'tillage', *sĕt-ĭba* 'sowing'; this group of forms arose during the time when the part. pass. was still formed with *-to-* in these verbs.

§ 79. The Suffix *-to- -tā-*.

This suffix was both primary and secondary in the proethnic and later periods. We may classify its usage under four headings.

1. *-to- -tā-* as a primary suffix in participial adjectives and substantives connected with them [1].

The suffix was used to form a participial noun immediately from the root, e. g. **klŭ-tó-* 'heard' from *ḱleu̯-* 'hear'. This formation must have been very common in the Indo-Germanic period.

The root (in the strict sense, cp. § 8 Rem. 1 p. 20) might, generally speaking, be replaced by any element or combination of elements which acted as a verbal stem; hence forms like **ɣemə-to* 'vomited' Skr. *vami-ta-* Gr. *ἐμε-τό-ς* (*ἔμε-το-ς*) Lat.

1) Bordellé, De linguae Latinae adjectivis suffixo *to* a nominibus derivatis, Düsseldorf 1873. Birt, De participiis Latinis quae dicuntur perfecti passivi, Index lect. Marburg. 1883—84 (cp. with this treatise Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 550 ff.).

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vomi-tu-s, or like **dorḱi-to-* 'brought to sight', Skr. *darśi-tá-* Goth. *ga-tarhi-þ-s*, partic. of **dorḱei̯ō*, causal of √ *derḱ-* 'see', and those developed in the separate languages like *ἀγαπη-τό-ς* (*ἀγαπάω*) Lat. *piscā-tu-s (piscārī)* Goth. *fiskō-þ-s (fiskō-n)*.

The addition of *-to-* to thematic present stems was no doubt a later process, even though it may have begun in the proethnic period; cp. e. g. Skr. *darś-a-tá-s* 'visible, worth seeing' Gr. *ἑρπ-ε-τό-ν* 'creeping thing', Gall. *nem-e-to-n* O.Ir. *nemed* n. 'sanctuary' (properly 'what is revered'). Cp. *-e-ti-* § 100. *-o-to-* also may be a proethnic form: Gr. *βίο-το-ς βιο-τή* 'life, livelihood', O.Ir. *biad* n. 'livelihood', Lith. *gyva-tà* 'life, livelihood' O.C.Sl. *živo-tŭ* 'life, living thing'.

The meaning of these participial forms was generally passive, and with the exception of the last group (*darśa-tá-s* etc.), that of a perfect participle passive. But the passive sense can hardly have been originally attached to the suffix itself. Numerous forms occur with an active-intransitive sense which dates from the earliest period, such as **bhŭ-tó-* 'become, grown', **stə-tó-* 'having a position, standing', **sru-tó-* 'having a flow, flowing'. The idea of completion or being complete, and hence of being in a particular condition seems to have been the essential element in the meaning of the forms derived from the verbal stem. Hence we have also active *to*-participles from active verbs, such as O.H.G. *wīs* 'skilful, wise' Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-ς* 'unskilful', Gr. *τλητό-ς* 'enduring' *ὕπ-οπτο-ς* 'entertaining suspicion', Lat. *cōn-sīderātu-s* 'considerate, thoughtful' *cēnātu-s* 'who has dined' (cp. Mod.H.G. *ein gelernter schlosser* 'a trained locksmith' lit. 'who has learnt', *ein erfahrener mann* 'an experienced man', *ein ehrvergessener mensch* 'a dishonourable fellow', lit. 'one who has forgotten honour' etc.[1])

1) It need hardly be assumed that this sense was first introduced into the participles when they were compounded with other words and the meaning of the compound was epithetised (*mutatum*, § 50); e. g. Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-ς* 'being without anything known, without knowledge', Lat. *in-cōnsīderātu-s* 'being without anything considered, without consideration'; and that it was only on the model of this group of words that the signification was extended to some of the participles when uncompounded.

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At the same time, I do not suppose that the use of the *to*-participles is original in Latin deponents, where they share all the constructions of the present *nt*- participle and the finite verb, e. g. *omnia cōnfessus* like *omnia cōnfitēns* and *omnia cōnfiteor*. This usage arose only after compound tenses like *cōnfessus sum* had become part of the system of the finite verb.

The idea of completion and of being brought to an end is often replaced by one of capacity or possibility, as in Gr. *λυ-τό-ς* 'capable of being freed'. This change of meaning is no doubt proethnic in Idg. **morto-s* 'mortal' (Skr. *márta-* Gr. *βροτό-ς*). But we find that in the separate languages this usage is seldom or never found except in participles compounded with the privative particle, or in some other form of negative expression. Compare, for examples of the first kind, Skr. *á-marta-s a-mṛ́ta-s* Gr. *ἄ-μβροτο-ς* 'immortal', Skr. *a-tū́rta-s* 'unsurpassable', *á-jīta-s* 'unfading', *á-dabdha-s* 'inviolable, infallible', *á-parīta-s* 'unconquerable', Gr. *ἄ-λυτο-ς* 'indissoluble', *ἄ-μεμπτο-ς* 'blameless', *ἀν-έκπληκτο-ς* 'not to be confounded, or terrified', Lat. *in-victu-s* 'invincible' *īn-fectu-s* 'not to be done, impossible', *in-numerātu-s* 'innumerable', Goth. *un-saht-s* 'incontestable', *un-atgāht-s* 'unapproachable', cp. also O.Ir. *dī-brithe* 'importabilis'; and of the second, *οὐκ ἀνεκτό-ς* 'not to be borne', *οὐκ ὀνομαστό-ς* 'not to be named' in Homer. Hence we may infer that this meaning first arose in negative expressions. It spread most widely in Greek; further examples are *νοητό-ς* 'comprehensible', *θαυμαστό-ς* 'wonderful', *βατό-ς* 'passable, practicable (of roads)'.

In every language we meet with a number of forms in *-to-* which stand in no actual connexion with any verbal system, and are therefore simply adjectives, as Skr. *śī-tá-* 'cold', Lat. *al-tu-s* 'high', Goth. *raíht-s* 'right'. Some of these may date from a period of the proethnic language in which the adjectives formed with *-to-* had not yet been associated with the verb, and thus may never have been participles at all.

Even in the Indo-Germanic period these *to*-formations were often used as substantives, partly to denote living beings (masc.,

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fem. and concrete material things (neut.), partly as abstract substantives (§ 158). In the latter usage this suffix, like *-o-*, is often found in the masculine. The feminine *-tā-*, forming abstract substantives, had even then become secondary. This point will be further discussed in the next section.

The *to*-stems formed immediately from the root usually have the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable, e. g. **ḱlu-tó-* **ḱlū-tó-*. Beside this, however, we often find the forms of the strong grade, especially in substantival uses. With this is generally united a difference of accent. Cp. e. g. **ḱléu̯-to-m* 'hearing' beside **ḱlū-tó-s* 'heard', *mór-to-s* 'mortal' beside **mṛ-tó-s* 'dead'[1]). Here too it is not clear how the different grades were originally distributed. Compare the relations of the different grades in *ti*-stems, § 99.

Remark 1. Analogy often gave rise to mixed forms. For example, Germ. **múr-þa-n* n. 'murder' beside Skr. *mṛ-tó-m* has the accent of **mér-to-* or **mór-to-* (Skr. *már-ta-*), Germ. **gúl-þa-n* n. 'gold' that of **ǧhél-to-* (Lett. *ſe'l-t-s*) or **ǧhól-to-* (O.C.Sl. *zlato*), and *vice versa*, Gr. *μορ-τό-ς* (Hesych., — if the word is rightly accented) beside Skr. *már-ta-s* has the accent of *mṛ-tó-* (Skr. *mṛ-tá-s*); Gr. *βροτό-ς* is a confusion of **βρατό-ς* (= **mṛ-tó-s*) and **μόρ-το-ς*. There are many other instances.

So far as I can see, we are not warranted in referring forms like Gr. *μορτο-ς φόρτο-ς*, O.H.G. *hal-d* = pr. Germ. **χál-þa-z*, O.C.Sl. *zlato* = pr. Slav. **zol-to*, to ground-forms with *r̥*, *l̥* (**mṛ-to-s* etc.), though it would be phonetically possible (see I § 306 p. 241 ff.). Cp. Gr. *κοῖ-το-ς κοί-τη* beside *κεῖ-ται*, *οἶ-το-ς* beside *εἶ-μι*, *νόσ-το-ς* beside *νέομαι*, *βρον-τή* beside *βρέμω* Lith. *bras-tà* beside *bredù*, and so forth.

Where participles of this kind have strong-grade vocalism, we can hardly help suspecting in many cases that it is due to the analogy of other forms of the verbal system; e. g. Gr. *δεικ-τύ-ς* beside *ἔδειξα* etc. contrasted with Skr. *diṣ-tá-s* (from √*deiḱ-*).

Indo-Germanic. **ḱlū-tó-* 'heard, famous', √*ḱleu̯-*: Skr. *śrutá-s* (Avest. *srūta-*), Gr. *κλυτό-ς*, Lat. *in-clutu-s*, O.Ir. *cloth* (O.Bret. *clot* 'glory'; perhaps f.), O.H.G. *Hlot-hari* Lothair (**Κλυτόστρατος* would have the same meaning) *hlūt* ('loud');

1) The use of strong-grade forms as substantives no doubt indicates that originally the Noun had but one set of forms for both its adjectival and its substantival meaning. Isolation from the adjective in use brought with it isolation in form. Cp. § 158.

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**ślḗu̯-to-m* 'hearing': Avest. *srao-te-m*, Goth. *hliu-þ*, and no doubt Mod.Slov. *slu-t* 'suspicion' Serv. *slu-ta* 'who surmises'. **sru-tó* 'flowing', √*sreŭ̆-*: Skr. *sru-tá-s*, Gr. *ῥυ-τό-ς*; Skr. *sru-tá-m* 'a flowing, flood' Lith. *sru-tà* f. 'filthy liquid'; Lith. *srau-ta-s* 'stream, torrent', compare Skr. *srótas-* n. 'stream', extended by *-es-*. **ŭs-tó-* 'burnt', √*eu̯s-*: Skr. *uṣ-ṭá-s*, Lat. *ūs-tu-s*. **i-tó-* 'gone', √*ei̯-*: Skr. *atīta-* from *ati+ita-* 'disappeared, fled away', Gr. *ἀμαξ-ιτό-ς* f. (scil. *ὁδό-ς*) 'road passable for waggons', Lat. *i-tu-m (est)*, *ad-itu-s*; Skr. *é-ta-s* 'hastening', Gr. *οἶ-το-ς* 'fate'. **qi-tó-*, √*qei̯-* 'pile, range, count, pay': Skr. *citá-s* 'arranged, piled' Gr. *τι-τό-ς* 'requited' (in Homer also with *ī*, *ἄ-τῑτο-ς*); Skr. *ci-tā* 'layer' O.C.Sl. *čĭ-tŭ* 'number' *po-čĭtŭ* 'enumeration'. **u̯id̯ʰ-tó-* √*u̯ei̯d-* 'see, observe, know': Skr. *vittá-s* 'found, perceived, known' (Avest. *vīšta-* 'found'), Gr. *ἄ-ιστο-ς* 'unknown, unskilful', O.Ir. *ro fess* 'scitum est', Goth. *un-vis* (stem *un-vissa-*) 'uncertain'; Lat. *vīsu-s*, Goth. *un-veis* 'unwise, unskilful' O.H.G. *wīs* 'wise' for Idg. **u̯īd̯ʰ-to-* or **u̯ei̯d̯ʰ-to-* (O.C.Sl. *věstŭ* 'known, clear' is for **u̯oi̯d̯ʰ-to-*); and also O.H.G. *wīsa* f. 'way, kind'. **mr̥-tó-* **mor-tó-*, √*mer-* 'die': Skr. *mr̥-tá-* 'having died, dead' *a-mŕ̥ta-* 'immortal' *már-ta-* 'mortal, man', Armen. *mar-d* 'man' (= **mr̥-tó-*, see I § 291 p. 232 f.), Gr. *μορ-τό-ς βρο-τό-ς* 'mortal, man' *ἄ-μβροτο-ς* 'immortal', Lat. *Mor-ta* goddess of death, one of the Parcae; Skr. *mr̥tá-m* 'death' O.H.G. *mord* n. 'murder': cp. Rem. 1 p. 221. **str̥-tó-* **stḹ-tó-* 'spread out, stretched out': Skr. *str̥-tá-* Avest. *star*-ta-*, Gr. *στρω-τό-ς*, Lat. *strā-tu-s*, O.C.Sl. *-strĭ-tŭ*; Gr. *στρα-τό-ς* 'camp, host'. **u̯r̥t̯ʰ-tó-* 'versus', √*u̯ert-*: Skr. *vr̥ttá-s*, Lat. *vorsu-s versu-s*; Skr. *vr̥ttá-m* n. O.C.Sl. *vrĭsta* f. 'condition, state, position, stage', Lith. *varšta-s* 'a furrow-length'. **ml̥k-tó-* 'milked', √*melḡ-*: Lat. *mulc-tu-s*, Lith. *mìlžta-s*: Mid.Ir. *mlicht blicht* m. 'milk'. **gm̥-tó-*, √*gem-* 'go': Skr. *ga-tá-* 'gone, gone out, come' *á-gata-s* 'untrodden', Gr. *βα-τό-ς* 'trodden, passable', *ἄ-βατο-ς* 'untrodden, impassable' *δύσ-βατο-ς* 'hard to pass over', Lat. *circum-ventu-s*, and no doubt Lith. *pri-gimta-s* 'inborn' (cp. I § 249 p. 204). **mn̥-tó-* 'thought, meant', √*men-*: Skr. *ma-tá-*, Lat. *com-mentu-s*, Goth. *mun-d-s*, Lith. *miñ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *mę-tŭ*; Skr. *ma-tá-m* 'meaning, opinion, purpose' Gr. *αὐτό-ματο-ς* 'of one's

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own design, willingly', Lat. *com-mentu-m* 'idea, invention, plan', O.Ir. *der-met* n. 'forgetting'. **ǧn̥-tó-* **ǧn̥-tó-* 'begotten, born', √*ǧen-*: Skr. *já-tá-* 'born, son', Lat. *gnā-tu-s nā-tu-s* 'born, son', Gall. *Cintu-gnātu-s* ('first-born'), Goth. *qinu-kund-s* 'born of woman' O.Sax. *god-cund* 'born of God, divine' O.Icel. *kun-d-r* 'son'; Skr. *jā-tá-m* 'birth, origin, race'; O.H.G. *kin-d* n. 'child', ground-form **ǧén-to-m.* **ḱn̥s-tó-*, √*ḱens-* 'to mention, praise (Gr. *κόσμο-ς* indicates that this belongs to the *e*-series of ablaut; see Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 123. 329): Skr. *śas-tá-* 'spoken, praised', Osc. *an-censto* nom. sing. fem. 'incensa' *censtom-en* 'in censum' (Lat. *cēnsu-s* instead of **censtu-s*, Rem. 2 p. 231). **seˀtó-* 'seated', √*sed-*: Skr. *sattá-*, Lat. *ob-sessu-s*; Avest. *pasu-šasta-* m. 'cow-pen' A.S. O.Icel. *sess* m. 'seat', Lat. *sub-sessa* 'ambuscade'. **peq-tó-s* 'cooked', √*peq-*: Skr. *pak-tá-* Gr. *πεπ-τό-s* Lat. *coctu-s* for **cu̯ec-to-s* (I § 172, 3 p. 152, § 431 *a* p. 319 f.). **dhə-tó-* **dhē-to-* 'set, placed, laid', √*dhē-*: Skr. *-dhitá- hi-tá-*, Gr. *θε-τό-ς*, Lat. *crēditu-s* for **crēdato-s* (cp. Skr. *šrád-dhita-m* neut. 'trusted, believed'), Lith. *dē-ta-s* 'laid'. **də-tó-*, **-tˢto-* (i. e. **-d+to-*) and **dō-to-* 'given', √*dō-*: Skr. *vy-ā-dita-s* 'separated, opened', *dēvá-tta-* 'god-given' Gr. *δο-τό-ς*, Lat. *da-tu-s*; Skr. *tvá-dāta-* 'given by thee' Avest. *dā-ta-* 'given', Lith. *dů'-ta-s* 'given'. Skr. *á-kūta-m* 'intention', Lat. *cau-tu-s*, beside Skr. *ā-kuvatē* 'he intends' *kav-í-š* 'seer, sage', Lat. *cav-eō*. Skr. *āp-tá-* reached, attained, adapted, fit', Lat. *ap-tu-s ad-eptu-s*, beside Skr. *āp-nó-ti* 'he reaches' Lat. *apīscor*. **si̯ū-tó-* 'sewn', beside Skr. *sīv-yā-mi* 'I sew': Skr. *syū-tá-* Gr. *νεο-κάττῡτο-ς* ('newly soled'), Lat. *sū-tu-s*, Lith. *siú-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *ši-tŭ*; Skr. *syū-ta-s* 'sack' Mid.H.G. *siu-t sū-t* m. 'seam'. **u̯ē-to-* **u̯ē-tā-* 'blowing, wind'. Skr. *vā́-ta-s*, Gr. *ἀή-τη* f. *ἀή-τη-ς* m., Lith. denomin. *vė́-tau* 'I winnow, fan'. **plē-tó-* 'filled', *plē-* 'fill': Skr. *prā-tá-* Lat. *im-plētu-s*. **ǧnō-tó-* 'known, recognised', *ǧnō-* 'know: Skr. *jñā-tá-*, Gr. *γνω-τό-ς*, Lat. *nō-tu-s*, O.Ir. *gnā-th* ('known, accustomed'), Skr. *á-jñāta-* Gr. *ἄ-γνωτο-ς* Lat. *ī̆gnōtu-s*.

**u̯emə-tó-* 'vomited', beside Skr. *vámi-mi* Gr. *ἐμέ-ω* 'vomit': Skr. *vami-ta-* Gr. *ἐμε-τό-ς* Lat. *vomi-tu-s*; Gr. *ἔμε-τ-ος* 'vomiting' (subst.). **ǧenə-to-* 'begotten', √*ǧen-*: Lat. *geni-tu-s*; Gr.

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γενι-τή 'birth, origin', made masculine *γενέ-τη-ς* 'begetter, offspring' (cp. under Greek p. 229). With respect to the vowel-gradation of the stem these forms stand on a level with such others as Gr. *φερ-τό-ς*, while such forms as Gr. *κμη-τό-ς* (beside *κάμα-το-ς*) no doubt correspond to the Skr. *bhṛ-tá-*.

Causative and Denominative formations: **dorḱi-tó-* from **dorḱéi̯ō* 'I bring to sight, show', √*derḱ-* 'see': Skr. *darśi-tá-* 'shown' (*darśáyāmi*), Goth. *ga-tarhi-þ-s* 'blameworthy, notorious' (*ga-tarhja* 'I point out, blame'). **u̯osi-tó-*, from **u̯oséi̯ō* 'I make put on, clothe', √*u̯es* 'put on something': Skr. *vāsi-tá-* 'clothed' (*vāsáyāmi*), Goth. *vasi-þ-s* 'clothed' (*vasja*). **moni-tó-*, from **monéi̯ō*, √*men-* 'think, intend': Skr. *mānitá-* 'honoured' (*mānáyāmi*), Lat. *moni-tu-s* 'made aware, reminded, taught' (*moneō*); Skr. *mānita-m* 'a showing honour to'. The character of the formations in the several languages is so different, that it is somewhat doubtful whether *to*-participles were formed from true denominatives in Indo-Germanic; cp. e. g. Skr. *mantri-ta-* 'advised, discussed' (*mantráyāmi*, *mántra-s*), Gr. *δωρη-τό-ς* 'presented with, given' (*δωρέω*, *δῶρο-ν*).

In the separate languages these participles served as the model for a number of adjectives in *-to-* derived immediately from substantives or adjectives, and meaning 'furnished with, made into' and the like; e. g. Skr. *aṅkuritá-* 'with young shoots' from *aṅkura-* 'young shoot', *aruṇita-* 'reddened' from *aruṇá-* 'red', Gr. *θυσανωτό-ς* 'tasselled' from *θύσανο-ς* 'tassel', Lat. *cordātu-s* from *cor (cord-)*, *ātrātu-s* from *āter*, Goth. *un-qēniþ-s* 'unmarried', from *qēn-s* 'woman', Lith. *kalnūta-s* 'mountainous' from *kálna-s* 'mountain', *bradatū* 'bearded' from *brada* 'beard'.

In Aryan, Greek and Italic *-to-* is used also as a secondary suffix, and added immediately to the noun-stem, just as if this were a verb-stem. In Aryan this only occurs in compounds, so that here *-to-* has the same function as *-i̯o-* in adjectival compounds (see § 63 p. 126); e. g. Skr. *án-ap-ta-* 'not watery' from *ap-* 'water' Avest. *hu-patar^{e}-ta-* 'well-winged' from a form **patara-* 'wing' (§ 74 p. 182); cp. Lat. *auro-clāvātu-s*,

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Eng. *hare-hearted*, *lily-livered*, and the like (see under Germ. p. 234). Similarly Gr. *ἀ-γέρασ-το-ς* 'unhonoured by gifts, unrewarded' from *γέρας* 'gift of honour', *ἀ-χείμαν-το-ς* 'without storms, without cold' from *χεῖ-μα χει-μών* 'storm, winter's cold'; but along with these we have *γελασ-τό-ς* from *γελάω*, a denom. verb from **γελας-* 'laugh' (Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), *ἀκεσ-τό-ς* from *ἀκέομαι*, denom. from *ἄκος* n. 'remedy', and the like. Lat. *līber-tu-s* (Falisc. *lofer-ta* 'liberta'), from Lat. *līber*, *sceles-tu-s* from *scelus -er-is*. We may conjecture that the participial *-to-* was added immediately to noun-stems in the class of Indo-Germanic substantives in *-mn̥-to-* and *-ln̥-to-*, which will be discussed separately in § 82 p. 249. This group of words undoubtedly belongs to the proethnic period.

Examples of *-e-to- -o-to-* are given above, p. 219, and under the separate languages below.

Aryan. Skr. *cyu-tá-* Avest. *šū-ta-* 'driven, shaken': Gr. *ἐπί-σσυτο-ς* 'pressing forward', ground-form **qiu-tó-*. Skr. *hu-tá-* *hū-tá-* Avest. *zū-ta-* 'called upon, invoked': Goth. *gu-þ* n. 'God' pr. Germ. **ǯu-đá-n* n. 'a being that is called upon'. Skr. *stu-tá-* Avest. *stu-ta-* 'praised, lauded'; Skr. *stutá-* n. 'praise' Avest. *stuta-* m. 'praise, prayer'. Skr. *ūḍhá-* 'carried', for pr. Ar. **uždhá-* i. e. **uĝh+to-*, Lat. *vec-tu-s*, Lith. *vèszta-s* 'carried' √*u̯eĝh-*. Skr. *drugdhá-m* 'insult' Avest. *druxta-* O.Pers. *dūrūxta-* 'betrayed, deceived' (cp. I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356), √*dhreu̯gh-*. Skr. *-i-ta-* Avest. O.Pers. *i-ta-* 'gone': Gr. *ἁμαξ-ιτό-ς* etc., see p. 222. Skr. *si-tá-* 'bound' Avest. *hi-ta-* 'bound, seamed'. Skr. *prī-tá-* 'beloved, dear, glad' Avest. *fri-ta-* beloved, kindly': A.S. *frī-d* O.Icel. *frī-đ-r* 'lovely, beautiful'. Skr. *piš-ṭá-* 'adorned, equipped' O.Pers. *ni-piš-ta-* 'written': Lat. *pīc-tu-s*, √*pei̯k-*. Skr. (pr. Ar.) *kr̥-tá-* Avest. *ker^{e}-ta-* O.Pers. *kar-ta-* 'made', √*qer-*. Skr. *dr̥bdhá-* 'fastened, wound' Avest. *der^{e}wđa-* 'a twist, braid', √*derbh-*. Skr. *śūr-tá-* 'destroyed', Avest. *a-sar^{e}-ta-* 'unhurt', ground-form **ḱr̥-tó-*. Skr. *ha-tá-* Avest. O.Pers. *ja-ta-* 'smitten, slain' (cp. I § 454 Rem. p. 335): Gr. *φα-τό-ς* 'killed', common ground-form **gʰn̥-tó-*, A.S. *ǯūđ* f. 'battle' pr. Germ. **ǯún-þō*, √*ghen-*. Skr. *bhaddá-* Avest. O.Pers. *basta-* 'bound' (cp. I § 482

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Rem. 1 p. 356), ground-form **bhn̥dh+to-*, √*bhendh-*. Skr. *spaṣ-ṭa-* 'visible, clear' Avest. *avi-spašta-* 'watched for, beset by foes': Lat. *ad-spectu-s*, common ground-form **spek̑-tó-*, √*spek̑-*. Skr. *śiṣ-ṭá-* 'instructed, commanded', Avest. *sās-ta-* 'made known', beside Skr. *śā́s-ti-* 'he instructs, commands'. Skr. *di-tá-* 'bound': Gr. *σύν-δετο-ς* 'bound together', √*dē-*. Skr. *sthi-tá-* Avest. *stā-ta-* 'standing': Gr. *στα-τό-ς* Lat. *sta-tu-s* 'standing' *prae-stātu-s* beside *prae-stitu-s*, Goth. pret. *stō-þ* 'I stood' (developed from the partic.), O.C.Sl. *są-po-statŭ* 'adversarius, foe', √*stā-*. Skr. Avest. O.Pers. *pā-ta-* 'secured, defended'. Skr. *śrā-tá-* 'cooked' Gr. *ἄ-κρᾱτο-ς* 'unmixed'. Avest. *ᵘrvāta-* n. 'determination, command' for **vrā-ta-* (I § 157 p. 141): Gr. *ϝρη-τό-ς* 'determined'.

In Sanskrit the use of *-to-* was restricted by that of the parallel suffix *-no-*, which had a similar meaning; see § 66, 1 p. 139 ff.

Skr. *-i-ta-* = *-ə-to-* occurs not only in *vami-ta-* (p. 223) but also e. g. in *vani-ta-* 'loved' (aor. *vani-ṣīṣ-ṭa*), *dhami-tá-* 'kindled' (fut. *dhami-ṣya-ti*), *cari-tá-m* 'course' (inf. *cári-tum*).

-i-ta- in Causatives and Denominatives. Skr. *vēditá-* 'informed', beside *vēdáyati* 'gives to understand, informs'. Avest. *raoiđita-* 'great', from *rud-* 'grow'. Formed directly from the noun: Skr. *aṅkuśita-* 'stung' from *aṅkuśá-* 'sting, hook', *karṇakitá-* 'having side-branches' from *kárṇaka-s* 'side-branch', *karbūrita-* 'speckled' from *karburá-* 'speckled', Avest. *masita-* 'great' from *mas-ah- mas-an-* n. 'size' (the connexion of *āsita-* 'quick' with *ās-u-* 'quick' is uncertain); perhaps also Skr. *hárita-* Avest. *zairita-* 'yellowish' Skr. *palitá-* 'gray' *rṓhita- lṓhita-* 'red' and so forth. Like Skr. *án-ap-ta-* (see above p. 224) we have also *á-manyu-ta-* 'harbouring no enmity', from *manyú-ṣ* 'enmity'.

Idg. *-e-to-*. Skr. *darś-a-tá-* Avest. *darᵉs-a-ta-* 'worth seeing', √*derk̑-* 'see'. Skr. *yaj-a-tá-* Avest. *yaz-a-ta-* 'worthy of honour', √*i̯ag̑-* 'honour'. Skr. *pac-a-tá-* 'cooked', √*peq-* 'cook'. *har-ya-tá-* 'wished for, desired', beside *hár-ya-ti* 'he desires, takes pleasure in a thing'. Cp. Skr. *dr̥ś-á-tí-ṣ* and the like, § 100.

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Many *-to-* participles have quite the character of adjectives. A few examples may be given. Skr. *dṛḍhá-* 'firm' (Lat. *forcti-s forti-s*, transferred to the *i*-decl., √*dherĝh-*), *śyē-tá-* 'white', *śī-tá-* 'cold', *sûr-ta-* clear', *tṛṣ-ṭá-* 'rough', *tig-itá-* 'sharp', redupl. *vā-vā-ta-* 'dear'. Avest. *sar^{e}-ta-* 'cold, cool': Lith. *szál-ta-s* 'cold'.

Further examples of the substantival value in these forms are: Skr. *dū-tá-* Avest. *dū-ta-* m. 'messenger' ('one gone into the distance'); Skr. *su-tá-s* 'soma-juice' ('that which has been pressed out'): Skr. *ghāta-s* 'blow, killing'; Skr. *gár-ta-s* 'high chair'; Avest. *ka-ta-* m. 'grave': Skr. *khā-tá-m* 'grave'. Skr. *bhak-tá-m* 'food, nourishment' ('that which has been allotted'); Skr. *ghṛ-tá-m* 'fat'; Skr. *ṛ-tá-m* 'right'; Skr. *ás-ta-m* 'home'; Skr. *jīvi-tá-m* 'life'; Skr. *vr-a-tá-m* 'will'; Avest. *taš-te-m* 'the implements of sacrifice'; Avest. *fra-dāte-m* 'help, prosperity'. Skr. *sī-tā* 'furrow': O.H.G. *sī-ta* O.Icel. *sī-ða* f. 'side' ('bounding line, boundary'); Skr. *ak-tá* 'night' (*añj-* 'anoint, adorn'); Avest. *cistā* 'wisdom': Skr. *cittá-m* 'thought, spirit'; Avest. *dī-tā-* 'look': Skr. *dhī-tá-m* 'thought'.

Armenian. *mar-d* 'man' ground-form **mṛ-tó-*: Skr. *mṛ-tá-* etc., see above p. 222. *has-t* 'firm': O.Sax. *fas-t* 'firm', root-form Idg. *pas-* or *pəs-*. A doubtful form is *dr-and* 'door-post, threshold': Skr. *á-tā* 'setting, framework of a door' Lat. *an-ta* four-cornered door-pillar, pilaster' (cp. I § 253 p. 206 f.).

In extended formations: *ard-ar* 'upright': Skr. *ṛ-tá-* 'right, properly made'. *erd-nu-m* 'I swear': Osset. *ar-d ar-t* 'oath', O.C.Sl. *ro-ta* f. 'oath'.

Greek. Here the *to-* participles were less closely connected with the other forms of the verbal system than in Aryan, Italic and elsewhere. They were restricted to the attributive use.

λυ-τό-ς 'that can be loosed' *βου-λῡτό-ς* 'time when the oxen are unyoked': Lat. *so-lū-tu-s*, O.Icel. *lū-ð-r* 'crushed to powder, exhausted'. *ἄ-πυστο-ς* 'unknown, ignorant': Skr. *buddhá-* 'awakened, enlightened, made acquainted, known', √*bheudh-*. *ζευκ-τό-ς* 'yoked, put to': Skr. *yuk-tá-* 'yoked', Lat. *jūnc-tu-s*

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(with *n* from *jungo*), O.H.G. *gi-joht* 'yoked'. *τυκ-τό-ς* 'prepared' *νεό-τευκτο-ς* 'newly prepared'. *φυκ-τό-ς φευκ-τό-ς* 'that can be escaped'. *φθι-τό-ς* 'disappeared, dead': Skr. *kṣi-tá-* 'exhausted, decayed'. *πιστό-ς* 'trustworthy, true, trustful, trusting' *εὖ-πειστο-ς* 'easy to persuade': Lat. *fīsu-s*, √*bheidh-*. *δρα-τό-ς δαρ-τό-ς* 'skinned, flayed': Avest. *der*ᵊ*-ta-* 'cut, mown', Lith. *nu-dirta-s* 'skinned'. *φερ-τό-ς* 'bearable, *φόρ-το-ς* 'burden': Skr. *bhṛ-tá-s* 'carried, sustained, hired', O.Ir. *ed-bart ed-part* f. 'oblatio'. *κλασ-τό-ς* 'shattered' (*κλαδ-*, aor. Hom. *κλάσσαι*): Lat. *per-culsu-s*, common ground-form **kl̥t-tó-*, i. e. **kl̥d+to-*. *τα-τό-ς* 'ductile': Skr. *ta-tá-s* 'stretched, extended', Lat. *ten-tu-s*, common ground-form **tn̥-tó-s*, √*ten-*. *ἀν-εκτό-ς* 'tolerable': Skr. *sāḍhá-* 'overcome' for pr. Ar. **sāžḍhá-* (I § 404, 2 p. 299), √*seĝh-*. *ζεσ-τό-ς* 'boiled': Skr. *prá-yasta-s* 'boiling over', √*jes-*. *σεπ-τό-ς* 'before which one recedes, honoured with reverence, holy': Skr. *tyak-tá-* 'forsaken'. *ἄν-ετο-ς* 'loosened, let go': Lat. *sa-tu-s*, O.C.Sl. *na-sětŭ* 'sown', √*sē-* 'throw, cast, sow'. *ἄ-ατο-ς* 'insatiable': Goth. *sa-þ-s* 'sated', Lith. *so-ta-s* 'repletion', √*sā-*. *ἔμ-πληκτο-ς* 'struck, amazed' *πλήκ-τη-ς* 'striker': Lat. *planc-tu-s* with the nasal of the present (*plangō*) inserted, Lith. *plàk-ta-s* 'struck with the rod', √*plāq-plāg-*. **πακ-το-* in *πακτόω* 'I make fast' *πηκ-τό-ς* 'fast joined *πηκ-τή* 'net fixed in its place': Lat. *pac-tu-s*, *(com-pectu-s)* and *pāc-tu-s* (? Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 178 f.), √*pāk̂-pāg̑-*. *ἐπ-ακτό-ς* 'brought in': Lat. *āc-tu-s*, Gall. *amb-actu-s* orig. 'he who is sent about, messenger' (cp. O.Ir. *imm-agim* 'I drive about'), √*ag̑-*. *ἐύ-νητο-ς* 'well spun, woven': Lat. *nē-tu-s*, common ground-form **snē-to-s*. *βλη-τό-ς* 'thrown, struck', cp. Skr. part. *glā-na-* 'exhausted, ill', Idg. *glē-*. *πλω-τό-ς* 'swimming, navigating, navigable', cp. Goth. *flō-du-s* 'flood' (suffix *-tu-*).

ἀ-δάμα-το-ς 'unsubdued' beside *δμη-τό-ς* 'subdued': Skr. *dam-i-tá-* 'tamed'. *κάμα-το-ς* 'toil' beside *πολύ-κμητο-ς* 'wrought with toil'. *θάνα-τό-ς* 'death' *ἀ-θάνατο-ς* 'immortal' beside *θνη-τό-ς* mortal'. *ἀ-δάμα-το-ς*: *δμη-τό-ς* = *φερ-τό-ς*: Skr. *bhṛ-tá-s*, see p. 224 above.

ἀγαπη-τό-ς Dor. *ἀγαπᾱ-τό-ς* 'beloved' from *ἀγαπάω*. *κοσμη-τό-ς* 'set in order' *κοσμή-τη-ς* 'orderer' from *κόσμέω*. *χολω-τό-ς*

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'enraged' from χολόω. μηνί-τη-ς 'wrathful man' from μηνίω. ἀρτῦ-τό-ς 'prepared, seasoned' (of meats) from ἀρτύω. πορευ-τό-ς 'wandering' from πορεύω. ἀκεσ-τό-ς 'curable' from ἀκέομαι for *ἀκεσ-μο-μαι. ἵμερ-τό-ς 'longed after, lovely' from ἱμείρω. ὑφαν-τό-ς 'woven' ὑφάν-τη-ς 'weaver' from ὑφαίνω. ληϊστό-ς 'captured' from ληΐζομαι. ὀνομαστό-ς 'that can be named' from ὀνομάζω. Examples of words formed directly from nouns are: κοντωτό-ς 'furnished with punting poles' (κοντό-ς) καρυωτό-ς 'shaped like a nut (κάρυο-ν)'; words like these gave the type from which σαλπιγγ-ωτό-ς 'shaped like a trumpet' (σάλπιγγ-) and others of the same kind were formed; further, ἀ-γέραστο-ς 'without gifts of honour' (γέρας), ἀτρίβαστο-ς 'not worn, unharmed' (beside ἀτριβής), and other words.

Idg. -e-to- (cp. -e-ti- § 100). ἕλε-τό-ς 'that can be grasped'. εὑρε-τό-ς 'to be found', εὑρε-τή-ς 'inventor'. Denominative forms: ναιε-τάω 'dwell', ἀρι-δείκετο-ς 'worth seeing, remarkable'. δακε--τό-ν 'biting creature'. Cp. also ἀν-ήνυτο-ς 'that cannot be completed' beside ἀ-νύ-ω (Skr. sa-nó-mi), πι-νυ-τό-ς 'wise' for *πν--νυ-το- I § 48 p. 41 (cp. Skr. pu-nā́-mi 'I purify, clear up'); these words therefore contain the -neu- -nu- which is used in forming the present stem. With -o-to-: βίο-το-ς βιο-τή 'life, livelihood': O.Ir. biad etc., see above, p. 219.

Further examples of substantives formed with this suffix are: νόσ-το-ς 'return home': Skr. ás-ta-m Avest. as-te-m 'home' for *ϝεs-to-m (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 483), O.H.G. nes-t n. 'provision for the way, support'. βλασ-τό-ς βλάσ-τη 'bud, shoot', κοῖ-το-ς κοί-τη 'couch', ἄμη-το-ς 'mowing, harvest', ἄω-το-ς 'wool, flock (of wool)', ἀλαλη-τό-ς 'battle-cry', κωκῡ-τό-ς 'wail', ἔμε-το-ς 'vomiting', ὗε-τό-ς 'rain'. φυ-τό-ν 'growth', σπάρ-το-ν σπάρ--τη 'rope', πο-τό-ν 'drink'. κίσ-τη 'chest, box', εἱρκτή ἕρκτή 'cage. prison', βρον-τή 'thunder', ἐν-ετή 'brooch', ἀκ-τή 'rugged coast', ἀή-τη 'blast, wind', ἀῡ-τή 'shout', τελευ-τή 'ending', ἀρε-τή 'virtue', γαμε-τή 'wife', πινυ-τή 'understanding'. Abstract tā- stems were employed to denote persons of the masculine gender (§ 149. 157); hence came the large class of masculines in -tā-ς, like γενέ-τη-ς act. 'begetter', pass. 'he that is begotten' beside γενε-τή 'origin, birth',

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and κρι-τή-ς 'judge', δέκ-τη-ς 'receiver', προ-φητή-ς 'interpreter of oracles, soothsayer', ποιη-τή-ς 'maker, poet', ἐεδνω-τή-ς 'bride's father', ἱκέ-τη-ς 'suppliant'; cp. § 80 p. 239 f.

Italic. In this group of languages the *to-* participles filled a larger and more important place than in any other.

Lat. *i-tu-m i-tūre*, Umbr. *etato* 'itate': Skr. *-i-ta-* etc., see p. 222 above. Lat. *scrīp-tu-s*, Umbr. *screihtor* pl. 'scripti' Osc. *scriftas* pl. 'scriptae'. Lat. *fīsu-s*, cp. Umbr. *Fisiu Fissiu* (a derivative in *-i̯o-*) abl. 'Fisio': Gr. *πιστό-ς*, √*bhéidh-*. Lat. *mulsu-s* part., *molta multa* 'punishment', Umb. *motar* gen. 'multae', Osc. *moltam* 'multam' pr. Ital. **molk-tā-*: Skr. *mṛṣ-tá-* part. of *mṛṣāmi* 'I take hold of, touch'. Lat. *or-tu-s*, Umbr. *ortom* 'ortum' ground-form **ṛ-to-*: Gr *νέ(Ϝ)-ορτο-ς* 'newly arisen' *κονι-ορτό-ς* 'raising of dust, cloud of dust', ground-form **ṛ-tó-*, cp. Skr. *ṛ-ṇa-*. Lat. *cēnsu-s*, Osc. *an-censto* fem. 'incensa': Skr. *śaṃ-tá-*, see p. 223 above. Lat. *ēm-p-tus*, Umbr. *empo* 'emptus' *da-stom* 'demptum'; for the *p* see I § 207 p. 174. Lith. *isz-imta-s* 'taken out'. Lat. *ūsu-s*, Pelign. *oisa* abl. 'usa, consumpta', beside the pres. Lat. *ūtor*. Lat. *sanc-tu-s*, Umbr. sahta *sahatam* 'sanctam', Osc. saahtúm 'sanctum'. Lat. *sta-tu-s prae-stātu-s*, Umbr. *Prestotar* (*o* = *ā*, see I § 105 p. 98) gen. 'Praestatae' Osc. statúm 'statum, statutum' Staatiis 'Statius': Skr. *sthi-tá-* Avest. *stā-ta-* etc., see p. 226 above. Lat. *piā-tu-s*, Umbr. pihaz *pihos* 'piatus'. Lat. *lēgā-tu-s*, Osc. lígatúís 'legatis'. Lat. *fīnī-tu-s*; Umbr. stati-ta pl. 'statuta'; Osc. *καπιδιτωμ* i. e. *kapid-ī-to-m* 'ollarium' (beside Lat. *capis -idis*). Lat. *geni-tu-s*, Osc. Genetaí 'Genetrici': Gr. *γενε-τή* 'origin, birth'. Lat. *taci-tu-s*, Umbr. taŝez 'tacitus' *tasetur* pl. 'taciti'.

Lat. *ex-ūtu-s*: Lith. *isz-aūta-s* 'stripped' *aū-ta-s* 'rags for the feet'. *ci-tu-s* Skr. *śi-tá-s* 'excited, put in motion'. *in-certu-s*: Gr. *ἄ-κριτο-ς* 'undistinguished' (cp. I § 33 p. 33 f.). *re-līctu-s*: Skr. *rik-tá-s rik-ta-s* 'cleared, empty', Gr. *ἀ-διά-λειπτο-ς* 'uninterrupted', Lith. *prì-likta-s* 'allowed by fate, allotted'. *tortu-s* for **torc-tu-s*: Gr. *τρεπ-τό-ς* 'that can be turned, moved round'. *pulsu-s* from *pellō*. *tīnctu-s*: Gr. *τεγκ-τό-ς* 'wetted, softened'. *lēc-tu-s*: Gr. *λεκ-τό-ς* 'collected, that can be spoken'. *ēsu-s*: O.H.G.

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ās n. 'food for animals', Lith. *su-ėsta-s* 'eaten up' O.C.Sl. *jas-tǫ* 'food', √*ed-*. *ca-tu-s*: Skr. *śi-tá-s* 'whetted, sharpened'. *ūnctu-s*: Skr. *ak-ta-s* 'anointed'. *scissu-s* Gr. σχισ-τό-ς 'split'. *quiē-tu-s*: Avest. *šāta-* 'happy' i. e. **šyāta-* for **cyā-ta-* (cp. *šāiti-* = O.Pers. *šiyāti-* and I § 448 p. 333). *frē-tu-s*, *con-flātu-s*.

Remark 2. The ending *-sc-s*, which had a regular phonetic origin in *scissu-s vīsu-s ēsu-s morsu-s per-culsu-s* and similar forms, spread beyond its proper sphere, e. g. *lapsu-s*, *fixu-s*, *sparsu-s*, *mulsu-s* (beside *mulctu-s*), *cēnsu-s*, *hausu-s* (beside *haustu-s*). This was furthered by the analogy of the *s*-perfect. The parallelism of *con-cussu-s* : *con-cussī*, *laesu-s* : *laesī*, *sēnsu-s* : *sēnsī* gave rise to *fixu-s* beside *fīxī*, *sparsu-s* beside *sparsī*, etc. On the analogy of *pendō* : *pēnsu-s*, we find *in-tēnsu-s* formed beside *ten-tu-s* (pres. *tendō*), cp. p. 161 footnote 2. Conversely we have *com-ēstu-s* instead of *com-ēsu-s* on the analogy of *haus-tu-s ges-tu-s*.

In Latin the terminations *-ə-to- -i-to- -e-to-* became indistinguishable. *moli-tu-s (molere)*, *ali-tu-s* beside *al-tu-s (alere)*, *pī(n)si-tu-s* beside *pī(n)su-s (pīnsere)*, O.Lat. *ad-gretu-s* for **-gred(i)-to-s* (I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368) beside *ad-gressu-s (ad--gredī)*; *moni-tu-s (monēre)*; *habi-tu-s (habēre)*; *domi-tu-s (domāre)*, *veti-tu-s* beside *vetā-tu-s (vetāre)*, *im-plicitu-s* beside *im-plicātu-s (im-plicāre)*. Cp. the abstract nouns in *-itiō* § 100.

prīvā-tu-sa mā-tu-s etc. *olētu-m* 'ordure', *monē-ta*. *vestī-tu-s*, *fīnī-tu-s* etc. *statū-tu-s*, *tribū-tu-s* etc. Participles were formed directly from nouns more frequently in Italic than in the other groups of languages: *ānsā-tu-s* from *ānsa*, *barbā-tu-s* from *barba*, *ātrā-tu-s* from *āter*, *aurī-tu-s* from *auri-s*, *cīnctū-tu-s* from *cīnctu-s* (gen. *cīnctūs*) and, by a further transference of ending, e. g. *gradātu-s* from *gradu-s* (gen. *gradūs*), *arcuātu-s* from *arcu-s* (gen. *arcūs*), *dentātu-s* from *dēns* (gen. *dent-is*), *galērītu-s* from *galēru-s*, *patrītu-s* from *pater*, *nāsūtu-s* from *nāsu-s*. An isolated example has *-ōtu-s*: *aegrōtu-s* from *aeger* (stem *aegro-*). *-to-* is also added immediately to the stem as a secondary suffix; e. g. *līber-tu-s* Falisc. *loferta* 'liberta', *jūs-tu-s*, *sceles-tu-s*, Umbr. *mersto* 'iustum' = **mers-(e)s-to-* **med-(e)s-to-* from meĭ-s *mers* 'ius', Lat. *onus-tu-s*, *vetus-tu-s*, *ūber-tu-s*, *senec-tu-s*; often to denote places which contain anything, as *urbus-tu-m*, *cārec-tu-m*, *virgul-tu-m*. Hence come also the

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adjectives in *-ōnsu-s -ōsu-s*, as *formō(n)su-s vīrōsu-s*, for *-ou̯ensso-* i. e. *-o-u̯n̥t + to-* (see I § 238 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 368, II § 127): cp. Avest. *ašavasta-* 'pure, upright' (n. 'purity, uprightness' from *aša-vant-* 'possessed of purity, pure, upright'.

Adjectives. Lat. *sanctu-s* Umbr. sahta Osc. saahtúm, see p. 230 above. Lat. *citu-s*, *catu-s*, *curtus*, *stlātu-s lātu-s* 'outspread, wide' (for **stl̥-to-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *stelją* 'sterno'), *ex-celsu-s*, *pēnsu-s*, *at-tentu-s*, *altu-s*, *beātu-s argūtu-s*, and other examples.

Substantives. Lat. *lēgātu-s* Osc. lígatúís 'legatis'; Lat. *hortu-s* Osc. húrtúm: Gr. *χόρ-το-ς* 'grass, place for grazing, courtyard', O.Ir. *gor-t* 'seges' *lub-gort* 'vegetable garden' (cp. I § 389 p. 291); Lat. *lectu-s lectu-m* 'lying-place', *lutu-s lutu-m*, *cubitu-s*, *palātu-s palātu-m*. Lat. *dictu-m*, *jussu-m*, *strātu-m*, *tēctu-m*, *in-cestu-m*, *olētu-m*. Lat. *multa* Umb. *motar* Osc. *moltam*, see p. 230 above, Lat. *Vesta*, *of-fēnsa*, *im-pēnsa*, *re-pulsa*, *sub-sessa*, *secta*, *fossa*; Umbr. *totam* 'civitatem'. Osc. *tovto τωϝτο* 'civitas' pr. Ital. **tou̯tā-*: O.Ir. *tuath* f. 'people', Goth. *þiuda* 'people', ground-form **teu̯tā-*, √*teu̯-* 'tumere'.

Old Irish. The participial *-to-* still survives as a verbal suffix, in the preterite passive, a periphrastic formation which is only found in the 3. sing. and 3 pl. (the verb substantive has been dropped). *ro alt* 'educatus est' (*alim* 'educo'): Lat. *al-tu-s*. *ro chēt* 'cantus est' (*canim* 'cano'): Lat. *can-tu-s*. *do-breth* Mid.Ir. 'datum est' (*do-biur* 'I bring, give'): Skr. *bhr̥-tá-* etc. *ro fess* 'scitum est': Skr. *vittá-* etc. *ro both* 'one was': Gr. *φυ-τό-ν* 'growth' Lith. *bù-ta-s* 'dwelling, house' Skr. *bhū-tá-* 'become'. *ro chloss* 'auditum est', √*k̂leu̯-s-*. *ro erbad* 'commissum, creditum est' beside pres. 3. sing. *erbaid* 'credit'. This group of forms no doubt sprang from the impersonal use of the neuter.

In some words the old participial form has a purely adjectival value. *necht* 'pure': Skr. *nik-tá-* 'washed', Gr. *ἄ-νιπτο-ς* 'unwashed'. *cloth* 'famed': Skr. *śru-tá-* etc., see p. 221 *nocht* 'naked': Goth. *nuqaþ-s*. *gnāth* 'known, accustomed': Skr. *jñā-tá-* etc., see p. 221. Generally the participles which were used as adjectives were not also used as the pret. pass., cp. *cloth* beside *ro chloss*.

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The participial meaning still survives in *-the*, an extension of the suffix by *-i̯o-* (cp. Gr. *ἀμβρόσιο-ς*: *ἄμβροτο-ς*, Skr. *mártiya-*: *márta-*, O.H.G. *wīsi* 'wise' Mid.H.G. *sīhte* 'shallow'). *brithe bretha* 'brought': Skr. *bhṛ-tá-*. *cēte* 'cantus'. *er-ite* 'susceptus' beside 3. sing. pres. conj. *-air-ema* 'suscipiat': Lat. *ēm-p-tu-s*. *tuicse* 'electus' beside *to-gu* 'choice', from *-gus-t-i̯o-*: Skr. *juṣ-ṭá-* *júṣ-ṭa-* 'beloved, desired', Gr. *γευσ-τό-ς* 'tasted, to be tasted'. A.S. *ȝe-cost* 'valuable' √ *ǵeu̯s-*. Sometimes the idea of capacity, possibility is implied, as in *rithe* 'vendible' (also 'sold, given up') beside *re-nim* 'I give up, sell', *dī-brithe* 'importabilis'. There is certainly a connexion between the use of *-the*-forms as participles, and the conversion of the predicative *-to*-participle into a preterite passive. Preference was given to the existing *-ti̯o*-forms in order to make a distinction in form answering to the distinction in sense; and then new *-ti̯o*-forms were made at will and used as participles. The same thing happened in Cymric; only the suffix employed there for the participles was not *-t-i̯o-*, but *-(e)tic* which came from *-t-īco-* (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. C. p. 532).

On the other hand, we have the simple *-to-* *-tā-* in partcc. used as substantives. *gor-t* m. seges': Gr. *χόρ-το-ς*, see p. 232 above. *mlicht blicht* m. (Mid.Ir.) 'milk': Lat. *mulcto-* etc., see above p. 222. *der-met* n. 'a forgetting': Skr. *ma-tá-m*, see p. 222 above. *nemed* (Gall. *neme-to-n*) n. 'sacred thing' ('something honoured'), √ *nem-*. *dliged* n. 'law'. *biad* n. 'means of livelihood': Gr. *βίο-το-ς βιο-τή* 'life, livelihood' etc., see p. 219 above. *both* f. 'dwelling-place, hut'; cp. above *ro both*. *loth* f. 'filth': Lat. *lu-tu-s lu-tu-m*. *breth* f. 'judgement, sentence'. *im-thecht* f. 'going round, change'. *ed-bart ed-part* f. 'oblatio'.

Cp. Gall. *amb-actu-s* 'bondman, servant' orig. 'one sent about, messenger' (see p. 228), *Celtu-s Crestu-s Ate-gnatu-s Ate-gnata*, *Γαισατοι* pl. ('pilati'), *Sematu-s Cirata*, and many similar forms.

Germanic. *-to-* was a living participial suffix in derivative verbs (Causative and Denominative), e. g. Goth. *nasiþ-s* O.H.G. *gi-nerit* 'saved' from *nasjan nerien* 'to save'; Goth. *ga-tarhiþ-s* 'blame-worthy, notorious' from *ga-tarhjan* 'to mark out, blame': Skr. *darśitá-* 'shown'; *þaúrsiþ-s* 'thirsty' from *þaúrseiþ mik* 'I am

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thirsty', lit. 'it thirsts me': Skr. *tṛṣitá-* 'thirsty'; Goth. *salbōþ-s* O.H.G. *gi-salbōt* 'anointed' from *salbōn* 'to anoint'; Goth. *habáiþ-s* O.H.G. *gi-habēt* 'had' from *haban habēn* 'to have'. Further in Gothic, we have such partcc. attached to the preterite-presents, e. g. *mund-s* 'meant, thought' beside *man* 'I think, mean'. Skr. *matá-* etc., *skuld-s* 'owed' beside *skal* 'I ought, *maht-s* 'able, possible', beside *mag* 'I can'. Lastly they occur in certain strong verbs which have preterites in *-ta*, e. g. Goth. *vaúrht-s* O.H.G. *gi-worht -woraht* beside Goth. *vaúrkjan* O.H.G. *wurchen* 'work': Avest. *varšta-* 'worked, done' Gr. *ἄ-ϙϱεκτο-ς* 'undone' √*ϙer-ĝ-*, Goth. **þūht-s* O.H.G. *gi-dūht* (pr. Germ. **þuŋχ-ta-*, I § 214 p. 181) beside *þugkjan dunken* 'to seem', Goth. **brāht-s* O.H.G. *brāht* (pr. Germ. **braŋχ-ta-*) beside *briggan bringan* 'to bring'. In all other cases *-eno- -ono-* was the participial suffix in use (§ 67 p. 149 ff.), and in O.H.G. it appears also in preterite-presents (*gi-wizzan* from *weiz* 'I know', *gi-torran* from *gi-tar* 'I dare', and occasionally in the strong verbs with *t*-preterites (*brungan*, side by side with *brāht*).

The suffix also formed participles directly from nouns. Goth. *un-qeniþ-s* 'not having a wife', from *qēn-s* 'woman'. O.H.G. *gestirnōt* 'having a brow or front' from *gistirni gestirne* n. 'brow', Mid.H.G. *ge-jāret* 'aged' lit. 'be-yeared'. O.Icel. *hœrð-r* 'covered with hair'. In the developement of Anglo-Saxon and Norse there appears a special group of adjectival compounds derived in this way, e. g. Engl. *hare-hearted, hare-lipped, bare-footed, bare-headed*, O.Icel. *bjart-litað-r* 'bright-coloured', *sex-hǫfðað-r* 'six-headed', *gull-bitlað-r* 'with golden bridle': cp. Skr. *án-apta-* 'not watery' Lat. *auro-clāvātu-s* p. 224.

Idg. *-é-to-* is no doubt to be traced in O.H.G. *hulid* n. 'velamentum', *egida* f. 'harrow' (: Mod.Cymr. *oged* O.Corn. *ocet* 'harrow') and other words. *-o-to-* in Goth. *naqaþ-s* beside O.Icel. *nøkkvað-r nokkvið-r* O.Ir. *nocht* 'naked' (cp. Skr. *nag-na-* with the participial suffix *-no-*), Goth. *liuhaþ* n., side by side with O.H.G. *lioht* n. 'light'.

It is common in adjectives. Further examples are: Goth. *vun-d-s* O.H.G. *wunt* 'wounded': Gr. *ϝαϝο-* in *ϝατάλαι. οὐλαί*

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(Hesych.). Goth. *bi-ūht-s* 'accustomed': Lith. *ǰ-ùnkta-s* 'accustomed' (cp. Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 269). O.H.G. *zorah-t* O.Sax. *torht toroht* 'clear, bright': Skr. *dṛṣṭá-s* 'seen', common ground-form **dṛk-tó-*. Goth. *faúrh-t-s* O.Sax. *forht* 'timid'. O.H.G. *zar-t* 'dear, fine, beautiful' beside Skr. *ā-dṛta-s* 'considerate, treated with consideration, honoured'? Goth. *kal-d-s* O.H.G. *kalt* 'cold': cp. Lat. *gelu*, O.C.Sl. *gol-otĭ* 'ice'[1]). Goth. *raíh-t-s* O.H.G. *reht* 'right': O.Pers. *rāsta* 'upright, just' (for **rāšta-* 'on the analogy of forms with *raz-*), Gr. ὀρεκτό-ς 'extended, outstretched', Lat. *rēctu-s*, ground-form **rĕk-to-*, √*reg̑-*. Goth. *bairh-t-s* O.H.G. *beraht* 'bright'. O.H.G. *lioh-t* 'beaming'. Goth. *dáu-þ-s* O.H.G. *tō-t* 'dead', from O.H.G. *touwen* 'to die'. Goth. *haf-t-s* O.H.G. *haft* 'captured, fettered': Lat. *cap-tu-s*.

Substantives. Goth. *mō-þ-s* (stem *mō-da-*) 'anger' O.H.G. *muot* m. 'spirit, mind, courage', beside O.C.Sl. *sŭ-mĕ-ti* 'to dare'. A.S. *ārōh-t* m. 'work' O.Icel. *þrōtt-r* 'strength', cp. O.H.G. *drucchen* 'to press'. O.H.G. *haf-t* m. n. A.S. *haeft* m. O.Icel. *hapt* n. 'bond, fetter', cp. Goth. *haft-s* 'captus'. O.H.G. O.Sax. *frōs-t* A.S. *forst* m. O.Icel. *frost* n. 'frost', beside O.H.G. *friosan* 'to freeze'. O.H.G. *gi-waht* m. 'mention, fame', beside *gi-wuog* 'he made mention of': Skr. *uk-tá-* 'spoken', √*ueq-*. O.H.G. *mor-d* n. O.Icel. *morð* n. 'murder, killing': Skr. *mṛ-tá-m-* 'death. Goth. *gul-þ* O.H.G. *gold* n. 'gold': Lett. *ze'l-t-s* O.C.Sl. *zla-to* 'gold', √*ghel-* 'to shine with a yellow gleam'. O.H.G. *pro-d* n. O.Icel. *broð* n. 'broth': Lat. *dē-fru-tum -frūtu-m*. Goth. *þiu-þ* O.Icel. *þjōð* n. 'good' (subst.). Goth. *hliu-þ* 'listening to, attention, silence' O.Icel. *hljōð* n. 'hearing, sound': Avest. *srao-te-m*, see p. 221 f. O.H.G. *ferid* n. 'navigium' *zimbrid* n. 'building'. Goth. *skanda* O.H.G. *scanta* f. 'shame' beside the adj. O.H.G. *scan-t* 'ashamed' (cp. O.H.G. *scama* 'shame'). O.H.G. *wun-ta* 'wound', beside *wunt* 'wounded', *scar-ta* 'notch, wound', beside *scart* 'injured, mutilated', *forah-ta* 'fear', beside Goth. *faúrht-s*

1) Do the last two words, *zart* and *kalt*, come from Idg. **dg̑-to-* **gl̥-to-* or **dor-to-* **gol-to-*? There is the same doubt as to O.H.G. *scar-t* 'injured, mutilated'.

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'fearful, timid'. Goth. *ras-ta* 'a length of road' O.H.G. *rasta* 'rest, repose, a length of road'. O.H.G. *slah-ta* 'killing, slaughter'. A.S. *gūð* f. 'battle' pr. Germ. **gún-þō*: Skr. *ha-tá-* 'slain'. Goth. *us-fartō* f. (*n*-decl.) 'a going out' (*usfarþōn gatáujan us skipa* i. e. 'to suffer shipwreck'). Goth. *þiu-da* O.H.G. *diota* 'people': Osc. *tovto* etc., see p. 232 above.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian the *to*-participle is still in regular use with a passive sense in verbs of all classes. *gìr-ta-s* 'famed': Skr. *gūr-ta-s* 'approved, welcome, pleasant', ground-form **gr̥-to-* and **gr̥̄-to-*. *pìl-ta-s* 'poured, shed': Skr. *pūr-tá-* 'filled', ground-form **pl̥-to-* and **pl̥̄-to-*. *kiřsta-s* 'hewn' (pres. *kert-ù*): Skr. *kr̥tta-s* 'cut off, split', ground-form **qr̥t^{s}-tó-*, √ *qert-*. *sùk-ta-s* 'turned' (pres. *sùk-ù*). *at-sèkta-s* 'traced out, found out': Lat. *sec-ta sectārī*. *dė̃-ta-s* 'laid' (pres. *dedù*): Skr. *-dhi-ta-* etc., see p. 223 above. *jẽszkó-ta-s* 'sought' (pres. *jẽszkau*). *pa-veizdė̃ta-s* 'examined, revised' (pres. *pa-véizdmi*). *táiky-ta-s* ('properly united' (pres. *táikau*). *áuksin-ta-s* 'gilded' (pres. *áuksinu*). *balnů́-ta-s* 'saddled' (pres. *balnů́ju*). Also act.-intrans., but only rarely, as *bú-ta* neutr. 'been', e. g. *czión yrà búta* 'people have been here'[1]): Skr. *bhū-tá-* 'become': *važiů́-ta-s* 'riding (in a carriage)' (pres. *važiů́ju* 'I ride').

Partcc. in *-ė̀-ta-s* and *-ů̀-ta-s* are often formed directly from nouns. *dùlkė́ta-s* 'dusty' from *dùlkės* pl. 'dust'. *skylė̃ta-s* 'perforated' from *skylė̃* 'hole'. *kalnů́ta-s* 'mountainous, full of mountains' from *kálna-s* 'mountain', *gaurů́ta-s* 'with delicate hair' from *gaurai̇̃* pl. 'delicate hair'. *ąsů́ta-s* 'with a handle' from *ąsà* 'handle', *lúpůta-s* 'lipped' from *lúpa* 'lip'.

In Old Church Slavonic *-to-* was but little used as a participial suffix. It occurs regularly in forms from roots ending in a nasal, e. g. *žę-tŭ* 'hewn, mown': Lith. *giñ-ta-s* 'hunted, driven' (used of cattle), Skr. *há-ta-s* etc., see p. 225 above; *pę-tŭ* 'stretched, hung': Lith. *pìn-ta-s* 'twisted'; *jẹ-tŭ* 'taken':

1) *Jìs rãdo svẽtimo búta* 'he found that there was a stranger' properly 'the existing of a stranger', with the same nominal construction as the passive participles have.

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Lith. *iĩm-ta-s* 'taken'. Besides these, it occurs in certain roots with *rĭ, i, ĕ* before the suffix, e. g. *pro-strĭtŭ* 'outstretched': Skr. *stṛ-tá-s* etc., see p. 222 above; *vi-tŭ* 'wounded': Lith. *výs-ta-s* 'twisted' (of cords); *pĕ-tŭ* 'sung'. Elsewhere *-eno- (-no-)* was the usual form, see § 67 p. 151 and p. 154 f.

Partcc. in *-a-tŭ*, from nouns, are common. *bradatŭ* 'bearded' from *brada* 'beard': Lat. *barbātu-s*, cp. also Lith. *barzdŭ̃ta-s*. *rogatŭ* 'horned' from *rogŭ* 'horn': cp. Lith. *ragŭ̃ta-s*. *ženatŭ* 'having a wife' from *žena* 'woman'. *mąžata* 'maritata' from *mąžĭ* 'man'.

-e-to- -o-to- in Balto-Slavonic. The former is sometimes found in Slavonic, as O.C.Sl. *trep-etŭ* 'tremor' Little-Russ. *trep-eta* 'aspen'; O.C.Sl. *kreč-etŭ* 'cicala'. *-o-to-*: Lith. *gyvatà* 'life, livelihood'. O.C.Sl. *životŭ* 'life, living being': Gr. *βίο-το-ς* etc., see p. 219 above; Lett. *luppata-s* 'patch, shred' (*lup-t* Lith. *lùp-ti* 'to pare, flay'); Lith. *sùkata* 'giddy sickness (of sheep)' *sùk-ti* 'to turn'), *adatà* Lett. *addata* 'needle' (Lith. *ad-ýti* 'to stitch'); O.C.Sl. *klokotŭ* 'bubbling' (subst.), *klopotŭ* 'noise' Pol. *kłopot* 'unrest', Czech *blekot* 'yelping' (subst.) (O.C.Sl. *blekotati* 'to bleat' Russ. *blekotat'* 'to stammer'), *dusot* 'roar', *sikot* 'hiss', *laĩkota* 'eager desire'.

In Adjectives it is common. Lith. *spìsta-s* 'pressed, thick' (beside *spintù spìsti* 'to fly out in swarms', of bees): Lat. *spissu-s*. Lith. *skýs-ta-s* 'with a thin stream', dialectically also 'pure, clear' of liquids, *skáis-ta-s* 'clear, shining', O.C.Sl. *čis-tŭ* 'pure, holy', beside Lith. *skẽdžiu* 'I part, separate, rarefy'. Lith. *gel̃-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *žlŭ-tŭ* (pr. slav. **gĭl-tŭ*) 'yellowish'. Lith. *szál-ta-s* 'cold': Avest. *sar°-ta-* 'cold'. *tvìr-ta-s* 'firm'. *driú-ta-s* 'firm, lasting', cp. no doubt O.H.G. *trū-t* 'beloved, dear' and *trūēn* 'to trust, believe'. *pìk-ta-s* 'angry'. *bál-ta-s* 'white'. *rúksz-ta-s* 'sour'. *kársz-ta-s* 'hot'. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high'. O.C.Sl. *tlŭs-tŭ* 'fat'. *žestŭ žestokŭ* 'hard', no doubt orig. 'burnt', for **gek-s-to-* beside *žegą* 'I burn' (cp. I § 545 p. 400). *is-tŭ* 'certain, true'. *lju-tŭ* 'violent, grim, terrible'. *čęs-tŭ* 'thick': Lith. part. *kiĩmsz-ta-s* 'stuffed', (*kemszù* 'I stuff'). *otŭ-vrĭstŭ* 'opened, open' (*otŭ-vrĭzą* 'I let loose, open'). *u-vęs-tŭ* 'wreathed, crowned' (*u-vęzą* 'I wreathe, crown').

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In substantives. Lith. *pir̃sz-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *prĭs-tŭ* 'finger' ground-form **pr̥k̂-to-s*, cp. no doubt Skr. *spr̥ṣ-ṭá-s* 'touched'. Pruss. *gei-t-s* acc. *gei-ta-n* 'bread' O.C.Sl. *ži-to* 'fruit, corn', common ground-form **gei̯-to-*: A.S. *cī-ā* m. O.Sax. *kī-th* m. or n. Mid.H.G. *kī-t* n. 'offspring' pr. Germ. *kī-þa-*, √ *gei̯-* 'live, come to life'. Lith. *sė̃-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *si-to* 'sieve'. Lith. *var̃-tai* pl., O.C.Sl. *vra-ta* (pr. Slav. **vor-tā*) n. pl. 'door', beside Lith. *vér-ti* O.C.Sl. *vrěti* 'to shut'. Lith. *gūsz-ta-s gūsz-tà* 'nest of fowls and geese': Skr. *gūḍhá-s* 'hidden', common ground-form **ghūĝh + to-*, or the Skr. word may come from **ghuĝh + to-*. *tìł-ta-s* 'bridge'. *mìł-tai* pl. 'meal'. *tvár-ta-s* 'enclosure'. *smars-ta-s* 'stench' (*smard-*). *spar-ta-s* 'bond'. *žlaũk-tai* pl. 'husks'. *lëp-ta-s* 'footway', *łaĩp-ta-s* 'scaffolding, gangway'. *maĩsz-ta-s maisz-ta* 'uproar': Gr. *μῖκ-τό-ς* 'mixed'. *sósta-s* 'seat' beside *sė̃dmi*. *geł-tà* 'yellowness', beside *geł̃-ta-s* 'yellow'. *bank-tos* pl. fem. 'violence, tempest', beside *bank-ta-s* 'violent' (*bangà* 'wave'). *sru-tà* filthy liquid': Skr. *sru-tá-s* 'flowing'. *nasz-tà* 'burden'. *vasz-tà* 'cart'. *bras-tà*. 'wading through, ford' (*bredù*). O.C.Sl. *podŭ-jętŭ* 'grasp, support' beside partc. *jętŭ*. *lis-tŭ* 'leaf'. *otŭ-větŭ* 'answer', cp. Pruss. *way-te* 'parley, conference'. *mos-tŭ* 'bridge'. *mlatŭ* 'hammer' (pr. Slav. **mol-tŭ*). *sŭ-vito* 'linen' beside partc. *vi-tŭ*. *jas-to* 'food': Lat. *ēsu-s* etc., see p. 230 f. *lě-to* 'summer, year' orig. 'rainy season', cp. Lith. *lë-tu-s ly-tù-s* 'rain'. *pą-to* 'fetter', beside the partc. *pę-tŭ*. *vrĭsta* 'position, stage, age': Skr. *vr̥ttá-m*, see p. 222 above. *krasta* (pr. Slav. **kors-tā-*) 'itch, scab': Lith. *kar̃sz-ta-s* 'combed, curried'. *pę-ta* 'heel'.

§ 80. 2. *-tā-* as a secondary suffix, forming abstract substantives[1]).

The suffix *-tā-* which, as we have seen, formed primary abstract substantives in the proethnic and later periods, as Avest. *cis-tā-* 'wisdom', Gr. *ἀρε-τή* 'virtue', Lat. *multa* 'punishment', O.Ir. *ed-bart* f. 'oblatio', Goth. *skan-da* 'shame', Lith. *geł-ta* 'yellowness', O.C.Sl. *vrĭs-ta* 'position, stage', (see § 79), had also begun to

1) G. Bühler, Das Griechische Secundärsuffix *της*, Göttingen 1858. H. Ebel, Die Masculina auf. *-της*, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 155 ff. Brandstaeter, Die paronymis Craecis in *-ιτης*, Danzig 1852.

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be used in the proethnic period as a secondary suffix, and formed abstract substantives from substantives and adjectives alike. It seems to have been even then extended to *-tāt-* *-tāti-* (§ 102), and in some languages it was partly or wholly superseded by this suffix or by *-tūt-(i)-* (see loc. cit.).

-tā- was fertile in Aryan, Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic.

Indo-Germanic. Lat. *juven-ta*, Goth. *junda* 'youth' pr. Germ. **i̯uu̯un-dṓ*, ground-form **i̯uu̯n̥-tā́*, beside Skr. *yúvan-* 'young, young man' Lat. *juven-*; cp. **i̯uu̯n̥-ti-s*, § 101. Before *-tā-*, *o*-stems had either *-o-* or *-e-*; the difference was doubtless connected with a difference in accent (cp. especially Germ. *-é-þō-* and *-e-ðṓ-*). Skr. *pūrṇa-tā-* 'a being full, fullnéss', O.H.G. *fulli-da* O.Sax. *fulli-tha* O.C.Sl. *plŭno-ta* 'fulness', beside Skr. *pūrṇá-s* Goth. *full-s* O.C.Sl. *plŭnŭ* 'full'; Skr. *ghōra-tā-* 'awfulness', Goth. *gáuri-tha* 'trouble, beside *ghōrá-s* 'awful' *gáur-s* 'troubled'; Skr. *kr̥ṣṇa-tā-* O.C.Sl. *črĭno-ta* 'blackness', beside *kr̥ṣṇá-s*, *črĭnŭ* 'black'; Skr. *dīrgha-tā-* O.C.Sl. *dlŭgo-ta* 'length', beside *dīrghá-s*, *dlŭgŭ* 'long'.

Aryan. Skr. *dēvá-tā-* 'divinty' from *dēvá-s* 'god'. *nagná-tā-* 'nakedness' from *nagna-s* 'naked', cp. O.C.Sl. *nago-ta* 'nakedness'. *avī́ra-tā-* 'want of sons, or children' from *a-vī́ra-s* 'without sons, or children'. Avest. *yęsnya-tā-* 'adorableness' from *yęsnya-* 'adorable'. Skr. *bandhú-tā-* 'relationship' from *bándhu-ṣ* 'relative, relationship'. *agṓ-tā* 'want of cattle' from *á-gō-* 'without cattle', cp. Gr. πολυβούτη-ς 'one rich in cattle'. *aprajás-tā-* 'want of offspring' from *á-pra-jas-* 'without offspring'.

Greek. Here these abstract substantives were used of persons (cp. Skr. *dévá-tā-* 'divinity' then 'deity, god', O.C.Sl. *juno-ta* 'young man', orig. 'youthfulness'); and they were altered to look like masculines by a change of form in the nom. and gen. sing., just as γενετή became γενετή-ς (see § 79 p. 229 f.). It is now impossible to distinguish the forms in which this change first took place and which then served as models for the rest The feminines in *-tā* in their abstract meaning fell out of use in prehistoric times, replaced no doubt by forms in *-tāt-*; compare e. g. βαρύ-της -τητ-ος 'weight' with Skr. *guru-tā-*

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'weight', Goth. *kaúriþa* 'burden', *βραδύ-της -τητ-ος* (also *-τής τῆτος*) 'slowness' with Skr. *mṛdu-tā-* 'softness'. The following are examples of this change to the masculine gender: —

ἀγρό-τη-ς 'dweller in the country' from *ἀγρό-ς*, *δημό-τη-ς* 'fellow demesman' from *δῆμο-ς*, *ἱππό-τα* 'charioteer' (*-τα* is the vocative form, which was also used as nominative, see the Author Morph. Unt. II 199 f. Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1880 p. 660, G. Meyer Gr. Gr.[2] 318) from *ἵππο-ς*. *οἰκέ-τη-ς* 'member of one's household' from *οἶκο-ς*, which served as the type for *εὐνέ-τη-ς* 'sharer of one's bed, husband', beside *εὐνή* and the like. *πολυ-βούτη-ς* 'one rich in cattle' from *βοῦ-ς*. *ναύ-τη-ς* 'sailor' from *ναῦ-ς*.

The primary and secondary formations had two points of contact. First, e. g. *οἰκέ-τη-ς* and *γενέ-τη-ς* had the same ending *-έτη-ς*; and secondly certain of them could be regarded equally well as denominative or as participial formations, e. g. *κορυσ-τή-ς* 'helmed, armed man, warrior' *κεράσ-τη-ς* 'horned creature, ram' *αἰχμη-τή-ς* 'javelin-thrower'.

Italic. Examples are rare. *juven-ta* (see above, p. 239) and its opposite *senec-ta*, *Mājes-ta* Vulcan's consort. It is clear that *-tāt(i)-* and *-tūt(i)-* have spread at the expense of *-tā-*.

Latin perhaps, as well as Greek, may have had masculines in *-tā-*: *eques equitis* like *ἱππό-τα* and the like. See on this point § 123 Rem. 1.

Germanic. All the forms excepting Goth. *jun-da* (see above, p. 239) had *-iþō-* or *-idō-*. (the latter is rare, e. g. Goth. *áuþida* 'wilderness' from *áuþ-s* 'waste, desolate'). *-i-* represents the Idg. *-e-* of the *o*-stems; but here and there Idg. *-i-* may have been the original sound, as in O.H.G. *gi-meini-da* 'community' beside Goth. *ga-máini-* 'common, communis'. Even in proethnic Germanic *-iþō- (-idō-)* was transferred to other classes of stems, e. g. to those in *-u-*; the word *jun-da* escaped this change merely because the stem from which it was derived (= Skr. *yúvan-*) had fallen out of independent use.

These abstract substantives were far more frequently derived from adjectives than from substantives.

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Goth. *vargiþa* 'damnation' from **varga-* m. O.H.G. *warg* m. 'outlawed criminal, banished evildoer'. Goth. *veitvōdiþa* 'evidence' from *veitvōþ-s* 'witness'. A.S. *dȳfð* O.Icel. *þýfð* 'theft' from *ðeóf þjōf-r* 'thief'. Goth. *háuhiþa* O.H.G. *hōhida* 'height' from *háuh-s hōh* 'high'. O.H.G. *heilida* O.Icel. *heilð* 'health' from O.H.G. *heil* O.Icel. *heill* 'healthy'. Goth. *niujiþa* 'newness' from *niuji-s* 'new'. *faírniþa* 'age' from *faírnei-s* 'old'. *tulgiþa* 'safety, fortification', from *tulgu-s* 'firm'.

In West-Germanic and Norse *-iþō-* was associated with the verbs in *-jan*, since verbs of this kind were often connected with the nouns from which the *-iþō-* forms were derived and *-i-* was a characteristic mark of their conjugation, cp. e. g. O.H.G. *hōhida* beside *hōhen* (Goth. *hauhjan*) 'to exalt'. Hence arose analogical primary formations, which were most common in High German, as O.H.G. *gi-hōrida* 'hearing' formed from *gi-hōren* (Goth. *ga-háusjan*) 'to hear', *ir-lōsida* 'release' (subst.) from *ir-lōsen* (Goth. *us-láusjan*) 'to release'. Later on these were formed from other verbs than those in *-jan*; as O.H.G. *far-manida* 'contempt' from *far-manōn*, *gi-habida* 'bearing, behaviour' from *gi-habēn*, *ant-findida* 'feeling' from *ant-findan*.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian *-tà-* is quite rare in this use, e. g. *sveĩka-tà* 'health' from *sveĩka-s* 'healthy'. Possibly *-tà* was not pure Lithuanian, but borrowed from Slavonic; cp. *nogatà (nãgatà)* 'nakedness' from Pol. *nagota*, *siratà* 'orphan' from Pol. *sierota* Little-Russ. *syrota*.

Old Church Slavonic. *rabota* 'servitude' from *rabŭ* 'servant', *gnusota* 'dirtiness' from *gnusŭ* 'dirt', *sramota* 'shame' from *sramŭ* 'shame'. *dobrota* 'goodness' from *dobrŭ* 'good', *pĭstrota* 'motley colouring' from *pĭstrŭ* 'motley', *bělota* 'whiteness' from *bělŭ* 'white', *žestota* 'hardness' from *žestŭ* 'hard'. Some have become 'concrete: *sirota* f. 'orphan', orig. 'bereavement', from *sirŭ* 'bereaved, orbus' and *junota* m. 'young man', orig. 'youth' from *junŭ* 'young'. Cp. above, p. 239, Gr. *ἀγρό-ιη-ς* etc., and § 157.

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§ 81. 3. *-to-* as a Suffix of Comparison. This class includes the *-to-* of the ordinal numerals, and the superlative *-is-to-* which is an extension of the primary comparative-suffix *-ies-* (§ 135).

An extension of *-to-* by *-mo-* forms the superlative-suffix *-tmmo-*, which was discussed in § 73 p. 177 ff.

Indo-Germanic. The numerals in this period had sometimes *-mo-* (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.), sometimes *-to-*, sometimes perhaps both forms, e. g. **dekmmo-* and **dekmto-* 'tenth'. The latter form was the original of Gr. *δέκα-το-ς*, Goth. *taihun-da*, Lith. *deszimta-s* O.C.Sl. *desętŭ*. Skr. *cathur-thá-s*, Gr. *τέταρ-το-ς τέτρα-το-ς*, Lat. *quar-tu-s* for **ctvar-to-s*, O.H.G. *fior-do* (*n*-stem), Lith. *ketvirta-s* O.C.Sl. *četvrŭtŭ* 'fourth'. Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭhá-s*, Gr. *ἕκ-το-ς*, Lat. *sex-tu-s*, Goth. *saihs-ta* (*n*-stem), Lith. *szẽsz-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *šes-tŭ* 'sixth', cp. I § 589 Rem. 2 p. 446. Gr. *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* Boeot. *Fικασ-τό-ς* 'twentieth' contrasted with Avest. *vīsąs-tema-* Lat. *vīcēnsimu-s*, see above, p. 177.

Remark 1. **dekm* 'ten' has the parallel form **dekmt* (Skr. *daśát-* f. 'decade', Goth. *taihun*, Lith. *dẽszimt*, pl. *dẽszimt-s*, O.C.Sl. pl. *deset-e*, see I § 244 p. 202, § 664, 2 p. 522, II § 123); this naturally suggests the comparison, **dekmto-s* : **dekmt* = **dekmmo-s* : *dekm*. Cp. p. 167 Rem. And it can hardly be denied that this *-to-* and the *-to-* of the cardinal numeral **kmtó-m* 'hundred' (Skr. *śatá-m* etc.) are identical. I should have more confidence in suggesting this view of **dekmto-*, but that the *-to-* of the ordinal numerals may also be the participial suffix; *the tenth* might be, so to speak, *the be-ten-ed* (cp. Skr. *án-ap-ta-* etc. p. 224), i. e. 'he to whom the number ten has been assigned in an enumeration'.

With the numerals proper is connected Skr. *kati-thá-s* 'which (in a series)?' beside *káti* Avest. *caiti* 'how many?', Lat. *cottī-diē* for **cuet(i)-tei-* (loc.) 'on a day of whatsoever number, on which day soever, every day' beside *quo-t* for **quo-ti* (I § 655, 1 p. 501). Cp. I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368 § 633 p. 474. It is formed in the same way as Skr. *viśati-tamá-s* 'twentieth'.

-is-to-, in the proethnic language, was the usual superlative ending where the comparative was formed in *-ies-*. **lnghisto-s*: Skr. *laghiṣṭha-s* 'nimblest, smallest', Gr. *ἐλάχ-ιστο-ς* 'smallest'. Skr. *suśád-iṣṭha-s* Gr. *ἡδ-ιστο-ς* Goth. *sut-ist-s* 'suavissimus'. **plēisto-s* 'plurimus' i. e. **plē*+*isto-*: Gr. *πλεῖστο-ς*; as regards Avest. *fraęšta-*

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O.Icel. *flestr* see p. 244. 247 f. The root-syllable had originally the weak form of Ablaut, and *-to-* was accented; this is shewn on the one hand by Gr. *κράτ-ιστο-ς* beside *κρέσσων κρείσσων*, *ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς* beside *ὀλείζων* and the like, on the other hand by Skr. *jyēṣṭhá-s kaniṣṭhá-s* and O.Fries. *lērest*, with *r* for pr. Germ. *z*, beside *lēssa* and the like (see Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 519 ff., Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacc. 40 f.); cp. also the accentuation of *-to-* in numerals like Skr. *catur-thá-s* Gr. *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* O.H.G. *sibun-to* (pr. Germ. **-dô*). In the separate branches of language, both the vocalism and the accentuation of these superlatives were influenced more or less strongly by the comparative forms, themselves at the same time reacting upon the latter.

The new suffix *-isto-* was primary to start with, like the comparative *-ies-*. But in all the different branches in which it was fertile, i. e. in Aryan, Greek and Germanic, it was very soon used along with *-ies-* as a denominative (cp. § 58 p. 106 f.).

Aryan. In Sanskrit we find *-tha-* and *-ta-*, and (always with the aspirate) *-iṣṭha-*. In Avest. *-tha-* is represented by *puχ-ða-* 'fifth' (cp. Skr. *pañca-thá-*) and *hapta-ϕa-* 'seventh' (Skr. *saptá-thā-*). *-tha-* therefore certainly dates from proethnic Aryan. Cp. I § 475 p. 350 f.

Remark 2. I cannot follow those who would infer from this another proethnic suffix *-tho-*, so long as no undoubted example of the aspirate has been found in the European branch. Whence comes the aspirate in Gr. *λοῖσθο-ς* 'last'? — The question of the Indo-Germanic Tenues Aspiratae is not decided even by Moulton's essay, ingenious as it is, in the American Journal of Philology VIII 207 ff., since he is only concerned with the evidence in Greek. What, for instance, do we gain by deriving Gr. *τέταρτο-ς* from **τεταρ-θό-ς* and thus reconciling it with Skr. *catur-thá-s*, if all the while Lat. *quar-tu-s* is left out of consideration? (Moulton p. 208.) Why is not the Latin word **quarbus*, with *b* for pr. Ital. *p̄*?

-ta- occurs e. g. in Skr. *tṛ-t-īya-* Avest. *p̄ri-t-ya-* O.Pers. *θi-t-iya-* 'third'; beside which we have also Skr. *tri-tá-s* (on which *tṛ-t-īya-* is based), the name of a divinity to which another, *dvitá-s*, was created as a contrast (cp. the Italic forms), Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭá-* 'sixtieth', *sapta-tá-* 'seventieth' and the like; cp. also Skr. *pañcát-* f. 'a group of five' *daśát-* f. 'a group of ten'.

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With Skr. *kati-thá-* (see above, p. 242) are connected *tāvathita-* 'such and such a one (in a series)' *bahutithá-* 'manifold'.

-isto-. Skr. *máh-iṣṭha-* Avest. *maz-išta-* 'greatest': Gr. *μέγ-ιστο-ς*. Skr. *áś-iṣṭha-* Avest. *āš-išta-* 'quickest': Gr. *ὠκ-ιστο-ς*. O.Pers. *maθ-išta-* 'greatest', beside Avest. *mas-yah-* 'greater': Gr. *μήκ-ιστο-ς* 'longest, greatest'. Skr. *vás-iṣṭha-* Avest. *vah-išta-* 'best'. Skr. *yáv-iṣṭha-* youngest', compar. *yáv-īyas-*, pos. *yúvan-*. *gar-iṣṭha-* 'heaviest', compar. *gár-īyas-*, pos. *gurú-*. *sthéṣṭha-* 'most constant', beside *sthi-rá-* (O.H.G. *stara-blint* 'stone-blind'), for pr. Ar. **sthaiṣhta-* Idg. **stə-i̯s-to-* (just as the optative stem Skr. *sthē-* is for **stə-i-*, see I § 116 p. 108); similarly *sphéṣṭha* 'richest, fattest' beside *sphi-rá-* (O.C.Sl. *sporŭ* 'rich'), for **spə-i̯sto*; the *ē* spread to the comparative, and *sthéyas-* and *sphéyas-* took the place of **sthā-yas-* and **sphā-yas-* (we can hardly assume a form **sthā-īyas-* or **sthā-iyas-*). On the other hand the analogy of *śré-yas-* and *pré-yas-* gave rise to the superlative forms *śréṣṭha-* 'fairest' *préṣṭha-* 'dearest' (which Avest. *sraēšta-* shows to be as old as proethnic Aryan): in the Veda occur the regular *śray-iṣṭha-* or *śriy-iṣṭha-* (pos. *śrī-rá-* Avest. *srī-ra-*) and *pray-iṣṭha-* or *priy-iṣṭha-* (pos. *priy-á-*).[1] It is also possible that Skr. *jyéṣṭha-* 'mightiest' (comp. *jyá-yas-*) and Avest. *fraēšta-* 'plurimus' (comp. *frā-yah-* Skr. *prā-yas-*) was formed on the analogy of *sthéṣṭha-*; for the Gr. *πλεῖσ-το-ς* points to an Idg. **plē-isto-*, and the character of these stems, as we know it, in other words justifies us in restoring this form.[2] It cannot be shewn that pr. Ar. *āi̯* (**jiāi̯ṣtha- *prāi̯ṣtha-*) became *ai̯* by any regular phonetic change. The words *dhéṣṭha-* 'most generous' and *yéṣṭha-* 'swiftest', to be read in Veda as trisyllables, I should perhaps regard as written for *dháyiṣṭha yáyiṣṭha-* (or perhaps *dhāyiṣṭha- yéyiṣṭha-*, the original *ā* being replaced by *ē*), cp. *bhúyiṣṭha*.

1) One of the two forms must be inferred for metrical reasons. In the passages of the Rigveda which concern us the forms of the later language, *śréṣṭha-* and *préṣṭha-*, are the traditional reading.

2) Osthoff now takes a different view (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 443); however, he supposes an Idg. **plə-i̯stó-s*. On O.Icel. *flestr* see below, p. 247 f.

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A few noun stems form superlatives in the same way, with *-išṭha-* in place of *-tama-*. Skr. *bráhm-išṭha-* 'a Brahman in the highest degree' from *bráh-man-* (similarly compar. *bráhm-īyas-*). *dráḍh-išṭha-* 'firmest' (instead of *dárhiṣṭha-*) from *dṛḍhá-* ground-form **dhṛgh+to-* (similarly compar. *dráḍh-īyas-*); this formation was modelled on such forms as *kraśiṣṭha-*: *kṛśá-* 'lean', *bhraśiṣṭha-*: *bhṛśa-* 'strong, violent'.

Greek. *ἔνα-το-ς* 'ninth' for **ἐνϝα-το-ς*: Goth. *niun-da*, Lith. *deviñ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *devę-tŭ-* (cp. I § 152 p. 138). The analogy of *εἰκοσ-τό-ς* 'twentieth', *τριᾱκοσ-τό-ς* 'thirtieth' gave rise to such forms as *ἑκατοστό-ς* 'hundredth', *διᾱκοσιοστό-ς* 'two-hundredth', *χῑλιοστό-ς* 'thousandth'; and also, *πόστο-ς* 'which (in a series)?', *πολλοστό-ς* 'one of many, multesimus' *ὀλιγοστό-ς* 'one of few'.

The *-ατο-ς* of *ἔνατο-ς δέκατο-ς* spread considerably by analogy: **πρωϝ-ατο-ς* (Att. etc. *πρῶτο-ς* Dor. *πρᾶτο-ς*) 'first' instead of **πρω-ϝο-ς* (I § 306 p. 242 II § 64 p. 134), *τρίτ-ατο-ς* 'third', *ἑβδόμ-ατο-ς* 'seventh', *ὀγδό-ατο-ς* 'eighth': *ὑπ-ατο-ς* 'uppermost', *ἔσχ-ατο-ς* 'outermost', *μέσσ-ατο-ς* 'midmost', *νέ-ατο-ς* 'novissimus'; *βέλτ-ατο-ς* 'best' (for its etymology see Wackernagel Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 301 f.), *φέρτ-ατο-ς* 'most eminent'. The *-τατο-* of *τρίτατο-ς βέλτατο-ς* etc. was regarded as a simple suffix and taken into general use as the common superlative suffix for stems whose comparative was formed in *-τερο-* (cp. § 75 p. 193); e. g. *ὠμό-τατο-ς, σοφώ-τατο-ς, παλαί-τατο-ς, εὐδαιμον-έστατο-ς, κύν-τατο-ς*. A further accumulation of superlative elements is seen e. g. in *ἐσχ-ατᾰ́-τατο-ς, κυντότατο-ς*, which looks like an attempt at **κυν-τατᾰ́-τατο-ς* (cp. *κυν-τερώ-τερο-ς*) *καλλ-ιστό-τατο-ς, ἐγγ-ιστό-τατα*, and conversely *πρώτ-ιστο-ς*. Cp. Ascoli Curtius' Stud. IX 339 ff.

Remark 3. Bezzenberger (Beitr. V 94 ff.) attempts a different explanation of *-τατο-*; but I am convinced that it is untenable (see Morph. Unt. III 68 f.).

-isto-: *ὠκ-ιστο-ς* 'quickest': Skr. *áś-iṣṭha-s*. *βάρδ-ιστο-ς βράδ-ιστο-ς* 'slowest': Skr. *mrad-iṣṭha-s* (a later formation for **mṛd-iṣṭha-s*). *τάχ-ιστο-ς* 'quickest'. *μάλ-ιστα* 'most' (adv.) *πλεῖστο-ς*

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ground-form **plē-ĭsto-s*; see pp. 242, 244 above. Later on, analogical formations were made from noun stems: *κάλλ-ιστο-ς* fairest' from *τὸ κάλλος*, *ἄλγ-ιστο-ς* 'loveliest, most agreeable' beside *ἐπ-αλπνο-ς*, *τέρπν-ιστο-ς* 'most delightful' from *τερπ-νό-ς*, *πρέσβ-ιστο-ς* 'oldest, most honourable' from *πρέσβυ-ς*. Here *-ιστο-* took the place of *-τατο-*, as was also the case in *ἔγγ-ιστα* beside *ἐγγύ-τατα* 'nearest', *πόρσ-ιστα* beside *πορρω-τάτω πορσώ-τατα* 'furthest forward'.

Italic. Lat. *sex-tu-s*, Umbr. sestentasiaru sextentariarum' Osc. Σιστες 'sextius': Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭhá-s* etc., see p. 242 above. Lat. *quīntu-s Quīnctiu-s*, Osc. *Πομπτιες* 'Quinctius': Avest. *pux-ðа-* (the *u* is remarkable), Gr. *πέμπ-το-ς* Goth. *fimfta-* (in our records found only in composition), Lith. *peñk-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *pę-tŭ*. Lat. *ter-t-iu-s*, Umbr. tertiam-a 'ad tertiam', by the side of which stands Lat. *trit-avo-s* (if this and not *strit-avo-s* was the true form of the word), for the first part of which either **trito-s* or **tritio-s* may be assumed as the earliest form (see § 34 p. 59): Skr. *tri-tá-s tṛt-íya-s* (p. 243), Gr. *τρί-το-ς* Lesb. *τέρ-το-ς*, Goth. *þri-dja* Lith. *trēczia-s* O.C.Sl. *tretĭjĭ*. In any case the forms **ter-to- *tṛ-to-*, which are connected by ablaut are older than **tr-i-to-*, which was derived directly from the cardinal *(tr-i-tr-ei̯-)*, though there would be nothing in the least irregular in its formation, if the *-to-* of the ordinals is really the participial suffix, as was suggested in Rem. 1 (p. 242). We have it extended by *-i̯o-* in *ter-t-iu-s* etc. as in Skr. *dvi-t-íya-* 'second' and *túr-ya- tur-íya-* 'fourth' (§ 63 p. 133). Side by side with *cottī-diē* (see above, p. 242), we have *quo-tu-s to-tu-s quo-tumu-s* (§ 73 p. 178). In Latin the superlative suffix *-isto-* gave place to the new formation *-issimo-*; contrast e. g. *ōc-issimu-s* (comp. *ōc-ior*) with Skr. *áś-iṣṭha- (áś-īyas-)* Gr. *ὠκ-ιστο-ς* (*ὠκ-ίων*). It is not clear in what way this substitution took place, see § 73 Rem. p. 179.

Remark 4. It must be left an open question wheter *-isto-* is still preserved in proper names, whether e. g. *Nostiu-s* stands for **Novist-iu-s* and is to be compared with Skr. *náv-iṣṭha-s*, as Pauli (Altital. Stud. II 140 f.) assumes

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Old Irish. *cōiced* O.Cymr. *pimphet* 'fifth': cp. Skr. *pañca-thá-s*. Similarly *sessed* Mod.Cymr. *chwecned* 'sixth'; as to the cause of this new formation see Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214. We frequently find the termination *-mad*, which arose from an extension of older forms in *-ɱmo-*; as *sechtmad* Mod.-Cymr. *seithuet* 'seventh' (cp. Lat. *septimu-s*), *dechmad* Mod.Cymr. *decuet* 'tenth' (cp. Lat. *decimu-s*), *cētmad* Bret. *kandved* 'hundredth', see § 72, 2 p. 168. In proethnic Celtic *-eto-s* was the termination of all these words, and the difference of vocalism between O.Ir. *cōiced* (with *e*) and **sechtmad* (with *a*) depends upon the kind of sound in the preceding syllable: *sechtmad* is due to the older form **sechtamet(os)*. *tress-* 'third' in compp. no doubt stands for **tris-to-*, i. e. **tris* (= Skr. *trí-š* Gr. τρί-ς) + *-to-* (beside it in Mod.Cymr. we find the form *trydydd* from **tri-tiio-s*) cp. Lat. *trīnī* for **tris-no-* § 66 p. 146 and O.H.G. *dris-ki* 'ternus' *zwis-ki* 'twofold'.

-isto- in Keltic gave place to *-mo- (-is-ɱmo)*, see § 72, 2 p. 169, cp. e. g. O.Ir. *lugem* 'smallest' (compar. *laigiu*) as contrasted with Skr. *lágh-iṣṭha-s* Gr. ἐλάχ-ιστο-ς.

Germanic. The numerals passed into the *n*-declension. Goth. *saihsta* O.H.G. *sehsto* O.Icel. *sētte sētti* 'sixth': Skr. *ṣaṣ-ṭhá-* etc., see p. 242 above. Goth. *niunda* O.H.G. *niunto* O.Icel. *nīunde nīundi* 'ninth', pr. Germ. **niɥun-dá-n-* (I § 179 p. 156): cp. Gr. ἔνατο-ς. In Goth. *ahtu-da* O.H.G. *ahtodo* 'eighth', we have a formation peculiar to Germanic, cp. Gr. ὀγδο(Ϝ)ή-κοντα Vulgar Lat. *octuā-ginta*.

-ísto-. In the oldest West-Germanic the inflexion of the superlative was almost exclusively weak (*n*-declension); in Gothic and Norse it was both strong and weak. Goth. *sut-ist-s* O.H.G. *suaz-isto* 'sweetest': Skr. *svād-iṣṭha-*. Goth. *háuh-ist-s* O.H.G. *hōh-isto* 'highest'. Goth. *máist-s* O.H.G. *meisto* 'most' (compar. *máiza mēro*), cp. Umbr. mestru fem. 'maior', common ground-form **mə-ísto-* beside the pos. O.Ir. *mā-r* Goth. *-mēr-s* 'great'. The O.Icel. *flest-r* 'plurimus', together with the compar. *fleire*, which cannot be referred to **plēis-* (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 444), I suppose to have been altered on the analogy of

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mest-r meire; cp. pp. 242 f. 244 and § 135. We often find new formations from noun-stems: Goth. **jūh-ist-s* (inferred from *jūhiza*) O.H.G. *jung-isto* O.Icel. *ōrst-r* (for **ōst-r*, *r* being inserted from the compar. *ōre*) and *yngst-r* 'youngest', from Goth. *jugg-s* etc. = pr. Germ. **iuuun-gá-s* Skr. *yuva-šá-s*; this new form took the place of another which answered to the Skr. *yáv-išṭha-s*; this must have been before Verner's law came into operation, as the word has *-h-* instead of *-g-*, which shews that in the noun from which it was formed *(*iūnχá-)* the breathed spirant had not yet become voiced (I § 530 p. 386 f.). Goth. **alþ-ist-s* (inferred from *alþiza*) O.H.G. *altisto* 'oldest' beside Goth. *al-þei-s* O.H.G. *al-t* 'old'. Accumulated endings of comparison are seen in e. g. Goth. *af-tum-ist-s* A.S. *aef-tem-est* 'hindmost, last' beside Goth. *af-tuma*, O.H.G. *af-tr-isto* 'last' beside *af-tro- af-tero*.

Since *-istá-* and *-iz-en-* became denominative so early in proethnic Germanic, it is not surprising that before that period ended they were added to *ō-*, the adverbial termination of the *o*-stems, just as was the Gr. *-τατο- -τερο-* in *σοφώ-τερο-ς ἀνω-τέρω* etc. (§ 75). Thus arose forms like Goth. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', from *sniumundō* 'hastily', *frōdōza* 'more shrewd' *frōdōst-s* 'most shrewd', from *frōþ-s* 'prudent', O.H.G. *blintōro blintōst* from *blint* 'blind' (*aftr-ōsto* beside *aftr-isto* (see above) and the like), O.Icel. *spakare spakast-r* from *spak-r* 'intelligent'. In Gothic this formation was always strictly confined to *o*-stems; in Old High German was occasionally extended to other adjectival stems. Pr. Germ. *-ō-izō- -ō-ista-z* became *-ōzō. -ōsta-z*, cp. I § 142 p. 127. Slavonic has a similar group of comparatives, the forms in *-ě-jьi*; see § 135.

Remark 5. This explanation of the comparative suffix in Germanic has not been universally accepted. (Johansson, De derivatis contractis, p. 182). But it is certainly not disproved by the forms *máiza áiv-s* (for **māiz- ἀιμο-*). It is quite possible that *āi* had here become *ǎi* (see I § 614 p. 464) before this new method of forming comparatives had been adopted in proethnic Germanic. Each period has its own phonetic laws.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *deszim̃-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *desę-tŭ* 'tenth': Gr. *δέκα-το-ς* etc., see above, p. 242.

-isto- in Lithuanian gave place to *-ìáus-ia-* which (in spite of

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J. Schmidt's objections, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 378) is no doubt connected with Slav. *-uchŭ -ǫuchŭ* (Miklosich Vergl. Gramm. II 289 ff.); whilst in Slavonic the comparative displaced the superlative formation.

§ 82. 4. The Suffixes *-mn̥-to-*, *-μn̥-to-*[1]).

In proethnic Indo-Germanic there were a certain number of formations in *-to-* which were extensions of stems in *-men-* and *-μen-*. **klеu̯-mn̥-to-*: Skr. *śrŏ-mata-m* 'renown' O.H.G. *hliumunt* m. 'report, reputation' beside Avest. *sraо-man-* n. Goth. *hliu-ma* m. 'hearing', √*kleu̯-* 'to hear'. Gr. *ὀνό-ματα* pl. 'names' Lat. *cōgnō-mentu-m*, beside Skr. *nā́-man-* n. 'name' Lat. *nō-men* n. etc. Gr. *κασ-σύ-ματα* pl. 'something stitched together, soles; contrivances, plots' (prep. *κάτ*), Lat. *as-sū-mentu-m* 'patch put on', Skr. beside *syū́-man-* n. 'band, strip, row', Gr. *ὑ-μήν -ένος* 'skin, sinew'. **per-μn̥-to-*: Skr. *pár-vata-s* 'mountain, rock' Gr. *πείρατα* Lesb. *πέρρατα* pl. 'extremes, boundaries', for **περ-ϝατα* (I § 166 p. 146 f.), beside Skr. *pár-van-* n. 'knot, joint, break, section' Gr. *ἀ-πείρων* 'boundless' for **ἀ-περ-ϝων*.

Probably this use of *-to-* is to be connected with that discussed p. 224, where we saw that the participial *-to-* could be added directly to noun-stems. From **kleu̯-men-* was first formed **kleu̯-mn̥-tó-* (*hliumunt* indicates that *-to-* was accented) 'called, famed' (cp. Gr. *θαυμα-τό-ς* beside *θαῦμα*, orig. stem **θαυ-μεν-*); the neuter, used substantivally, had the meaning 'a being called, renown', and then in High German the gender of the word was altered to match that of *ruof*, *ruom*. Gr. **ὀνο-ματο-ν* orig. 'the being named, having a name'; Lat. *cōgnōmentu-m* 'the having a surname', beside *cōgnōminātu-s*, like *sceles-tu-s* beside *scelerātu-s*, *līber-tu-s* beside *līberātu-s*. Skr. *pár-vata-s* is easily explained as an epithet of *giri-ṣ* 'mountain'.

Remark. The following formations are akin to those just discussed: Skr. *sī-mán-ta-s* 'crown of the head, boundary' beside *sī-mán-* m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary', Gr. *i-μάντ-* (*ī*) 'strap' beside *i-μον-ιά* 'rope of a draw-well' O.Sax. *sī-mo* 'band, rope' (*i-μάντ-* instead of **i-μάντο-* see p. 250 f.); Skr. *hē-man-tá-s* 'winter' beside *hē-man* loc. 'in

1) The Author, Morph. Unters. II 220 ff.

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winter'; *aš-man-ta-m* 'fire place' beside *áš-man-* m. 'stone'. In the first word the Idg. ending was perhaps *-mn̥-to-*, see I § 230 p. 196; the accent was shifted from *-to-* to *-mn̥-* doubtless through the influence of **sī-mén-*, the stem from which the word was formed, just as in Sanskrit the accent of **šrō-man-* n. changed **šrōmatá-m* to *šrómatam*. On the other hand, *hēmantá-s* and *aśmanta-m* may be later analogical forms dating from the period after the separation of the languages and based on the strong form of the parent stem, as in *vr̥šan-tama-* and the like. Or has *hēmantá-s* any immediate connexion with the Gr. *ἀ-χείμαντο-ς* mentioned on p. 225?

In most languages these combined suffixes, even when they did not die out, survived only in a few old forms and were no longer in living use; in Germanic besides *hliumunt* the only other example is Goth. *sniu-mundō* 'hastily' (from **sneu̯-men-* 'haste') which presupposes an adj. **sniu-munda-* cp. Gr. *θαυμα-τό-ς*. But in Italic *-mn̥-to-*, and in Greek *-mn̥-to-* and *-μn̥-to-* became exceedingly fertile.

Greek. Forms like *ὀνόματα* are: *εἵ-ματα* 'clothes' (cp. *εὐ-είμων* 'well clothed' Skr. *vás-man-* n. 'covering'), *δέρ-ματα* 'hides, skins', *ὑπο-δήματα* 'sandals', *μνή-ματα* 'memorials', *καλύμ-ματα* 'veils', *νοή-ματα* 'thoughts', *ὁρμή-ματα* 'longings'. Like **περ-ϝατα* we have *ἔδ-ματα* 'food' in Hom., i. e. *ἔδ-ϝατα* or (with assimilation) *ἔδδατα* (cp. I § 166 p. 147), *φρήατα φρέᾱτα* 'wells' (for **φρή-ϝατα*), *στέᾱτα* 'lumps of fat' (for **στᾱ-ϝατα*, √*stā-* 'to stand'). Stems in *-men-* and *-μen-* were regularly extended in this way; and *-to-* also attached itself to neuter stems in *-en-*: e. g. *ἧπ-ατα* 'livers' (Skr. *yakan-* Lat. *jecin-*), *οὖθ-ατα* 'udders' (Skr. *ūdh-an-*), *κρᾶτα κάρητα* 'heads' for **κρᾱσ-ατα *καρᾱσ-ατα* (Skr. *śīrṣ-an-*); to which *κρήνη* Lesb. *κράννᾱ* and *κάρηνο-ν* (for **κρᾱσ-ν-ᾱ *καρᾱσ-ν-ο-*) are related in the same way as *νώνυμν-ο-ς* to *ὀνόματα*. The nom. and acc. sing., e. g. *ὄνο-μα*, and the loc. pl., e. g. *ὀνό-μασι*, must be forms of the original *n*-declension without *-to-*. But along with these there were in use such case-forms as *ὀνομα-τα*, *ὀνομά-των*, and *ὀνόμα-τος* (= Skr. adverbial ablative *nāma-tas*); and as though these were really to be divided *ὀνόματ-α ὀνομάτ-ων ὀνόματ-ος*, a new form was made for the locative, *ὀνόματι*. Thus the *το*-stem passed over to the *τ*-declension. In the same way *i-μαντ-* (see

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p. 250 Rem.) was no doubt developed from *ἱ-μάν-τος, cp. Skr. *sīma-tás*.

Italic. Lat. *testā-mentu-m*, Osc. tristaamentud abl. 'testamento'. In Latin we sometimes find only the original form in *-men*, as *āgmen*, *crīmen*, *certāmen*; sometimes *-mento-* as well, e. g. *augmen* and *augmentu-m*, *suf-fīmentu-m*, *regimen* and *regimentu-m*, *fundāmen* and *fundāmentu-m*; sometimes only *-mento-*, as *armentu-m*, *caementu-m*, *dēlectāmentu-m*, *argūmentu-m*, *vestīmentu-m*. Further, *unguen-tu-m* was formed from *unguen* as *-mentu-m* from *-men-*, just as in Greek ἥπ-ατα arose on the model of ὀνό-ματα, *περ-ϝατα- etc.

§ 83. The Suffix -k̂o- -k̂ā-. This is shewn to be proethnic by the word *i̯uu̯n̥-k̂ó-s or *ju̯u̯n̥-k̂ó-s 'youthful, young', beside Skr. *yúv-an-* Lat. *juv-en-* (for the initial sound see I § 117 p. 109 f. § 598 p. 452 f.): Skr. *yuva-śá-s*, Lat. *juven-cu-s*, O.Ir. *ōac ōc*, Goth. *jugg-s*[1]). Compare also *lōpā-śá-s* 'fox, jackal', Armen. *aλuēs* 'fox', Gr. ἀλώπη-ξ -εκ-ος and (in the Iambic writer Ananios) -ηκ-ος 'fox', with -κ- for -κο-, with the same change of inflexion as in μεῖρα-ξ: Skr. *marya-ká-s* etc. (§ 84. 129), beside Skr. *lōpā-ka-s* 'fox' (*-ka-* had originally a diminutive force), Gr. ἀλωπό-χρους 'fox-coloured' ἀλωπό-ς 'sly', Lith. *lãpė* 'fox'; in some of the languages, no doubt, the word may have been borrowed and naturalised, nor can we be certain that the suffix of Gr. ἀλώπηξ is not *-qo-*, and so identical with the *-ka-* of Skr. *lōpā-ka-*.

Beyond these words a few examples from Aryan are all that can be ascribed with certainty to the suffix -k̂o-.

Aryan. In Skr. *arva-śá-s árva-śa-s* 'hasty, travelling quickly' from *árvan-* (same meaning); *ḗta-śa-s* 'hasty', from *ḗta-s* (the same); *babhru-śá-s babhlu-śá-s* 'brownish' from *babhrú-ṣ*

1) Here perhaps ὑάκ-ινθο-ς also should be classed (for the diminutival force of -ινθο- see A. Döhring, Programm des Friedrichs-Collegiums, Königsberg 1885 p. 15). The youth Hyacinthus and his early death represent the life of the physical world, where maturity is at once followed by decay. If this etymology is correct, it proves the existence of an Indo-Germanic stem *i̯uu̯en- with an initial i̯ (not j), see I § 598 p. 452.

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'brown'; *rōma-šá-s lōma-šá-s* 'hairy', from *rṓman- lṓman-* n. 'hair of the head'; *aŋku-šá-s* 'hook' beside *aŋku-rá-s* (p. 199).

Armenian. *aluēs* 'fox', see above.

Greek. ἀλώπηξ 'fox', see above.

Italic. Lat. *juven-cu-s*, Umbr. *ivengar* pl. 'iuvencae', see above.

Old Irish. *ōac ōc* 'young', Mod.Cymr. *ieuanc* O.Corn. *iouenc* Bret. *iaouank*, see above.

Germanic. Goth. *juggs* O.H.G. O.Sax. *jung* O.Icel. *ungr* 'young', pr. Germ. **junuə-gá-s* (I § 179 p. 156), see above. For Goth. *jūhiza* O.Icel. *ōre* 'younger' see I § 530 p. 387, II § 81 p. 248.

Balto-Slavonic. We can scarcely place in this group Lith. *pálsza-s* 'tawny' O.C.Sl. *pelesŭ* 'dark grey' beside Lith. *pal-va-s* O.C.Sl. *pla-vŭ* 'tawny'. These forms no doubt arose (as we may infer from the Russ. *pelesyj* 'variegated' *pǫlosa* 'stripe, streak') through a confusion of √*pel-* with √*perk-* (Gr. *πέρκο-ς περκνό-ς*).

§ 84. The Suffixes *-qo- -qā-, -iqo- -iqā-, -īqo- -īqā, -ūqo- -ūqā-*, and *-āqo- -āqā-*[1]).

The velar character of the *k*- sound in the suffixes which we are now to discuss appears regularly and unmistakeably in Aryan, Armenian and Balto-Slavonic (see I § 417 ff. p. 305 ff.). In Greek, Italic, Keltic and Germanic it can be identified with certainty only in the comparatively rare cases where we find the *k*-sound labialised *(kᵘ)*, as in Lat. *antī-quo-s*, Mod.Cymr. *hys-p* 'dry'. The remaining examples in this group of languages have only *k* without any following *u*; yet it is clear that these forms, except of course such as we have already seen reason

1) J. Budenz, Das Suffix *κός* (*ικός, ακός, νκός*) im Griechischen, Gött. 1858. C. von Paucker, Die [lat.] Deminutiva mit dem Suffix *-c-ulus, a, um*, Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1876 p. 595 ff. L. Meyer, Das Suffix *ka* im Gotischen, Kuhn's Ztschr. VI 1 ff. Id., Die deutsche Abstractbildung auf *ung*, Bezzenb. Beitr. III 151 f. Fr. Kauffmann, Die innere Stammform der Adjectiva auf *-ko* im Germanischen, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 201 ff. A. Bezzenberger, Die lett. Gradationsformen auf *-ãks*, in his Beitr. V 97 ff.

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to refer to the suffix -ḱo- (§ 83), did originally contain *q* not *ḱ*, because a large number of them correspond exactly to forms in the Eastern group which vouch for -qo-; thus examples like Lat. *mus-culu-s*: Skr. *muš-ká-* Armen. *mukn* prove that the Latin diminutival suffix -*culo*- is derived from -*qo*-. It must be confessed, however, that no real difference of meaning can be found between the suffixes -ḱo- and -qo-, and it is therefore quite possible that amongst the examples of -*ko*- in the Western languages which are given in this section, there may be some few forms which are really derived from -ḱo-.

-qo- is used both as a primary and as a denominative suffix. No general definition can be given of its original function in its primary use. In derivatives -qo- and -iqo- were used to form adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) meaning 'related, or belonging to' the thing or person denoted by the original word, which was generally either an adverb or some case of a noun. Further, -qo- was added to substantives, without altering their substantival or adjectival character, but to give a slight modification of meaning; the derivative signified 'a thing tantamount to' or 'that which merely resembles' the original. Hence it was often used to form diminutives. This modification of meaning again, was often lost, so that the derivative was simply equivalent to the original word. As to the functions of -ĭqo-, -ūqo- and -āqo-, see below.

Analogical changes of many kinds, affecting the final sound of the stem to which -qo- was added, arose even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and still more freely after the separation of the languages, but we can seldom trace the course of their development in early times. The facts are exceedingly confused, and the classificatien which follows must be regarded simply as an a attempt to reduce them to some kind of order.

In Greek, Italic and Keltic -qo- was often transferred to the consonantal declension, e. g. Gr. μεῖρα-ξ: Skr. *marya-ká-s*. Cp. Gr. ἀλώπηξ § 83 p. 251 and § 129.

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§ 85. 1. *-qo-* as an original primary suffix. On the whole it is not common.

Indo-Germanic. None of the forms to be mentioned here are found in more than a few languages. Skr. *dhā-ká-s* 'receptacle', Gr. *θή-κη* 'receptacle', √*dhē-* '*τιθέναι*'. Skr. *pīva-sphāká-s* 'swelling with fat', Lett. *spé-k-s* 'strength', (beside *spê-t* 'to be able'), √*spē-* 'extend, become rich'. It is no doubt also primary in Lat. *siccu-s* O.Ir. *ses-c* 'unfruitful' Mod.Cymr. *hys-p* 'dry' pr. Kelt. **siskṷo-s*, common ground-form **sit-qo-s*, cp. Lat. *sit-i-s* (I § 419 p. 307).

Aryan. Skr. *śuṣ-ká- śúṣ-ka-* Avest. *huṣ-ka-* O.Pers. *uš-ka-* 'dry' √*saṷs-* (I § 557, 4 p. 413). Skr. *át-ka-*. Avest. *a-ƀka-* m. 'garment, covering'. Skr. *stú-kā-* 'tress'. Avest. *sao-ke-m* 'advantage'.

Armenian. *bok* 'barefoot' ground-form **bhos-qo-* (I § 561 p. 417), cp. O.H.G. *bar* 'naked, bare' O.C.Sl. *bosŭ* 'barefoot'. Or is *-qo-* here a secondary suffix?

Greek. *θή-κη* 'receptacle': Skr. *dhā-ká-s*, see above.

Italic. Lat. *siccu-s*, see above. Beside it we have also *tesquo-s*, for **ters-quo-* (I § 269 p. 217), √*ters-* 'to become dry, arid'. *cas-cu-s* beside *cānu-s* for **cas-no-s* (cp. Osc. *casnar* 'senex'); for the function of the suffix cp. *prīs-cu-s* § 88. A stem **fa-co-* is implied in *-fex* (*arti-fex* etc.), hence *fa-c-iō*. *fācundus* and *fēcundu-s* imply **fā-co-*, **fē-co-*, see § 69 p. 161. *tru-c-s* beside *truāre* is no doubt another example, see O. Ribbeck Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. II 122 f.

Old Irish. *ses-c*, Mod.Cymr. *hys-p*, see above. *bris-c* Bret. *bres-k* 'brittle' no doubt from √*bherdh-* (Gr. *πέρθω*); the ground-form will then be **bhṛdh+qo-*, see I § 298 p. 236. For Celt. *-sk-* coming from *-tk-* see I § 516 p. 376.

Germanic. O.Icel. *lǫs-k-r* 'soft, lazy', pr. Germ. **lat-kṷa-z*, beside Goth. *lētan* 'to let, permit', *lat-s* 'lazy, idle', √*lēd- ləd-*. O.H.G. *ras-c* and *ros-ch* 'quick, clever, strong' O.Icel. *rǫsk-r* 'bold, brave', pr. Germ. **raskṷa-z* and **ruskṷa-z*, ground-form **rot-qo-* and **ṛt-qo-*, √*ret-* (O.H.G. *rado* 'quickly' Goth. *raƀ-s* 'easy'). O.H.G. A.S *horsc* 'quick, cutting, clever' O.Icel. *horsk-r*

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'clever', Goth. *and-hruskáiþ* 'he investigates', ground-form probably **kṛt-qo-*, cp. Goth. *hard-u-s* 'hard' Gr. *κραϝ-ύ-ς* 'strong'; cp. also Mid.Eng. and Dan. *harsk* 'rough, hard' with another grade of vocalism. O.Icel. *beis-k-r* 'sharp', beside Goth. *báit-r-s* 'biting, bitter', √ *bheid-*. For *-sk-* from *-tk-* see I § 527 p. 383. Here should also be classed O.Icel. *þrosk-r-* 'bold' *vask-r-* 'bold' O.H.G. *frisc* 'brisk, lively, alert' and other similar words (Kluge Nom. Stammb. p. 89), though only, perhaps, as later formations with a suffix *-sk(u̯)o-* abstracted from the older forms with *-sk* = *tk* (cp. p. 18 f.).

O.Icel. *lau-g* f. 'bath' from pr. Germ. **lau̯-gō-*, cp. O.Icel. *lauð-r* 'soap' Lat. *lav-ere.*

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *pìl-ka-s* 'grey' beside *pelėti* 'to grow mouldy' *pelė* 'mouse', cp. also *pelėka-s* 'mouse-grey'. Lith. *plùs-k-i-s* 'one that has ruined himself, spendthrift'. Lett. *plus-ka* slovenly vagabond, scamp' *plūs-kas* f. pl. 'sluice', beside Lith. *plús-ti* 'to begin to swim, run over'. Lett. *rusch-ka* 'filthy fellow' *pe'lnu-ruschk-i-s* 'Cinderella'. properly 'ash-stirrer' (Lith. *pelen-rūsà* and *-rūsi-s*), beside Lith. *rùsinti* 'to rummage, stir'. Lett. *lischk-i-s* 'flatterer' properly 'licker' *kréima-laischk-i-s* 'cream-licker', a name of the fore-finger. Lett. *spé-k-s* 'strength': Skr. *pīva-sphākā-s*; see above, p. 254. O.C.Sl. *zna-kŭ* 'token'. *bra-kŭ* 'marriage, wedding', which we may perhaps derive from *berą bĭrati* √ *bher-.*

§ 86. 2. *-qo-* as a secondary suffix forming adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) from adverbs and inflected nouns with the meaning 'related, or belonging to' what is denoted by the original word, where the nature of the relationship or connexion may vary very widely.

a. From Adverbs.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *anti-ká-s* 'coming to an end with or at something, near' (*ánti* 'over against, in sight of, near'), Lat. *antī-quo-s antī-cu-s* 'preceding in space or time or order, more important, earlier, old' *(ante* for **anti).* Skr. *ánī-ka-m* 'that which is turned towards one, the side turned to one, front, face, point' Avest. *ainika-* m. 'front', Gr. *ἐνῑ-πή* 'attack,

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rebuke' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 223). Skr. *nī-ca-* low, going downwards', Gr. *νῑ-κάω* ('bring low, fight down') 'conquer' (hence *νῑ-κη* with the meaning 'victory', like Lat. *pūgna* from *pūgnāre*, H.G. *handel* m. from *handeln*, *opfer* n. from *opfern*), Lith. denom. *ny-k-stù* 'I disappear, pass away' (*aukszt̃y-naĩka* adv. 'backwards' and others, with non-original ablaut) O.C.Sl. *ni-cĭ* 'pronus' for **nī-k-jŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *ucca-s* Avest. *uska-* adj. 'on high, high' Skr. *útka-s* 'longing for something' ground-form **ud+qo-* **ud+qe-*, beside Skr. *úd* 'up'. Skr. *ábhi-ka-s ábhī-ka-s* 'coming after a thing, lustful' beside *abhí abhí*. Skr. *ánu-ka-s* 'coming after a thing, desirous, dependent' *ánū-ka-m* 'backbone', beside *ánu*.

Such forms as these in *-īka- -ūka-* were in Sanskrit associated with compounds in *-y-añc- -v-añc-* (*-añc-* 'directed towards something', cp. § 163), and this led to a number of new formations. See Osthoff loc. cit. 249 ff.

Greek. *πέρι-ξ* adv. 'around', *περισσό-ς περιττό-ς* 'superfluous, extraordinary, superabundant' for **περι-κ-μο-ς*, beside *πέρι*. As in the case of the adverbs *μοννάξ* and *ὀδάξ* from **μοννα-κο-*, **ὀδατ-κο-* (§ 88), a nom. in *-κ-ς* instead of *-κο-ς* was first formed, *πέρις* instead of **περι-κο-ς* (cp. *μεῖρα-ξ* § 84 p. 253, § 88 pp. 263. 265), and then on the analogy of adverbs like *παρ-ές ὑπ-ές ἄψ* etc. it came to be regarded and used as an adverb.

From a stem **πρᾱ-κο-* (cp. *πέρᾱ* 'beyond' *πέρᾱ-ν* 'on that side') arose *πράσσω*, the oldest meaning of which was 'press through, go through' (Hom. *ἅλα πρήσσοντες*), see Leo Meyer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 61 ff.

Italic. Lat. *reci-procu-s* orig. 'directed backwards and forwards' from **re-co-* and **pro-co-*, cp. O.C.Sl. *pro-kŭ*. *procul* is an extension of the stem **proco-* by *-lo-* cp. *simul*[1]).

Germanic. O.H.G. *abu-h aba-h* O.Sax. *ābhu-h* 'turned away, perverse, wicked', (the neut. is used substantivally, 'per-

1) Detailed arguments in support of this explanation of *reciprocus* and *procul* will be found in Rhein. Mus. XLIII 402 ff., where, unfortunately, I overlooked the fact that the same derivation had already been suggested by Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. 186 f.

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verseness, wickedness') O.Icel. *ǫfu-g-r* 'turned away, perverse', beside *af* 'from, away': cp. O.C.Sl. *opako opaky opače* adv. retrorsum, contrarium' *pače* 'contra, potius' *paky* 'iterum' (*opače*: *pače* = Gr. *ἄπο* : O.H.G. *fo-na*, a regular example of proethnic ablaut); cp. also Skr. *ápāka-s* 'lying behind, remote', which need not necessarily be regarded as a compound of *-añc-* (cp. p. 256 under Aryan).

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *pro-kŭ* 'remaining over', from *pro.* *prě-kŭ* 'transversus' for **per-kŭ*, from *prě.*

b. From Nouns. The terminations *-o-qo- -e-qo-* which arose when the suffix was added to *o*-stems were in Aryan and Slavonic also used as primary suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *dvi-ka-* 'consisting of two' (beside this *dva-ká-* 'two by two, joined in pairs'), A.S. *twi-ʒ* O.H.G. *zwī-g* and *zwī* gen. *zwīes*, pr. Germ. **tu̯ĭ-ʒu̯á-* 'twig' (cp. O.C.Sl. *roz-ga* 'twig' from *rozŭ razŭ* 'dis-'), O.H.G. *zweho zwīfo* 'doubt', pr. Germ. **tu̯i-χu̯o-n-* **tu̯ĭ-χu̯o-n-* (I § 444 p. 329); to which no doubt we should refer Gr. *δισσό-ς διττό-ς* 'twofold', for **δϝι-κ-ϳο-ς*. Similarly Skr. *tri-ká-* 'three by three, threefold' and Gr. *τρισσό-ς τριττό-ς* 'threefold'. The Ion. *δῐξό-ς τρῐξό-ς* are perhaps to be explained as standing for **δϝι-κ-τϳο-ς* **τρι-κ-τϳο-ς*. Lat. *ūni-cu-s*, Goth. *áina-h-s* O.H.G. *eina-g* 'single', O.C.Sl. *ino-kŭ* 'solus'.

Aryan. Skr. *sūcī́-ka-s* adj., 'stinging', subst. 'stinging vermin', from *sūcī́-* f. 'needle', *ánta-ka-s* 'making an end, he that makes an end', from *án-ta-s* 'end'. *urvāru-ká-m* 'that which belongs to the gourd-plant *(urvāru-š)*, or comes from it, fruit of the gourd'. *síndhu-ka-s* 'coming from the Indus *(síndhu-š)*'. *rūpa-ka-s* 'in (an assumed) form', from *rūpá-m* 'form'. Avest. *kasvi-ka-* 'rather small, rather poor', from *kasvi-š* 'smallness, dwarfish stature'. Skr. *máma-ka-s* 'my', *asmā́ka-s* Avest. *ahmāka-* 'our' (is the termination of this word Idg. *-o-qo-* or the suffix *-āqo-*?). Hence Ar. *-ka-*, so frequent in Sanskrit in adjectival (epithetised) compounds as Skr. *vigata-śrī-ka-s* 'whose beauty is past' (cp. Avest. *dūraẹ-srī-ka-* 'beautiful at a distance') *a-bhrātṛ--ka-s* 'brotherless', *a-rētás-ka-s* 'without seed', *sa-patnī́-ka-s* 'with one's wife'; cp. also Avest. *hu-mayā-ka-* 'possessing good wisdom'

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(hu-mayā-). These compounds however may also be classed under § 88 p. 264.

From *ánta-ka-s* and similar forms arose a primary suffix *-aka-*, as Skr. *sā́yaka-s* 'meant for throwing' neut. 'missile', *nāyaka-s* 'guide', *pācaka-s* 'cooking, cook', *pr̥chaka-s* 'who asks'. Cp. Slav. *-okŭ*, p. 260.

To these no doubt should be added *vartaka-s vártikā* 'quail': Gr. ὄρτυξ (gen. ὄρτυκ-ος and ὄρτυγ-ος, cp. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 620) 'quail', with *υ* on the analogy of κόκκυξ, ἴβυξ and the like.

Greek. δι-σσό-ς τρι-σσό-ς p. 257 above. Λιβυ-κό-ς 'Libyan', from Λίβυ-ς; θηλυ-κό-ς 'feminine', from θῆλυ-ς, as the opposite of ἀρσεν-ικό-ς; in ἁλυκό-ς adj. 'salt' from ἅλ-ς (ἁλι- ἁλο-) the *-υ-* is surprising. φυσι-κό-ς 'natural', from φύσι-ς, μαντι-κό-ς 'belonging to a seer', from μάντι-ς; cp. Idg. *-iqo-* in ἱππ-ικό-ς etc., § 87. ὄστα-κο-ς 'lobster' no doubt for **ostn̥-qo-s*, cp. Skr. *asthán-* 'bone'. The termination *-ιακό-ς* in ἡλιακό-ς 'belonging to the sun' (ἥλιο-ς), σκιακό-ς 'shady' (σκιᾱ́) and the like has not been explained: are the forms based on *-en-* stems (such as, say, **ἥλιεν-*), or should we compare Umbr. *curn-ac-o* 'cornicem'? [1])

Italic. Lat. *amni-cu-s*, from *amni-s*, *cīvi-cu-s*, from *cīvi-s*, *aedīli-c-iu-s*, from *aedīli-s*. Cp. Idg. *-iqo-* in *bell-icu-s*, *patr-icu-s*, *patr-ic-iu-s* and the like, § 87.

The following forms appear to be connected with the same suffix: Umbr. Kastrušiie 'Castricii (beside kastruvuf 'fundos' Osc. *castrovs* gen. 'fundi') and Osc. Iúvkiíúí '*Jovicio', beside Osc. Viínikiís 'Vinicius'.

Old Irish. *sūile-ch* 'oculeus' for **sūli-co-s*, from *sūil* n. 'oculus', O.Kelt. *are-mori-cī* 'those who dwell before the sea' (O.Ir. *muir* n., Lat. *mare* for **mari*). Cp. Idg. *-iqo-* in *cuimn-ech* 'mindful of' and the like, § 87.

Germanic. Goth. *stáina-h-s* (stem *stáina-ha-*) O.H.G. *steina-g* 'stony', from Goth. *stáina-* m. 'stone', Goth. *vaúrda-h-s*

1) Mahlow, Die langen Vocale 102, assumes that *-ιακό-ς* with Lat. *-īcu-s* Goth. *-eig-s* represents an Idg. *-iako-*, an inference which I cannot accept.

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'verbal' from *vaúrda-* n. 'word', *mōda-g-s* (stem *mōda-ga-*) 'wrathful' O.Sax. *mōda-g* 'excited, spirited', from Goth. *mōda-* m. 'courage, wrath'. The forms *-a-ha- a-ʒa-* alternate according to the place of the accent, by the rule given in § 530 p. 386, cp. Skr. *asmáka- āṇḍíka-* on the one hand, and *ēkaká- urvāruká-* on the other. The termination *-a-ʒa-* was transferred to other classes of stems, e. g. O.H.G. *nōtag* beside Germanic *nauđi- nauþi-* 'need', O.Sax. *craftag* beside *krafti-* 'strength'.

Goth. *handu-g-s* 'wise' (O.H.G. *hantag* 'sharp') from *handu-s* 'hand', though it is quite possible that the two words are not connected historically but merely by popular etymology (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 86, Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 202)[1].

Chēruscī is explained by Bremer (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 3) as coming from **χērus-ka-* 'hairy', cp. O.H.G. *hār* pl. *hārir* 'hair'. For *-us-* cp. O.H.G. *angus-t* § 101.

In proethnic and later Germanic we find adjectives in *-īʒa-* regularly corresponding to *-i-*stems, as Goth. *mahteig-s* O.H.G. *mahtīg* 'mighty' from *mahti-*, O.H.G. *creftīg* 'strong' from *krafti-*. But the same termination appears also in adjectives derived from other classes of stems and equally dating from the oldest period of Germanic, as Goth. *váurstveig-s* 'active' from *váurstva-* n. 'work, activity', O.H.G. *jārīg* 'yearly' from *jāra-* n. 'year'; and it must therefore be referred to the Idg. suffix *-īqo-* (§ 89); there is no need to suppose an original *-ei̯-qo-* (**maχti- *maχtei̯-*), nor can any argument for such a form be based on the obscure Gothic word *ūhtiug* 'seasonable'. We conclude then that in proethnic Germanic *-i-ʒa-* from *i-*stems was replaced by *-īʒa-*, just as in Gothic we have also the older form *gabig-s* altered to *gabeig-s* (§ 87). The influence of other derivatives with *ī* in actual use (e. g. Goth. *váurstvei* f.) was a factor in the change.

Balto-Slavonic. In the Baltic languages the suffix hardly occurs at all in this use; Lith. *pelēka-s* Lett. *pelēk-s* 'mouse-grey' (Lith. *pelẽ* Lett. *pele* 'mouse') was no doubt formed on the analogy

1) Osthoff's last suggestion as to *handugs* (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 419) does not commend itself to me.

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of adjectives like *jůdóka-s* (from *jů'da-s* 'black', § 89 *c*). In Slavonic we have -*okŭ* as a primary suffix, e. g. O.C.Sl. *sŭvědokŭ* 'privy to something, witness', Russ. *chodók* 'goer, foot-messenger', *ědók* 'eater'; it probably began in derivatives from noun-stems in *o* (cp. Russ. *chod* 'way, path' beside *chodok*), cp. Skr. -*aka*- p. 258.

§ 87. 3. -*iqo*-, a by-form of the Suffix -*qo*- (§ 86). This suffix forms adjectives from nouns in Aryan, Greek, Italic and Keltic, and it is so common that it can hardly have arisen independently in the separate languages from the ending of such forms as Gr. φυσι-κό-ς (φύσι-ς). Further in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, as well as in Sanskrit and Latin, -*iqo*- is a primary suffix, and this usage must have been derived from its denominative use; so that clearly it had become a single independent suffix in proethnic Indo-Germanic. But of course there is nothing to prevent our supposing that it did originally spring from noun-stems in -*i*-.

Aryan. Skr. *paryāy-ikά-s* 'strophic' from *paryāyά-s* 'rotation, strophe'. It occurs most frequently after the vriddhi-strengthening, which serves also to form adjectives without the addition of any suffix (see § 60 p. 112 f.; cp. *māma-kά-s*, 'my' beside *máma-ka-s*, § 86 *b* p. 257), as *vāsant-ika-* 'belonging to spring' (*vasantά-s*), *vārṣ-ika-s* 'belonging to the rainy season' (*varṣά-m*), *āhn-ika-s* 'daily' from *áhan-* n. 'day'. But -*ika*- was not adopted in general use as an adjectival suffix, cp. *rūpa-ka- urvāru-ká-* etc., § 86 *b* p. 257.

It is primary in Skr. *vṛśc-ika-s* 'scorpion, tarantula', from *vṛścāmi* 'I split, cut asunder'.

Greek. ἱππ-ικό-ς 'belonging to horses' from ἵππο-ς, παρθεν-ικό-ς 'maidenly' from παρθένο-ς, νυμφ-ικό-ς 'bridal' from νύμφη, ἀστ-ικό-ς 'of the city' from ἄστυ, ἐθν-ικό-ς 'national' from ἔθνος n., ἀγων-ικό-ς belonging to contests' from ἀγών, ἀνδρ-ικό-ς 'manly' from ἀνήρ gen. ἀνδρ-ός. From participial stems in -*to*- there arose a new suffix -τικο-; e. g. κριτικό-ς, μαθητικό-ς, cp. Lat. -*tico*- p. 261.

By the side of -ικό-ς we find, though only rarely, -κό-ς, as Λιβυ-κό-ς; see § 86 *b*.

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Italic. Lat. *mod-icu-s* from *modu-s*, *bell-icu-s* from *bellu-m*, *fabr-ica* from *faber* (stem *fabro*-), *gent-icu-s* from *gēns* (stem *gent*-), *histriōn-icu-s* from *histriō* (stem *histriōn*-), *patr-ícu-s* from *pater* (stem *patr*-); participial stems in -*to*- gave rise to -*tico*- as an independent suffix, e. g. *cēnāticu-s*, *herbāticu-s*, *volāticu-s*, *rūsticu-s*, *domesticu-s*, cp. Gr. -τικο- above. Similarly -*ic-iu-s* in *caement-iciu-s*, *sūtōr-iciu-s*, *patr-iciu-s* etc.

The Umbro-Samnite dialects shew that -*ico*- was proethnic in Italic, so that (say) *modicu-s* was not developed in Latin out of **modo-co-s*: Osc. túvtíks 'publicus' *tovtico* nom. fem. 'publica', Volsc. *toticu* abl. 'publico', Umbr. *totcor* pl. 'urbici' from **tōtico*-, a derivative of *touto*- 'civitas, urbs'; Umbr. fratreks *fratrexs* 'fratricus, fratrum magister' *fratreca* 'fratrica' (*e* from *i*, see I § 33 p. 34). Cp. also Osc. Vínikiís 'Vinicius' and múíníkad abl. fem. 'communi', múltasíkad abl. fem. 'multaticia'. But we also find Umbr. Kastŕùsiie and Osc. Iúvkiíúí (§ 86*b* p. 258), which are hard to explain with certainty.

-*iqo*- is a primary suffix in Lat. *mord-icu-s mord-ex*, *med-icu-s*, *vert-ex*; and no doubt also in *pōdex* 'or **pozd-ex* √*pezd*- 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450). Compare the root-vowel of this word with Goth. *gabig-s* (*pōdex*:*pēdere* = *gabigs*:*giban*).

Old Irish. As in Latin, -*ico*- is a general derivative suffix, *i. e.* it forms derivatives from all manner of stems. *cuimn-ech* 'mindful of' from *cuman* 'thought, remembrance', *cretm-ech* 'fidelis' from *cretem* 'fides'; feminines in -*iche* = Lat. -*ic-ia*, as *tairismiche* 'immobility' from *tairism-ech* 'immovable' (*tairissem* 'a standing fast'). It is possible however that some of the words in -*ech* -*iche* (Zeuss² 810 sq.) contain -*iāco*- or -*āco*-.

Germanic. The fertility of -*iga*- was limited on the one hand by the use of -*a-ga*- -*a-ga*- (§ 86), on the other by that of -*īga*- (§ 89 *a*). In Gothic it does not occur as a secondary suffix, but it does in Old High German; e. g. *wuot-ig* beside *wuota-g* 'furious'. It is primary e. g. in Goth. *gab-ig-s* 'rich' beside *giban gaf* 'to give', cp. Lat. *pōd-ex*), O.H.G. *heb-ig* 'at which one must strain or heave, heavy' (beside Goth. *haffan*).

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But here too other suffixes encroached upon its use, cp. Goth. *gabeig-s* beside *gabig-s*, O.Icel. *gǫfug-r hǫfug-r*.

On the other hand, *-iʒa-* is sometimes found where *-ʒa-* must no doubt have been original (§ 88); O.H.G. *entrig* 'strange' (pr. Germ. **andr-iʒá-*) from *ander* 'other'; possibly however *-iʒa-* may here represent Idg. *-e-go-* (§ 88 p. 268).

Balto-Slavonic. Here it is not uncommon as a primary suffix. In Lithuanian the root has the vowel of the preterite (cp. Lat. *pōdex*, Goth. *gabigs*). Lith. *szėr-ìka-s* 'one who gives fodder' from *szeriù* 'I give fodder' pret. *szėriau*, *kirt-ìka-s* 'hewer' from *kertù* 'I hew' pret. *kirtaũ*, *skund-ìka-s* 'who loves to lament', *tup-ìka-s* 'squatter'. Lett. *jum-ik-i-s* 'tile-setter' from *ju'mt* 'to cover', *glûn-ik-i-s* 'spy' from *glûnêt* 'to lurk', *u'rb-ik-i-s* 'borer' from *u'rbt* 'to bore'. O.C.Sl. *žež-ĭkŭ* 'burning' from *žegą* 'I burn' (trans.), *tęž-ĭkŭ* 'burdensome, heavy' from *tęziti* 'to burden', *skač-ĭkŭ* 'grasshopper' ('springer'), *meč-ĭkŭ* 'bear' ('growler'), *smyč-ĭkŭ* 'fiddler'; more frequently we have *-ĭcĭ*, as *yad-ĭcĭ* 'eater' *pis-ĭcĭ* 'writer' *šĭv-ĭcĭ* 'cobbler', *žĭr-ĭcĭ* 'officer, priest'.

There is a class of substantives derived from adjectives which may contain this Idg. *-iǫo-*, though I do not feel certain that it is so, such as Lith. *jaunìk-i-s* 'betrothed husband' (*jáuna-s* 'young'), Lett. *melnìk-i-s* 'black horse' (*melns* 'black'), O.C.Sl. *rožanĭcĭ* 'bow' (*rožanŭ* 'of horn') *bradatĭcĭ* 'bearded man' (*bradatŭ* 'bearded') *junĭcĭ* 'young bull' (*junŭ* 'young').

§ 88. 4. *-go-* is added to substantives and adjectives without altering their substantival or adjectival character; the meaning of the new word bears to the old much the same relation as Mod.H.G. *schwärzlich* to *schwarz*, [Eng. *blackish* to *black*], i. e. it denotes something 'tantamount to' or something which is merely 'like' the original. From this a diminutival sense was often developed, and hence *-go-* was used in forming familiar and pet names. Yet this modification of meaning frequently died out, so that the new word meant simply the same as the old.

The boundary between this class of words and those given under 2 *b* and 3 (§ 86 and 87) fluctuates considerably. It is

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often doubtful whether any particular word belongs to one or the other category.

The diminutival *-qo-* is often combined with other diminutival elements, e. g. Lat. *-culo-* = *-qo-* + *-lo-*.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *muṣ-ká-s* 'testicle' *mūṣaka-s mūṣikā* 'mouse, rat' (*mūṣ- mūṣa-s mūṣā* 'mouse'), Armen. *mu-k-n*, gen. *mkan*, 'mouse, muscle', Lat. *mus-culu-s (mūs)*, O.C.Sl. *myšica* 'arm'. **sŭ-qo-* from **sŭ-* 'sow': Skr. *sū-karά-s* 'pig, boar' (popularly derived from *kar-* 'to make' as 'that which makes the noise *sū*'), Lat. *su-culu-s su-cula*, O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sus' Corn. *ho-ch* 'porcus', A.S. *su-ʒu* f. 'sow' (unless we accept Bugge's derivation of this A.S. word from Idg. **suu̯-*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f.). Lat. *bū-cula*, Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow'. Armen. *ju-k-n*, gen. *jkan*, 'fish', Pruss. *suckans* i. e. *zu-ka-ns* acc. 'fishes', Lith. *žŭ-k-mistra-s* 'fish-master', beside Gr. *ἰχθῦ-ς* Lith. *žuv-i-s* 'fish' (for the initial sound cp. I § 554 Rem. 1 p. 407 and Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 56). Skr. *ajakā ajikā* 'little goat' (*ajά-s* 'he-goat' *ajά* 'she-goat'), Lith. *oszkà* (*ožỹ-s* 'he-goat'). Skr. *avi-ká-s avi-ká* 'sheep' (*ávi-ṣ* 'sheep'), Lat. *ovi-cula*, Lith. *avi-kỹnė* 'sheep-pen' (*avì-s* 'sheep') O.C.Sl. *ovĭ-ca* 'sheep'. Skr. *marya-ká-s* 'mannikin' (*márya-s* 'man, young man'), Gr. *μεῖρα-ξ* 'girl', later also 'boy' *μειρά-κιο-ν* 'boy'. Skr. *pāṣu-ka-* m. pl. 'dust' (*pāṣú-ṣ* 'dust'), O.C.Sl. *pěsŭ-kŭ* 'sand'.

In names of persons: Skr. *dēvaka-s dēvika-s* beside *dēva-s dēva-datta-s*, Gall. *Dīvicō Dīvicia* beside *Dīvō Dēvo-gnāta*; Skr. *śunaka-s* beside *śunas-karṇa-s*, Gr. *κύνα-ξ* beside *Κύν-αγο-ς*; Skr. *sana-ka-s* beside *sana-śruta-s*, Gall. *Seniccō Seneca* beside Bret. *Hen-car*, O.H.G. *Sinigus* (Latinised) beside *Sino Sin-hart*.

sene-qo-* (seno-qo-*) meaning probably 'oldish', from **seno-* 'old' (Skr. *sána-s* &c.): Skr. *sana-ká-s* 'former, old', Lat. *senex senica*, (Gall. *Seniccō, Seneca*; O.Ir. *senchas* 'antiquity', see § 108), pr. Norse *sinǥōstēʀ* nom. pl. masc. 'oldest' from **sinig-* (cp. F. Burg, Die ältteren nord. Runeneinschr. 1885, p. 130 f.). Frankish *Sinigu-s* (Goth. *sineig-s* 'old' see § 89 *a*), Lett. *senz-i-s* (*z* for *k*) 'old inhabitant, a man of olden time'. Armen. *ancu-k anju-k* O.C.Sl. *ązŭ-kŭ* 'narrow', beside Skr. *aṃhú-ṣ* 'narrow'.

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Aryan. Skr. *aśva-ká-s* 'little horse' from *áśva-s* 'horse', *śiśu-ká-s* 'little child' from *śíśu-ṣ* 'child', *rāja-ká-s* 'petty king' from *rā́jan-* 'king'. Avest. *drafša-ka-* m. 'little banner' from *drafša-* m. 'banner', *aperᵉnāyū-ka-* m. 'little child' from *a-perᵉ-nāyu-* m. 'child' (orig. 'not of full age'), *kaini-kā-* 'little girl' beside *kainin-* f. 'maid, maiden'.

Familiar and pet names, e. g. Skr. *vasu-ka-s* O.Pers. *vahu-ka* beside Skr. *vasu-ṣ vasu-datta-s* Avest. *vohu-dāta-*, Skr. *datta-ka-s dattika-s* beside *datta-s datta-śatru-ṣ agni-datta-s*.

No difference of meaning can be detected in the following examples. Skr. *vádha-ka-s* and *vadhá-s* 'murderer', *ásta-ka-m* and *ásta-m* 'home', *iṣu-ká-* and *íṣu-ṣ* f. 'arrow', *uda-ká-m* and *udán-* n. 'water', Avest. *mašyāka-* and *mašya-* m. 'mortal, man', *pasu-ka-* and *pasu-š* m. 'cow' (cp. Skr. *paśu-kā-* a small animal), O.Pers. σπακα (Herodotus) and Avest. *span-* 'dog'.

Similarly there is no serious difference in meaning between Skr. *arbha-ká-s* and *árbha-s* 'small', *nágna-ka-s* and *nagná-s* 'naked', *ējāt-ká-s* and *éjant-* 'trembling, quivering', *aṇīyas-ká-s* and *áṇīyas-* thinner, finer' (cp. Lat. *melius-culu-s*). Thus adjectival compounds like *vigata-śrī-ka-*, which we noticed in § 86 p. 257, may also be classed here. In Sanskrit, forms like *śikṣu-ka-s* 'imparting, generous' (*śikṣu-ṣ* the same), *pramāyu-ka-s* 'falling into ruin, perishing' (*pramā-yu-ṣ*, the same) and the like gave rise to an independent primary suffix *-uka-*, e. g. *dáśuka-s* 'biting', *vi-kásuka-s vi-kasuka-s* 'bursting'.

For feminine substantives the usual suffix is *-ikā-* (corresponding to masc. *-aka-*), as *násikā-* du. beside *násā-* du. 'nose', *iyattiká-* fem. of *iyattaká-* 'so small'. Whilst the forms in *-akā-* express the fem. by simple differentiation *(Motion)* of the masc.-neut. stem *-aka-*, *-i-kā-* was originally derived from fem. *i*-stems (cp. also Avest. *nāirikā-* beside *nāiri-* *nāirī-* 'wife', *carāitikā-* 'girl, wife' beside *carāiti-* *carāitī-* 'wife').

Armenian. A further suffix *-en-* was added to the stems of the substantives formed with *-qo-*. We have already noticed *mukn* 'mouse, muscle' from **mus-qo-* or **mūs-qo-* (I § 561 p. 417) and *ju-k-n* 'fish'. To these should be added *armukn*, gen.

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armkan 'elhow, hend' (beside Lat. *armu-s* Goth. *arm-s*); perhaps its resemblance to *mukn* is more than accidental.

ancu-k anju-k 'narrow' see p. 263 above.

Greek. With a diminutival or contemptuous sense, more or less obscured: *μεῖραξ* 'girl' (p. 263), *δέλφαξ* 'pig, sucking pig', *βῶμαξ* 'small altar', *λίθαξ* 'stone', *λεῖμαξ* 'meadow'. Attached to these are unmistakable diminutives like *μειράκ-ιο-ν* 'little boy' *σπινθηράκ-ιο-ν* 'little spark' (cp. *ἀσπίδ-ιο-ν* 'little shield' § 63 p. 128). Add also pet names like *Ἵππακο-ς* beside *Ἵππο-ς Ἵππ-αρχο-ς Ἄρχ-ιππο-ς*, *Πύρρακο-ς* beside *Πύρρο-ς*, *Λάβραξ* beside *Λάβρο-ς*, *Φαῖναξ* beside *Φαῖνο-ς*, *Μόλυκο-ς Μόλυξ* beside *Μόλο-ς Μόλ-ορχο-ς Ἀγχί-μολο-ς*.

The *α* which precedes the *-κ(ο)-* in *-ακο-ς -αξ* points to *-n̥-qo-* as the earlier form (cp. *ὄστακο-ς* § 86 p. 258 and Skr. *rājaká-* for **rājn̥-ka-*, Germ. *-uɯ-ʒa-*). Thus *Ἵππα-κο-ς* (: *Ἵππων*), *λεῖμα-ξ* (: *χειμών*) and the like may have set the type for this group of forms; *Ἵππακο-ς* : *Ἵππων* = O.H.G. *Berhtung* : *Berhto* (see below, p. 267). *μεῖραξ* for **μερι̯α-ξ* (: Skr. *marya-ká-s*) may perhaps be an extended form from a stem **μερι̯n̥-*.

ὀδάξ 'with the teeth, mordicus' was derived from a stem **ὀδατ-κο- *ὀδακκ(ο)-* 'tooth': Skr. *a-datka-* 'toothless', A.S. *tusc* or *tūsc* O.Fris. *tusk* O.Icel. *tosk-r* 'tooth' pr. Germ. **tuns-ka-* common ground-form **dn̥t-qo-*, beside *ὀδούς* Goth. *tunþ-u-s* 'tooth' (cp. I § 527 p. 383). But *δάκνω* obviously influenced its meaning and perhaps its form also. In the same way we have *γνύ-ξ* 'with bended knees' from *γνυ-* 'knee'. As to their use as adverbs see § 86 p. 256.

πηλί-κο-ς 'how great? how old?' *τηλί-κο-ς* 'so great, so old' from **πᾱλι- *τᾱλι-* = Lat. *quāli-s tāli-s*: similarly O.H.G. Alemann. *we-lēr* 'how produced?' *so-lēr* 'thus produced' pr. Germ. **-lí-χa-*, cp. also O.C.Sl. *kolikŭ tolikŭ* § 89 *a*. Beside Att. *ἡλίκο-ς ἧλιξ* stands *βᾱλικιώτης* (more correctly *-τας*)· *συνέφηβος*. *Κρῆτες* in Hesychius, which points to a form **su̯āli-*.

Italic. Lat. *homun-c-iō* 'mannikin' from *homō*. **albi-co-* 'whitish' **nigriço-* 'blackish' in *albicāre nigricāre*. *prīs-cu-s* beside

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prius. *paucu-s* for **pavi-co-s* (cp. *pauper* for **pavi-per*). *sene-x seni-ca*: Skr. *sana-ká-s* see above, p. 263.

The usual suffix is *-culo-*, i. e. *-qo-* + *-lo-*, the second of which is itself diminutival (§ 76 p. 205 f.). This extension of the suffix dates from proethnic Italic, and in many words was no doubt intended to revive the diminutival force which at the time was disappearing or had quite disappeared. Lat. *ovicula*: **ovica* (Skr. *avi-ká*) = *lupula* : *lupa*; similarly *pauculu-s* : *paucu-s* = *frīgidulu-s* : *frīgidu-s*.

bū-cula: Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow'. *su-culu-s*: O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sow', Lat. *diē-cula*, Osc. *zi-colom* 'diem' (the diminutival sense of *-colo-* has disappeared). Lat. *fūni-culu-s*, *classi-cula*, *spē-cula*, *nūbē-cula*, *frāter-culu-s*, *amātor-culu-s*, *homun-culu-s*, *aedificātiun-cula*, *mus-culu-s*, *corpus-culu-m*, *arbus-cula*, *corculu-m* (i. e. **cord* + *culum*).

Remark 1. The *ī* in *crātīcula*, *febrīcula*, *apīcula* and similar words may be variously explained. The first analysis must certainly be *crātīc-ula* not *crātī-cula*. Cp. § 89 *a* p. 271.

seniculu-s : *senex*, *nigriculu-s* : *nigricāre*, *leviculu-s*, *dulciculu-s*. *pauperculu-s*, *melius-culu-s*, *tardius-culu-s*, (cp. *prīs-cu-s* and Skr. *aṇīyas-ká-s*).

Keltic. O.Cymr. *hu-cc* 'sus' Corn. *ho-ch* 'porcus': Skr. *sū-kará-s* see p. 263 above; we must no doubt add O.Ir. *socc* 'ploughshare', properly 'pig's snout', see Thurneysen, Keltorom. 112 f. [1]). Mid.Cymr. *bu-ch* 'cow': Lat. *bū-cula*. *aire* (gen. *airech*) 'princeps' for **ariak-s*, Skr. *ārya-ka-s* 'honourable man', from *aryá-* 'devoted, pious'. Proper names: Gall. *Dīvicō Dīvicia*, see above, p. 263.

Remark 2. Here may also be mentioned O.Ir. *menicc* Mod.Cymr. *mynych* 'frequens', though their relation to Goth. *manag-s* 'much', and O.C.Sl. *mĭnogŭ* 'much' is not clear. Does the Slav. word contain Idg. *-go-* (§ 91)? Or should we regard it as a word borrowed from Germanic? Cp. Schleicher in his and Kuhn's Beitr. V 112 f.

Germanic. A.S. *tusc* or *tūsc* 'tooth' ground-form **dn̥t-qo-*, see above, p. 265.

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1) Cp. Gr. *ὖσι-ς ὕννη* 'ploughshare', which is usually connected with *ὗ-ς* (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 81).

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-qo- was added to *-en-*, which formed substantives denoting a thing or person standing in some characteristic relation to the idea of the original word; hence arose in proethnic Germanic the suffix *-uə-ʒa-* (and beside it *-iə-ʒa-*, with no difference in meaning). The suffix *-qo-* in this use in historical times is merely an amplification of the suffix to which it is added, and has no special meaning of its own; at most we may credit it with some part of the idea of pity or contempt implied in words like O.H.G. *arming* 'homo pauper, miser' *abansting* 'homo invidus', which are common enough. We may compare the relation of O.H.G. *Berhtung Berhting* : *Berhto* (gen. *Berhtin*), *arming* : *armo* (gen. *armin*) 'poor' with that of Gr. *Πύρρακο-ς* : *Πύρριον*. This compound suffix was soon added to stems with *l*-suffixes, e. g. O.H.G. *sidil-ing* 'settler' from *sedal* 'seat', *edil-ing* 'man of noble blood' from *edili* 'noble'. Thus there arose an independent suffix *-(i)luəʒa- -(i)liəʒa-*, which was fertile in North and West Germanic.

Remark 3. It is difficult to determine the relation between *-iəʒa-* and *-uəʒa-*. The latter form appears to be older, e. g. in tribe names like *Greuthungī* (Amm. Marc.), The most natural assumption is that at the time when the connexion between *-uəʒa-* and the *en*-stems was still recognised, *e* (later *i*) was introduced through the influence of the cases which had the strong form *-en-* (later *-in-*). Yet it is quite conceivable that *-uəʒa-* and *-iʒa-* were contaminated (§ 87 p. 261), or that *-iəʒa-* started from stems in *-īn-*, which existed in the pre-Germanic period (see § 115); *-iəʒa- -iəga-* would come from *-īəʒa- -īəga-* just as **juəʒa- juəga-* 'young' from **jūəʒa-*, see § 83 and I § 179 p. 156; cp. *Berhting*, O.Icel. *Birting-r* 'a brilliant, famous man' by the side of Goth. *bairhtei* O.H.G. *perahtī* f. 'brightness'; O.Icel. *speking-r* 'wise man' beside *speke -i* f. 'wisdom'. There is a good deal of evidence for the last explanation, which seems to me the best; if it be correct, then the *-iəʒa-* forms must have been originally adjectival (§ 86 *b* p. 259); Rem. 4. p. 268.

Examples. O.H.G. *hūsingā* pl. 'penates' ('those who belong to the house') O.Fris. *hūsing* 'member of the household', O.H.G *chamarling* 'chamberlain' *hofiling* 'courtier', *būring būling būweling* 'peasant' from. *būr*, *bū* 'habitatio', *sidiling* 'settler' from *sedal* 'seat', A.S. *bedlinʒ* 'he who lies lazily in bed, effeminatus', O.H.G. *sarling* 'who is hidden in armour *(saro)*, soldier'. *fūstiling* Mid.H.G. *viustinc* 'mitten', Mid.H.G. *hendelinc* 'glove'. O.Icel.

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fingrung-r 'finger-ring', Mid.H.G. *bertinc* 'lay brother' from *bart* 'beard', O.H.G. *wihseling* 'changeling', *zwineling* 'twin', O.Icel. *vetrung-r* 'a beast one winter old'. *hǫfding-r* 'chieftain, captain'; names of families and tribes like A.S. *Skyldunȝas* O.Icel. *Skjǫldungar*; A.S. *Ƕrēdlinȝ* 'son of *Hrēdel*'; O.Icel. *āttung-r* 'kinsman' from *ātt* 'race', O.H.G. *chunniling* 'kinsman' from *chunni* 'race', O.Icel. *systrung-r* 'mother's sister's son' O.Fris. *susterling* 'sister's child', O.H.G. *sunufatarungo* pl. 'the people of the son and the father'. These is but one example in Gothic, *gadiligg-s* 'cousin': O.H.G. *gatiling gatuling* O.S. *gaduling*.

The use of these forms in the feminine as abstract substantives in Norse and West-Germanic was no doubt established by the same process as in e. g. O.H.G. *forahta* 'fear' contrasted with *foraht* Goth. *faúrht-s* 'full of fear' (§ 79 p. 235 f.); similarly Lat. *fabrica* 'formation manufacture', (from *faber*); cp. also § 158. O.Icel. *hāðung* 'an insulting' from *hāð* 'insult, scoff', *launung* 'secret' from *laun* (the same), with which primary formations like *kvisting* 'murdering' (from *kvista* 'to murder') became associated. O.H.G. *werdunga* 'dignitas' from *werd*; primary in e. g. *hantalunga* 'handling', from *hantalōn* 'to handle'. In O.Icel. we have also side by side *birting-r* 'bright one' and *birting* 'brightness', *ginnung-r* 'deceiver, impostor' and *ginning* 'deceit', and the like.

Remark 4. If *-inȝa- -inȝō-*, were derived from the suffix *-īn-* which is itself used to form abstract substantives (see Rem. 3), we should further have to consider whether the fem. *-in-ȝō-*, as in O.Icel. *birting*, was not formed immediately from the *īn*-stem by the addition of *-qo-* merely as an amplification.

Adjectival stems were extended by *-qo-*, e. g. O.H.G. *gōra-g* 'pitiful' beside Goth. *gáur-s* 'sorrowful', O.Icel. *ǫrāg-r* 'steep' beside Gr. *ὀρθό-ς* Lat. *arduo-s* (I § 306 p. 241). Here must be classed also O.H.G. *entrig* 'strange' (from *ander* 'other'), if the termination is Idg. **-tre-qó-*, not **-tr-iqó-* (§ 87 p. 262). *-īȝo-* was generally substituted for the original ending as in Goth. *sineig-s* 'old' (contrast Skr. *sana-ká-s* p. 263), see § 89 *a* p. 271.

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O.H.G. Alemann. *welēr* 'how made?' see above, p. 265.

Remark 5. The origin of this word is therefore distinct from that of O.H.G. *wie-lih* Goth. *hvi-leik-s* 'what sort of', a compound of Germ. *-līka-* 'body, form'. But the termination *-li-qa-* was associated with this by popular etymology, just as in Skr. *-ī-ka- -ā-ka- -ū-ka-* were associated with *-añc-* (see p. 256).

Balto-Slavonic. *-uqo* is common to Baltic and Slavonic as a diminutive suffix. There can be no doubt that it first appeared in *u*-stems, cp. O.C.Sl. *synŭkŭ* 'little son': *synŭ*, gen. *synu* 'son'. So Lith. *parszùka-s* 'little sucking pig' beside *parszu-s*, *medùka-s* 'little tree' beside *mēdi-s*, O.C.Sl. *cvětŭkŭ* 'floweret' beside *cvětŭ* gen. *cvěta*. In Slavonic the same suffix was also used for the extension of adjective stems, yet with the loss of what was originally its special sense: *qzŭkŭ* 'narrow': Armen. *anuk anjuk* 'narrow' (Skr. *qhú-ṣ*), *sladŭkŭ* 'sweet' (Lith. *saldù-s*); others are not derived from *u*-stems e. g. *bridŭkŭ* 'bitter', *lěpŭkŭ* 'ornament'. Cp. further Pruss. names like *Banduke (banda-* 'useful') *Wyrucke (vira-* 'man').

Similarly the diminutival *-i-qo-*, which first appeared in *i*-stems, was extended beyond its original sphere in both Baltic and Slavonic. Yet *-i-qo-* itself is not used with this function, but only *-i-q-i̯o- -i-q-i̯ā-*, which contains the additional suffix *-i̯o-*. Proethnic examples are: O.C.Sl. *ovī-ca* 'sheep', cp. Lith. *avi-k-ỹnė* 'sheep-pen': Skr. *avi-ká* etc., see p. 263 above; O.C.Sl. *myšĭca* 'arm' orig. 'little mouse, muscle': Skr. *mūṣikā* 'mouse, rat', cp. loc. cit. In both these words the original diminutival sense was lost. Other examples are: Lith. *rankìkė* 'little hand', *kumelìkė* 'little (bad) mare', *mamìkė* 'little mother' (in Lith. only feminines), O.C.Sl. *kamenĭcĭ* 'little stone', *korablĭcĭ* 'little ship', *dětica* collective 'little children' (*dětĭ* 'children'), *dvĭrĭca* 'little door' (*dvĭrĭ* 'door'). Compare also Prussian names like *Teviko (tewa- tāwa-* 'father').

Here should also be classed Lith. *-in-inka-* Lett. *-(i)n-īka- -en-īka-* (*i* comes from *en*), combinations of suffixes which denote any kind of relation to the original word, e. g. Lith. *darb-iniñka-s* (Lett. *da'rbiņīk-s*) 'worker' from *dárba-s* 'work', *daržininka-s* (Lett. *da'rsniņīk-s*) 'gardener' from *daržа-s* 'garden', *pùs-ininka-s*

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'owner of half a measure of land, small proprietor', *lauk-iniñka-s* 'dweller in the fields, countryman', *Lëtùv-ininka-s* 'a Lithuanian' from *Lëtuvà* 'Lithuania', Lett. *gudriņk-s* 'wiseacre' from *gudr-s* 'wise', *sweschiņk-s* 'stranger' from *swesch* 'strange', *Rîdsiņk-s* 'man of Riga' from *Rîga* 'Riga', *uppeņk-s* 'dweller by a river' from *uppe* 'river'. By the side of this suffix, with a similar meaning, stands Lith. *-in-yka-* Pruss. *-n-ik-i-* O.C.Sl. *-n-iko-*, which I refer to Idg. *-iqo-*, see § 89 *a*. The second part of Lith. *-in-inka-* should no doubt be identified with Germ. *-ung-ga-* (cp. I § 249 p. 204 f.), and it must be assumed that in Baltic there once existed forms like **dvarinka-s *dvarenka-s* 'courtier' (should we add here the forms *mĕsęcĭ* 'month' *zajęcĭ* 'hare', which are quite isolated in Slavonic?) and that their suffix was confused with *-(i)n-īka- (dvārinyka-s* O.C.Sl. *dvorĭnikŭ)* producing Lith. *-in--inka- (dvārininka-s)* Lett. *(*-n-enka-) -n-īka-*.

Remark 6. I prefer this view to that proposed in I § 219, 4 p. 186, which I have now abandoned, that Slav. *-ikŭ* is the phonetic equivalent of Lith. *-inka-s*. I have to thank Leskien for suggesting the above explanation.

§ 89. 5. *-īqo- -īqā-*, *-ūqo- -ūqā-* and *-āqo- -āqā-*. The long vowels preceding the *q* may, like the *i* of *-iqo-* (§ 87), represent the final of a noun-stem; but it is not clear in what particular words these forms of the suffix first appeared. No general definition of their functions can be given.

a. -īqo-. Cp. Skr. *ánī-ka-* § 86 *a*. p. 256, *sācī-ka- sa--patnī-ka-* § 86 *b* p. 257.

Aryan. It is rarely denominative: Skr. *āṇḍ-īka-s* 'bearing eggs', from *āṇḍá-m* 'egg'. More frequently it is primary: Skr. *dṛṣ-īka-s* 'conspicuous' *dṛś-īka-m* 'aspect' *dṛś-īkā* 'appearance', *vṛdh-īká-s* 'augmenter', *mṛḍ-īká-m* 'pity, grace'.

In Greek it is rare. *πέρδ-ιξ* 'partridge' (properly 'peditor', though its resemblance to *πέρδω* may perhaps be due merely to a freak of popular etymology), *βέμβ-ιξ* 'top'.

Italic. Denominative forms: *umbil-īcu-s* (cp. Gr. *ὀμφαλό-ς*). *rubr-īcu-s rubr-īca*, *lect-īca* and others. Primary forms: *am--īcu-s*, *mend-īcu-s*, *pud-īcu-s*, and others; add also *pēdīcāre* from

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a stem **pēd-īco-* with the same meaning as *pōdex* (§ 87 p. 261). *-īc-io-* and *-t-īc-io-* (cp. *-t-ico-* § 87 p. 261) are derived suffixes e. g. *novīciu-s, ad-ventīciu-s.* Some nouns in *-īǧo-* have passed into the consonantal declension: *fēlīx, pernīx.*

Perhaps we should also class here *crātīcula* and the like, see § 88 Rem. 1 p. 266.

In Germanic. *-īǯa-* appears with various functions. It forms adjectives from nouns, e. g. Goth. *mahteig-s* 'mighty' from *mahti-* 'might', O.H.G. *spenstīg* 'alluring' from *spanst* f. 'allurement, enticement; here *-īǯa-* has taken the place of an older *-ǯa-* (*-i-ǯa- -a-ǯa-* etc.), see § 86 p. 259. It extends adjectival stems without altering their adjectival character, e. g. Goth. *andanēmeig-s : anda-nēm-s* 'pleasant', O.H.G. *wirdīg : werd* 'worthy', *rihtīg : reht* 'right'; *-ǯa-* has the same function, e. g. in O.H.G. *gōra-g*: Goth. *gáur-s* 'troubled', see § 88 p. 268; there can be no doubt that in this use also *-īǯa-* has spread beyond its original sphere, cp. Goth. *sineig-s* instead of orig. **sene-qo-* or **seno-qo-* (p. 263). Finally it occurs as a primary suffix, e. g. in Goth. *gabeig-s* beside the older *gabig-s*, see § 87 p. 261.

Balto-Slavonic. Both branches have *-īqo-* as a secondary suffix, in substantives which are generally derived from adjectives, and express any kind of relation to the original word. In Baltic (Lith. and Pruss.) these forms are nearly always derived from nouns with an *n*-suffix, Lith. *-in-yka-s* Pruss. *-n-ik-i-s*, in Slavonic from others also. In Lithuanian *-ininka-s* is exactly equivalent to *-inyka-s*, but the two suffixes are distributed amongst the various dialects; in some the first, and in others the second was alone in use; in many of the districts bordering on Slavonian territory the Slav. *-ĭnikŭ-* may have helped to establish the form *-inyka-s* (there are a large number of such words borrowed from Slavonic, e. g. *metelnyka-s* 'impostor' = Pol. *mietelnik*). Lith. *darbinyka-s* beside *darbiniñka-s*, etc., see § 88 p. 269 f. Pruss. *laukinik-i-s* 'vassal, feudal dependant' (Lith. *laukinyka-s laukiniñka-s*), *slidenik-i-s* 'leading hound', *stubonik-i-s* ('booth-owner' hence) 'cupper, surgeon'. O.C.Sl. *zlatikŭ* a gold coin (*zlatŭ* 'golden'), *sīrebrīnikŭ sīrebrĭnika* 'silver coin' (*sīrebrīnŭ*

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'silvern'), *krŭvĭnikŭ* 'murderer' (*krŭvĭnŭ* 'bloody'), *grěšĭnikŭ* 'sinner' (*grěšĭnŭ* 'sinful'), *vlasěnikŭ* 'who has a hairy (*vlasěnŭ*) garment'; from participles, e. g. *učenikŭ* 'scholar, disciple', (*učenŭ* 'becoming learned') *izbranikŭ* 'one elected, chosen' (*iz-branŭ* 'elected'); from subst. e. g. Russ. *babik* 'fop, ladies' man' (*baba* 'woman'), *sěverik* 'north wind' (*sěver* 'north'). In Lithuanian we have only isolated examples of derivatives without the *n*-suffix, as *dalȳka-s* 'piece, part' from *dalì-s* 'part'.

O.C.Sl. *sikŭ* 'talis' (also *sicĭ*, cp. *ljubimicĭ* beside *ljubimikŭ* and the like) from *sĭ* 'hic', *tolikŭ* 'tantus' *kolikŭ* 'quantus', compare also *velikŭ* 'great' beside *velijĭ* 'great': cp. Gr. πηλίκο-ς O.H.G. *welēr* § 88 p. 265.

Further *-ikŭ* forms diminutives and pet names in Slavonic, as Russ. *domik* 'little house' *mjačik* 'little ball', Lower Sorb. *gaśik* 'little pond', *gjarnyk* 'little pot'; Czech *Volík* beside *Vol*, *Vladík* beside *Vlad*, Mod.Slov. *Nanika* 'Annie'.

Primary: O.C.Sl. *-ica*, as *ljubica* 'amator', *žĭrica* 'sacerdos'.

b. *-ūqo-*. Cp. Skr. *ánū-ka-* § 86*a* p. 256.

Aryan. In Sanskrit, it is found primary adjectives containing reduplicated verbal forms, as *dan-daś-ū́ka-s* 'biting' (cp. *dáśuka-s* 'biting' § 88 p. 264), *jā-jar-ū́ka-s* 'watchful', *vā-vad-ūka-s* 'talkative'.

Greek. It is found in isolated words as a primary suffix: κήρῡξ (Dor. etc. κᾱ́ρῡξ) 'herald', cp. Skr. *ca-kar-ti* 'he extols' *kārú-ṣ* 'praiser'.

Italic. In Latin it occurs a few times in primary use e. g. *cad-ūcu-s*, *fīdūc-ia*, and not more often as secondary, e. g. *aerūca* (beside *aerūgō*) from *aes*, *lactūca* from *lac* (*lact-is*).

In Slavonic it is a primary suffix in a few words, e. g. O.C.Sl. *jęz-ykŭ* 'tongue, speech' (: Pruss. *ins-uw-i-s* 'tongue'), *vlad-yka* 'ruler, lord', Russ. *kl-yk* 'hewer', pol. *bəd-yk* 'peditor'.

c. *-āqo-*.

Aryan. Here *-āka-* is ambiguous, so that no forms can be said with certainty to be derived from *-āqo-*. Besides Skr. *asmā́ka-s* etc. (§ 86*b* p. 267) the following may be examples: *pavāká-s* Ved. 'clear, pure' (to be read, as the metre indicates,

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for the *pācakā-s* of the Mss.), *jálpāka-s* beside *jalpaka-s* 'talkative', *bhikṣāka-s* 'beggar'.

Greek. *νέᾱξ* 'youth': O.C.Sl. *novákŭ* 'novice'. *θώρᾱξ* Ion. *θώρηξ* 'breastplate'. *ὄρπηξ* Lesb. *ὄρπᾱξ* 'little sprout or shoot'. *κήλ.ηξ* 'helmet'. *σφήξ* 'wasp', which no doubt is for *σφ-ᾱκ-* i. e. 'a creature that lives in swarm', compare Skr. *sabh-á* 'assemblage' Goth. *sib-ja* 'kinsman' (Baunack, Stud. auf dem Geb. des Griech. I 25).

Italic. In denominative formations: *merācu-s* from *meru-s*. *lingulāca* from *lingulu-s*, *verbēnāca* from *verbēna*; *opācu-s* is no doubt to be compared with *op- ob.* *-āx* is common both in primary and secondary use: *bibāx*, *loquāx*, *persequāx*, *mordāx*, *audāx*, *pūgnāx*, *vērāx*.

Old Irish. *-āko-* is common to all Celtic languages, forming adjectives from substantives, as in *marcach* Mid.Cymr. *marchauc* 'equester' from *marc* 'horse', *cumachtach* Mid.Cymr. *kyfoethauc* Corn. *chefuidoc* 'mighty' from *cumachta* 'might'. It is also found in proper names, as Gall. *Dumnācu-s* Mid.Cymr. *Dyfnauc*, Gall. *Tento-bōdiācī* (pl.) Mid.Ir. *Buadhach*, Gall. *Benācā-s*; its originally adjectival character appears clearly in place-names in *-ācum* like Gall. *Aritācum* i. e. 'praedium Aviti' (Zeuss² 806).

Germanic. Goth. *áinōhō* Luke 8, 42, fem. of *áinaha* 'unicus', which is usually adduced here, is most probably nothing but a scribe's mistake (perhaps caused by *áinōhun*?).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *tõk-s* gen. *tók-io* O.C.Sl. *takŭ* 'talis'; similarly *kõk-s kakŭ* 'qualis', *jõk-s* 'any one' *jakŭ* 'qualis', *anõk-s* 'of that kind' *onako* adv. 'so', *dvejóka-s dvojakŭ* 'twofold' *trejóka-s trojakŭ* 'threefold'. There are only one or two examples to add from Slavonic: e. g. O.C.Sl. *jedinakŭ* 'aequalis' *drugako* adv. 'otherwise' (cp. Lith. *vẽnóka-s vẽnõk-s* 'of one kind' *kitõk-s* 'of another kind'), but in Baltic this suffix was very fertile in forming new adjectives from those already in use to express an approach to the meaning of the original: Lith. *júdóka-s* 'blackish' (*júda-s* 'black'), *silpnóka-s* 'weakish, rather weak'

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(*sìlpna-s* 'weak'), *saldóka-s* 'sweetish, rather sweet' (*saldù-s* 'sweet'), *didóka-s* 'rather large' (*dìdi-s* 'large'); in Lettish it became the ordinary comparative suffix, as in *sa'ldák-s* 'sweeter' *(sa'ld-s)*, *labbák-s* 'better' *(lab-s)*.

-āgo- was further employed in Balto-Slavonic to form substantives from adjectives to denote something characterised by the quality which the adjective expressed. So Lith. *naujõka-s* O.C.Sl. *novakŭ* 'novice' (Serv. *novak* 'new moon') from *naũje-s novŭ* 'new': Gr. *ναξ*; Lith. *trezziõka-s* 'threepenny-bit' (strictly a coin worth three copper groschen) *szesztõka-s* (twice as much), O.C.Sl. *tretijakŭ* 'a three-year-old'; O.C.Sl. *junakŭ* 'a youth'; O.C.Sl. *bujakŭ* 'fool, blockhead'; finally personal names in *-akŭ*, as Russ. *Gojak*, Czech *Lstak, Modlak*.

The difference in accentuation between *trejóka-s* and *trezziõka-s* should be noticed. The Gliding [1]) *(geschliffen)* accent in *tõks* replaced the Incisive *(gestossen)* in consequence of the loss of the final syllable, cp. *tókio*.

§ 90. The Suffix *-sḱo- -ska* and (in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic) *-isko- -iskā-*. We have to consider chiefly the primary noun-suffix *-sḱo-*, which is identical with the verbal suffix *-sḱo-* forming present stems. Occasionally we meet with forms which point to an original *-syo-*. I must leave it an open question whether to regard these as two entirely distinct forms, or to suppose that the velar was substituted for the palatal in the original suffix by some secondary process, cp. I § 467 p. 342 f. I confess however that the latter view seems to me more probable.

Indo-Germanic. **pṛḱ-skā-* 'question, investigation, enquiry' (cp. Skr. *pṛchámi* Lat. *poscō*, √*preḱ-*): Skr. *pṛchā-*, Armen. *harc* (gen. *harci*, transferred to the *i*-declension), O.H.G. *forsca*. **is-skā- *aiṣ-skā-* (cp. Skr. *ichámi* 'I long for, desire', √*aiṣ-*): Skr. *ichā-*

1) I am very sorry to depart from Dr. Wright's translation of these terms in Vol. I (p. 558 f.) but the rendering 'slurred' for *geschliffen* and 'broken' for *gestossen* seem to me a little misleading. R. S. C.

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'longing, wish', Armen. *aiç* 'enquiry' (only found in the accusative and then only in certain phrases), O.H.G. *eisca* 'an asking, demanding'. Skr. *vāñchā* 'wish' O.H.G. *wunsc* m. 'wish, desire', beside Skr. *vāñchāmi* 'I wish', √ *ųeu-* 'find pleasure in something'; in Sanskrit, the nasal is due to the analogy of kindred forms (Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 91), **cā-ch* is for **ųū-sḱ-*, and *wunsc* for **ųų-sḱo-*.

Aryan. There are but few examples to be added from Sanskrit. *mūrchā-* 'weakness' beside *mūrchāmi* 'I freeze, grow torpid' (compare *mūrkhá-* 'stupid, dull, unintelligent' which may be classed with *sargá-* and the like, I § 467, 1 p. 342 f.), beside *mūr-tá-s* 'curdled'; if Goth. *un-tila-malsk-s* 'thoughtless' and O.Sax. *malsc* 'haughty' come from the same word, its form in pr. Idg. would be **mḷ-sḱo-*. *mlēchá-s* 'foreigner, barbarian', beside *mlēchāmi* 'I jabber'; the Pāli form *milakkha-* is still obscure, in spite of E. Kuhn's attempt to explain it in his Ztschr. XXV 327.

Armenian. See above. Perhaps also *p'uk'* 'breath, flatus' beside *p'p'em* 'I breathe, blow', cp. Gr. φύσκα 'blister, weal' φύσκη 'intestine, sausage' beside φῦσα 'blowing, blast', √ *phu-* or *sphu-* (the weak form).

Greek. δίσκο-ς 'quoit' for **δικ-σκο-ς*, beside δικεῖν 'to throw'. βο-σκή 'fodder, pasture', beside βόσκω 'I feed'.

Here apparently we must class the diminutives[1]) in *-ισκο-* (which do not occur in Homer), as παϊδίσκο-ς 'little boy' παιδίσκη 'little girl', οἰκίσκος οἰκίσκη 'little house', χοιρίσκο-ς 'little pig', ὑδρίσκη 'little pitcher'. These may be connected with presents in *-ισκω* (like εὑρίσκω), and the (primary) forms on which the rest were modelled (cp. ἄρεσκο-ς 'pleasing' beside ἀρέσκω) may have arisen when such presents still had the sense of becoming, of gradual realisation, compare νεᾱνίσκο-ς with Lat. *adulēscēns*.

Italic. Lat. *ēsca* for **ēd-+-skā* and its opposite *pōsca*. Also *rescu-s* properly 'eaten away'), beside *vescor*, if this group of

1) Janson, De Graeci sermonis deminutivis in *ισκο-ς*, Thorn 1856.

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words contains *-sko-* (cp. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 606; Baunack, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 561 ff.).

Germanic. O.H.G. *forsca visca wunsc* Goth. *-malsk-s* see above p. 275. O.H.G. *frosk* O.Icel. *frosk-r* 'frog' for pr. Germ. **fruz-ska-*, cp. A.S. *frozza* 'frog'. —

Here must be classed the secondary adjectival suffix, Germ. *-iska-*, Lith. *-iszka-*, Slav. *-ĭsko-*. It denotes origin and connexion, or fitness and quality.

Germ. Goth. *judaivisk-s* 'Jewish', *þiudisk-s* 'ἐθνικός' O.H.G. *diutisc* 'German'; O.H.G. *frencisc* 'Frankish', Goth. *mannisk-s* 'human', *gudisk-s* 'divine', *fuisk-s* 'fiery', O.H.G. *irdisc* 'earthly', *antarisc* 'strange', *dorfisc* 'belonging to a village, rustic, clownish', *mordisc* 'murderous', *altisc* 'old'.

Lith. *prúsiszka-s* 'Prussian', *lëtùviszka-s* 'Lithuanian', *dëviszka-s* 'divine', *tëviszka-s* 'fatherly', *dañgiszka-s* 'heavenly; substantives are formed from it by *-io-*, e. g. *namìszki-s* m. *namìszkë* f., 'member of a household', *mūsìszki-s* 'one who is ours', *Klaipëdìszki-s* 'inhabitant of Memel', *tëviškë* 'patrimony or father's house, fatherland, home'. O.C.Sl. *rumĭskŭ* 'Roman', *židovĭskŭ* 'Jewish', *kŭnęžĭskŭ* 'princely', *dĕtĭskŭ* 'childish', *nebesĭskŭ* 'heavenly'.

The history of this suffix involves considerable difficulty.

Remark. It may be suspected that the Balto-Slavonic suffix was borrowed from Germanic (see I § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442): in Romance indeed *-isco-* (Ital. *grechesco, donnesca*) was borrowed from Germanic and Slav. *-arĭ* Lith. *-oriu-s* came from Germ. *-ari̯a-*. It is quite possible that it is a compound suffix *-is+ko-* (compare § 86) (cp. Skr. *arētás-ka- mastiṣka-*); and if so it would be a question whether O.H.G. *altisc* and other forms derived from adjectives did not contain the comparative stem (cp. Skr. *aṇiyas-ka-* p. 264). Finally it is conceivable that it is an analogical modification of Idg. *-iqo-* (§ 87).

§ 91. The Suffix *-go- -gā-*. The following forms may be quoted towards proving the existence of a suffix *-go-* in prechnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. *árbha-ga-s* 'youthful' beside *árbha-s arbha-ká-s* 'small, young'. *śr̥ṅga-m* 'horn' may be regarded as derived from a form **śr̥ṇa-* = Goth. *haúrn*, just as O.H.G. *scincha* f. 'hollow

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of the thigh, shank': *scina* 'leg-splint', Dan. *manke*: O.H.G. *mana* 'mane' (Kluge, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 1888, p. 60).

Armen. *krun-k* 'crane': O.H.G. *chranu-h* A.S. *cornu-c* 'crane' beside A.S. *cran* Gr. γέρανο-ς 'crane'. Also *srn-kun-k* (gen. *sruni-ç*) pl. 'shinbones, calves'? Armen. *-k* however also represents Idg. *q*.

In Germanic *-ka-* is a common suffix. With *chranuh* we may compare certain other names of birds, such as Goth. *ahak-s* 'dove' O.H.G. *habuh* A.S. *hafoc* 'hawk', which resemble Greek bird-names in *-γ-*, like *κόκκυγ-* (see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 424 f.). In other words it has generally more or less of a diminutival force, as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula', *fulihha* 'she-foal', *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', and adjectives like O.H.G. *altih* 'old' O.Sax. *luttic* O.Fries. *litik* 'small' (cp. Skr. *árbha-ga-s*). By the side of the O.H.G. *scincha* mentioned on p. 276 should no doubt be placed O.H.G. *zinko* 'tooth, prong', which is connected with Mid.H.G. *zint* O.Icel. *tind-r*, ground-form **dend-go-*, from the stem **dent-* 'tooth'.

In Balto-Slavonic also *-go-* is fairly frequent; but this may equally well represent Idg. *-gho-*. Lith. *isz-ei-gù* or *ìsz-ei-ga* 'exit' beside *isz-eĩti* 'to go out', O.C.Sl. *slu-ga* 'servant' from √*klеu̯-* 'hear' (*slu-tije, slovo* etc.), *stru-ga* 'current, ship' from √ *sreu̯-* 'flow' (*stru-ja, o-strovŭ* etc.). Lith. *melãg-i-s* m. *melãg-ė* f. 'liar', compare *-in-ga-s* in such words as *vargìnga-s* 'pitiful, miserable' from *vařga-s* 'misery' (and *-in-ka-s* § 68 p. 271). O.C.Sl. *roz-ga* 'twig' beside *rozŭ razŭ* 'dis-'. O.C.Sl. *mą-žĭ* 'man' for *-g-i̯e*, cp. Skr. *mánu-* Goth. *mann-* 'human being, man'. Lith. *ketvèr-g-i-s* adj. 'of four years', *trei-g-ỹ-s* 'of three years' and the like, O.C.Sl. *četvri-gŭ* Russ. *četver-g* 'Thursday'.

Remark. We must remember that the suffix *-go-* may have been developed from *-go-* in the proethnic period. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. By the side of *-go-* we may perhaps recognise a similar suffix *-gu-* Gr. *πρεῖσ-γυ-ς πρεῖσ-βυ-ς* 'old' and in Lith. *žmo-gù-s* 'human being'; *πρεῖσ-γυ-ς* would stand beside Lat. *prīs-co-* (cp. § 135) as Skr. *árbha-ga-* beside *arbha-ká-* and as O.H.G. *zinko* beside A.S. *tusc* or *tūsk* § 88 p. 266. A different explanation of *-γυ- -βυ-* is given by Bezzenberger in his Beitr. IV 345.

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II. Suffixes in -*i*.

§ 92. In the *i*-suffixes we have a triple Ablaut: *i*, *ei̯*, *oi̯* (*e*-series, I § 311—314). *i* e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. *-i-s -i-m*; *ei̯* e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. *-ei̯-es*; *oi̯* in gen. sing. *-oi̯-s*. We have not enough evidence to determine exactly the connexion between these grades of Ablaut and the varying conditions of Accent in the original declension.

In the proethnic period the *i*-stems were masculine, feminine and neuter. The first two had originally the same declension. Differences only arose after the separation of the languages, e. g. Skr. acc. pl. *ávīn* m. *ávīṣ* f. 'oves'.

i-stems often pass into the inflexion of the *-ī-*: *-i̯ē-* stems (§ 109), and into that of the monosyllabic *-ī-*: *-ii̯-*stems (§ 109 Remark 2).

§ 93. The Suffix *-i-*. This was always a primary suffix. It is secondary only in nouns originally belonging to other declensions which have been transferred to the inflexion of the *i*-stems. The change of declension is due sometimes to a mere association of similar forms which leaves the meaning unaltered, as in Lat. *nāv-i-s nāv-i-um. nāv-i-bus*[1]) (contrast Skr. *nāú-ṣ nāv-ām nāu-bhyás*); sometimes it denotes a change of meaning, the new signification being taken from that of other *i*-suffixes (as *-ti- -ni-*), as in O.C.Sl. *žestoč-ĭ* 'hardness' from *žestokŭ* 'hard'.

-i- as a primary suffix is found in substantives and adjectives. The substantives are most commonly masculine and feminine, and they may be either abstract or concrete.

Indo-Germanic. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine **ou̯-i-s* 'sheep': Skr. *ávi-ṣ* m. f. (instead of **ávi-ṣ* on the analogy of the cases which began with *avy-*? see I § 78 p. 69 f.), Gr. *ὄι-ς οἶ-ς* m. f., Lat. *ovi-s* m. f., O.H.G. *ou* f., Lith. *avì-s* f. (O.C.Sl. *ovĭ-ca* § 88 p. 269). Skr. *áh-i-ṣ* m. Avest. *ažiš* m. 'snake, dragon', Armen. *iž* (gen. *iž-i*) 'viper', Lat.

1) For the transference of *-ī*-stems into the *i*-declension, see § 109 Rem. 1.

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angu-i-s m. f. (O.Ir. *esc-ung* 'eel', a compound with *esc* 'swamp'), Lith. *ang-ì-s* f. 'adder'; cp. also Gr. ἔχι-ς m. f. 'adder, viper' ὄφι-ς m. 'snake, dragon'. Avest. *er*^{t}*z-i-š* Gr. ὄρχι-ς m. 'testicle'. **ŋs-i-s* m. 'sword': Skr. *asi-ṣ* Lat. *ēnsi-s*. Skr. *-jān-i-ṣ jān-i-ṣ* Avest. *jaini-š* f. 'woman', Goth. *qēns* (stem *qēn-i-*) f. 'woman', beside Skr. *gn-á-* etc., see § 60 p. 111.

Neut. **oqi-* 'eye': Armen. *ač-k'* (gen. *ačaç*) pl., Gr. ὄσσε for **ok*^{u}*-i̯-e* du. n. (Att. τρι-οττί-ς must have arisen through a fusion of ὀττ- = **oqi̯-* and ὀτι- = **oqi-*), in Gothic in *and-áugi-ba* adv. 'coming into sight, openly' (for the *áu* cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), Lith. *akì-s* f., O.C.Sl. *oči* du.; add Skr. *ákṣi* n. There were a few other proethnic neuters, as O.C.Sl. *uš-i* 'ears' But only a part of the cases were originally taken from these stems, the rest were formed from stems in *-en-* (cp. e. g. Skr. *akṣṇ-á* (instr.) beside *ákṣ-i* etc., § 114). In several languages, however, the *i*-declension was carried through all the cases and the gender was changed. In others however the *i*-inflexion remained defective. Cp. § 114 and Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 16 ff.

There appears to be no one adjectival stem which is found simultaneously in more than one language. Here however we must notice **tr-i-* 'three' (cp. Skr. *tṛ-tíya-* 'tertius' etc.): Skr. *tráy-as* loc. *tri-ṣú*, Armen. *ere-k'* instr. *eri-v-k'* (I § 263 p. 214), Gr. τρεῖς τρι-σί, Lat. *trēs tri-bus* O.Ir. *trī* dat. *tri-b*, Goth. *þreis* dat. *þri-m*, Lith. *trỹs* loc. *tri-sè* O.C.Sl. *trĭj-e trij-e* loc. *trĭ-chŭ*.

Aryan. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine. The suffix is especially used to form *nomina agentis* (m.) and abstract verbal substantives (far more commonly f. than m.). Skr. *v-í-ṣ* Avest. *v-i-š* m. 'bird': Lat. *av-i-s* (the loss of the root-syllable in Sanskrit is a trace of the Ablaut of the original declension). Skr. *kav-í-ṣ* 'sage' Avest. *kav-i-š* m. 'king'. Skr. *gir-í-ṣ* Avest. *gai-ri-š* m. 'mountain' (should we connect it with *gurú-* 'heavy'?) Skr. *va-vr-í-ṣ* m. 'husk, covering' Avest. *vaoiri-* (cp. I § 160 p. 144) in *us-vaoiri-š* 'shelled, without shell'. Skr. *ṛṣ-i-ṣ* m. 'singer, sage', *kīr-í-ṣ* m. 'singer of praises, *arc-í-ṣ* m. 'beam', *dhvan-í-ṣ* m. 'tone, sound', *nidh-í-ṣ* m. 'establish-

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ment, store, treasure' (*ni-dhā-*); *rúc-i-š* f. 'gleam, light', *kṛš-í-š* f. 'ploughing', *rṓp-i-š* f. 'violent pain', *grāh-i-š* f. 'seizure', *nābh--i-š* f. 'middle'. Avest. *vaeiđ-i-š* m. 'announcer', *vair-i-š* m 'canal, pond'; *baoiđ-i-š* f. 'smell, perfume' *vaiđ-i-š* 'flowing, stream'.

The dative of the *nomina actionis* is used as an infinitive in Vedic and Avestic, e. g. Ved. *dṛšáyē* 'for seeing', *yudháyē* 'for fighting', Avest. *savayōi* 'to use' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 20).

Neuters. Skr. *ákṣi-* Avest. *aši-* 'eye', see above p. 279. Skr. *ásthi-* 'bone', *dádhi-* 'curds'. Avest. *uši-* 'understanding, thought'.

Adjectives. Skr. *hár-i-š* Avest. *zairi-š* 'golden yellow'. Skr. *šúc-i-š* 'shining, pure', *gṛbh-i-š* 'containing in oneself', *kḗp-i-š* 'trembling', *máh-i-š* 'great'; often in reduplicated forms, as *cá--kr-i-š* 'making', *dá-dh-i-š* 'bestowing', *tá-tur-i-š* 'overcoming', *ba-bhr-i-š* 'carrying', *da-d-í-š* 'giving', *sā-sah-i-š* 'conquering, victorious'. Avest. *darš-i-š* 'violent, mighty' cp. Skr. *dā-dhṛš-i-š* 'courageous, bold', Avest. *da-dąs-i-š* 'biting'.

We find a class of words transferred to the *i*-declension in order to denote relation of any kind to the original word. In Sanskrit they generally imply origin. The initial syllable has the vriddhi strengthening regularly in Sanskrit, and often in Iranian. Skr. *sā́rath-i-š* 'charioteer' from *sa-rátha-s* 'riding in the same chariot', *pāúrukutsi-š* 'descendant. on of *purukútsa-s*'. Avest. *māzdayasni-š* 'belonging to the worshippers of Mazda', from *mazda-yasna-* 'one who worships Mazda' *vār^{e}θrayni-š* 'victorious' from *ver^{e}θra-jan-* 'victor', *dāštayāni-š* 'son of *dāštayāna-*'; O.Pers. *pātišuvari-š* 'a man from Patishuvar'. It is difficult to say on what model this class of forms was made, cp. Lat. *decemjugi-s* 'and the like (p. 281). Compare the *vriddhi*-formations in *-a-* § 60 p. 112 f.

Armenian. *iž* (gen. *iž-i*) 'viper': Skr. *áh-i-š* etc., see p. 278 above. *aic* (gen. *aic-i*) 'goat': Gr. *αἰγι-* in *αἰγί-βοτο-ς* 'pasturing goats'. From old neuter forms are derived *aç-k* pl. 'eyes' (see p. 279 above) and *sirt* (gen. *srt-i*) 'heart': Lith. *szird-ì-s* 'heart' beside Goth. *haírtō*.

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Greek. Here it is not common. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. ὄ-ι-ς m. f., ἔχ-ι-ς m. f. ὄφ-ι-ς m., see above p. 278 f. τρόχ-ι-ς m. 'runner', στρόφ-ι-ς 'adroit, sly fellow', κόρ-ι-ς m. 'cimex', ἔρ-ι-ς f. 'strife: Skr. ár-i-ṣ 'enemy'; πόρ-ι-ς 'heifer, maiden', ῥάχ-ι-ς f. 'backbone, back', τρόπ-ι-ς f. 'ship's keel', μῆν-ι-ς f. 'wrath'. There remains one original neuter, ὄσσε, see p. 279 above, whilst all the other proethnic neuters of this class were driven out of use by new formations.

The Adjective τρόφ-ι-ς 'thick, fat, strong' was no doubt originally a substantive, 'thick, strong appearance'.

Italic. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. Lat. *ov-i-s* m. f., Umbr. *ovi* acc. 'oves': Skr. *áv-i-ṣ* etc., see p 279 above. Lat. *av-i-s* f., Umbr. avif acc. 'aves': Skr. *v-í-ṣ* 'bird'. Lat. *ax-i-s* m.: Lith. *asz-ì-s* O.C.Sl. *os-ĭ* 'axle'; *torris* m. (√*ters-*), *orb-i-s* m., *corb-i-s* m. f., *crāt-i-s* f.; *ap-i-s* f., *trud-i-s* f., *scob-i-s* f., *sit-i-s* f., *rāv-i-s* f. Osc. slagím 'regionem'.

Neuters. Lat. *mar-e*: O.Ir. *muir* n. O.H.G. *meri* n. (perhaps however the Idg. form is **mə-ri*, cp. Gr. ἴδ-ρι); *sal-e* (stem *sal-i-*, also m.): Armen. *ałi* (gen. *ałi-ւ*) 'salt', Gr. ἁλ- in ἁλι-πόρφυρο-ς 'sea-purple', O.C.Sl. *sol-ĭ* f. 'salt'; *conclāv-e*, *praesaep-e* (also *praesaep-i-s* f.). *aur-i-s* too was originally neut.: Mid.Ir. *au* ō, dat. pl. *auib*, O.C.Sl. *uš-i* du., Lith. *aus-ì-s*.

Adjectives: *rud-i-s*, *jug-i-s*, *dulc-i-s*, *grand-i-s*, *turp-i-s*.

In Latin the *i*-declension was invaded by a large number of words which did not belong to it originally, as *ped-i-bus*, *nāv-i-bu-s* *nāv-i-um* *nāv-i-s*, *juven-i-s*. This is especially note-worthy in adjectives, and particularly in compound words. In these the *-i-* often seems to be merely a sign of their adjectival character. *simili-s* 'like': Gr. ὁμαλό-ς 'even', *humi-li-s*: Gr. χθαμαλό-ς 'low', see § 76 p. 202 f. *in-ermi-s* (also *in-ermu-s*) from *arma* pl., *ex-somni-s* from *somnu-s*, *im-belli-s* from *bellu-m*, *im-berbi-s* (also *im-berbu-s*) from *barba*, *multi-formi-s* from *forma*, *bi-corni-s* from *cornu*. We have examples of a similar transference in other languages; with the change in *inermi-s* etc. compare especially the parallel change in Irish.

The proethnic variation between *-tāt-* and *-tāti-* (*cīvitāt-um*

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and *cīvitāti-um*), *noct-* and *nocti-* and the like must have been an important factor in enlarging the *i*-declension.

Old Irish. *aird* m. or f. 'point at the corner or end': Gr. *ἄρδ-ι-ς* f. 'arrow-point, sting'. *aig* f. 'ice'. *muir* n. 'sea' (Gall. *Mori-tasgu-s*): Lat. *mare* n. O.H.G. *meri* n. (though the Idg. form was perhaps **mə-ri*); *gein* n. 'birth', *guin* n. 'wound', *buaid* n. 'victory'.

air-dirc 'famed' *ē-cndirc* 'absent': cp. Skr. *dṛś-í-ṣ* 'a seeing'; *maith* 'good' (Gall. *Mati-donnu-s*), *tais* 'soft, gentle' (Gall. *Taxi-magulu-s*), *tin* 'tender' (Gall. *Teni-genonia.*)

Adjectives, especially compound adjectives, frequently passed over to the *i*-declension; as *ē-nirt* 'strengthless, weak' from *nert* 'strength', *so-choisc* 'docibilis' from *cosc* 'an instructing', *ess-amin* 'fearless' from *omun* 'fear' (cp. Gall. *Ex-obnu-s Ex-omnu-s*). Also substantives, as *samail* 'likeness, picture' and therefore also its derivative *co-smil* 'like'. The same may be seen in Latin (p. 281).

Germanic. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. The verbal abstract nouns are much more commonly m. than f. Goth. *baúr* A.S. *byre* m. 'son'. Goth. *náu-s* (acc. pl. *nav-i-ns*) m. 'dead man': O.C.Sl. *nav-i* 'mortuus'. O.H.G. *win-i* m. 'friend': Skr. *vasu-váni-ṣ* 'desiring riches' *vaní-ṣ* 'desire, longing'. O.Icel. *kon-r* m. 'one who belongs to a family, relative', *elg-r* m. 'elk'. Goth. *balg-s* m. 'leather bottle, skin'. Goth. *hug-s* O.Sax. *hug-i* m. 'thought, spirit' pr. Germ. **χuz-í-s*, Goth. *gum-s* O.Sax. *kum-i* O.H.G. *chum-i* m. 'a coming', Goth. *mun-s* O.Icel. *mun-r* m. 'view', Goth. *slah-s* O.Sax. *sleg-i* m. 'blow' (the difference between the *-h-* and the *-g-* corresponds to the original variation of accent in the different cases of the same declension), O.H.G. *biz* O.Sax. *bit-i* m. 'bite', O.H.G. *fang* A.S. *fenz* O.Icel. *feng-r* m. 'capture'. Goth. *qēn-s* f. 'woman': Skr. *-jāni-ṣ*. Goth. *vēn-s* f. 'hope' O.H.G. *wān* m. 'faith, hope', unless it is to be analysed as **u̯ē-(e)ni-* and so belongs to § 96 (p. 288). O.H.G. *chur-i* f. 'choice'. O.H.G. *chur-i* f. 'choice'. O.H.G. *wurt* f. O.Icel. *Urð-r* f. 'fate' pr. Germ. **u̯urđ-í-s*. For the treatment of the nominative ending *-i-s* in these forms see I § 660, 1 p. 514, § 661, 2 p. 517. Neut.

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O.H.G. *meri* 'sea' (cp. Goth. *mari-sáiv-s*): Lat. *mare* n. O.Ir. *muir* n. (though perhaps the Idg. form was **mə-ri*).

Adjectival *i*-stems were confused with *jo*- stems in pro-ethnic and later Germanic.

Balto-Slavonic. Substantives. Masculines are rare. Lith. *vag-ì-s* 'thief'; O.C.Sl. *nav-ĭ* 'dead': Goth. *nau-s* 'dead man' (see above); O.C.Sl. *medv-ĕd-ĭ* 'bear' ('honey-eater'), cp. *jad-ĭ* f. 'food'; *glad-ĭ* 'hunger'. The feminine is more frequent. Lith. *asz-ì-s* O.C.Sl. *os-ĭ* 'axle': Lat. *ax-i-s*. Lith. *pil-ì-s* 'stronghold, castle': cp. Skr. *pur-í-ṣ* 'town', though these two words may be independent extensions of an orig. stem **pl̥l*-. Lith. *āt-ils-i-s* 'repose, ease', *rūd-ì-s* 'rust'. O.C.Sl. *lŭž-ĭ* 'lie': O.H.G. *lug* A.S. *lyge* (pr. Germ. **luzi*-) m. 'lie'. O.C.Sl. *věd-ĭ* 'knowledge: Avest. *vaẹiδ-iš* 'herald'. O.C.Sl. *sĭč-ĭ* 'urine', *o-stež-ĭ* 'clothing', *chot-ĭ* 'desire, craving', *blęd-ĭ* 'error, deceit', *rčč-ĭ* 'speech', *vodo-tečĭ vodo-točĭ* 'water-course, channel'. The following imply old neuter forms: O.C.Sl. du. *oci* 'eyes' (cp. Skr. *akṣí*) and *uśi* 'ears', Lith. *akì-s* f. and *ausì-s* f., see p. 281.

Adjectives in -*i*- are not found in the historical period of Lithuanian, so that Lith. *dìdi-s* 'large' loc. *didi-mè* cannot be classed here. The word was no doubt a substantive originally, like Gr. τρόφι-ς (see above p. 281). In Slavonic too the adjectives in -*i*- have died out. Possibly however they are represented by indeclinable forms in -*ĭ*, such as O.C.Sl. *is-plŭnĭ* beside *plŭnŭ* 'full' *sugubĭ* beside *sugubŭ* 'doubled', *svobodĭ* 'free', which Mahlow, (Die langen Vokale, p. 121) compares with Lat. *in-ermi-s* O.Ir. *ē-nirt* (p. 281 f.); see however Leskien, Handbuch[2] p. 72 f. 94 f.

In Balto-Slavonic, as in Latin, the forms of the *i*-declension invaded other classes of stems. E. g. dat. pl. Lith. *akmen-ì-ms* O.C.Sl. *kamen-ĭ-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *ak-mů̃* O.C.Sl. *kamy* 'stone') like Lat. *homin-i-bus*, Lith. *moter-ì-ms* O.C.Sl. *mater-ĭ-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *móte* 'woman' O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother') like Lat. *matr-i-bus*, Lith. *debes-ì-ms* O.C.Sl. *nebes-ĭ-mŭ* (nom. sing. Lith. *debes-ì-s* m. f. 'cloud' O.C.Sl. *nebo* n. 'heaven') like Lat. *gener-i-bus*. Many words were thus transferred entirely, or almost entirely, to this declension, as Lith. *dant-ì-s* f. 'tooth' (gen. pl. *dant-ū*), *žąs-ì-s*

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f. 'goose' (gen. pl. *žąs-ū*), *debes-ì-s*; O.C.Sl. *krŭv-ĭ* f. 'blood' (gen. sing. *krŭv-e*), *kamen-ĭ* beside *kamy*, *vĭs-ĭ* 'village' (Skr. *víś-*).

In Slavonic *-i-* is a secondary suffix in feminine abstract nouns like *žestočĭ* 'hardness', from *žestokŭ* 'hard', *zelenĭ* 'viriditas', from *zelenŭ* 'viridis', *zŭlĭ* 'wickedness', from *zŭlŭ* 'wicked', *toplĭ* 'warmth', from *toplŭ* 'warm' (cp. § 98). The type for these new formations was set by such pairs of forms as *da-nĭ* 'gift' and *da-nŭ* 'given', *bra-nĭ* 'fight' and *bra-nŭ* 'fought', *pę-tĭ* 'fivefold character, five' and *pę-tŭ* 'fifth'.

§ 94. The Suffixes *-ni-* (*-ǫni-*) and *-eni-* (*-oni-*).[1]

The two forms are related in the same way as *-no-* and *-eno-*. Hence we analyse e. g. **dōni-s* (Lith. *důni-s* O.C.Sl. *danĭ* 'gift') as **dō+eni-*. See § 65 p. 138.

These suffixes appear to have been always primary.

Amongst the substantives formed with *-ni- -eni-*, the verbal abstract nouns are a prominent class, widely represented in Aryan, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic. These stand in the same relation to the participial suffixes *-no- -eno-* (*-ono-*) as the noun suffix *-ti-*, which also forms verbal abstract nouns (§ 100), to the participial suffix *-to-* (§ 79 p. 218): e. g. Skr. *lū-ni-ṣ* 'a tearing away': *lū-na-s* 'torn away' = *hū-ti-ṣ* 'call': *hū-ta-s* 'called'. And it is certainly not an accident that these nouns in *-ni-* are most common in the languages in which the *no*-stems occupy a prominent place among the forms of the infinitive.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we often find *-sni-* instead of *-ni-*. The origin of the *-s-* is not quite clear. Possibly it should be sought in forms like **leuqs-ni-s* 'gleam' (Avest. *raoxšni-š*), cp. *-s-no-* § 66 p. 140 f. With Lith. *deksnì-s* 'burnt patch of ground' cp. O.C.Sl. *žestŭ* for **gek-s-to-* p. 79 p. 237.

Remark. Sometimes it is not easy to decide whether in any particular word we have this suffix or an *en*-stem extended by *-i-* (i. e. transferred to the *i*-declension). The latter is certainly the case e. g. in Skr. *śun-i-ṣ* Avest. *sūn-i-ṣ* Lith. *szun-i-s* Pruss. *sun-i-s* 'dog' beside Skr. *śvā́* gen. *śún-as*,

1) H. Ebel, Die Abstractsuffixe *-ni* and *-ani* (in Gothic), Kuhn's Ztschr. V 302 ff. Losch, Die mit dem Suffix NI gebildeten Verbalabstracta im Gotischen, Germania XXXII 223 ff.

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Lat. *carn-i-s* beside *carō carn-is*, O.C.Sl. *dĭn-ĭ* 'day' *jelen-i* 'stag' beside gen. sing. *dĭn-e jelen-e*, *srĭšen-ĭ* beside Lith. *szirszẽ*, gen. *szirszeñs*, 'hornet, gadfly'. Perhaps also in Skr. *vr̥ṣṇi-ṣ vr̥ṣṇi-ṣ* 'male, strong, mighty' *vr̥ṣṇi-ṣ* m. 'ram' Avest. *varšni-š* 'ram' beside Skr. *vr̥ṣán-* 'male', Skr. *prēṇi-ṣ* 'full of love' beside instr. *prēṇ-ā* 'through love, through affection', Gr. *ἄρν-ις* (pl. *ὄρνιθ-ες*) 'fowl' O.H.G. *aru* (pl. *erni*) 'eagle' beside Goth. *ara*, gen. *arins* 'eagle'. Cp. § 65 Rem. p. 139.

§ 95. 1. *-ni-* (*-n̥ni-*).

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *ag-ní-ṣ* m. Lat. *īg-ni-s* m. Lith. *ug-ni-s* f. O.C.Sl. *og-nĭ* m. 'fire'; the relation of the different root-vowels is obscure. Skr. *śrṓ-ṇi-ṣ* m. f. 'hinder parts, hip', Lat. *clū-ni-s* m. f., O.Icel. *hlau-n* f. 'hip-bone, hinder-part', Lith. *szlau-nì-s* f. 'hip, upper part of the thigh, shaft-bar (of a carriage)'; how is this related to Gr. *κλόν-ις* 'os sacrum'? (cp. the Author, Zum heut. Stand der Sprachwiss. 1885, p. 70 f., Holthausen, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 590). **lū-ni-s* f. 'a loosing, tearing loose': Skr. *lū-ni-ṣ* 'a tearing loose, cutting off', Goth. *lū-n-s* 'means of loosing, ransom' (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 81, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 121). Avest. *rašni-s* 'truth' pr. Ar. **raž-niš* (I § 403 p. 298), Goth. *ga-rēh-sn-s* f. 'intent, plan', √*reiǧ-* (Avest. *rāzayeiti* 'he arranges'). Skr. *śrēṇi-* 'light, pure' (in *śrēṇi-dant-* 'with bright teeth'), Goth. *hrái-n-s* 'pure'; cp. also O.C.Sl. *srĕ-nŭ* 'white' (Kluge gives a different explanation, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 525).

Aryan. Skr. *śrṓ-ṇi-ṣ* m. f. Avest. *srao-ni-š* f. 'hinder parts'. Lat. *clū-ni-s* etc.; see above. Skr. *váh-ni-ṣ* m. 'beast of draught', *yṓ-ni-ṣ* m. 'lap, womb', *ghṛ́-ni-ṣ* m. 'heat, sunshine'. Skr. *jūr-ṇí-ṣ* 'glow', *sr̥-ṇí-ṣ sr̥-ṇi-ṣ* 'sickle', *mē-ní-ṣ* f. 'offensive weapon, missile', *śrḗ-ṇi-ṣ* f. 'row, line', *gīr-ṇi-ṣ* f. 'a swallowing'. Avest. *raoxš-ni-š* f. 'gleam, brightness', *fšao-ni-š* f. probably 'riches, food, nourishment'.

Adjectives. Skr. *śrēṇi-* bright, pure', see above, *tūr-ṇi-ṣ* 'hastening', *bhūr-ṇi-ṣ* 'hasty, fiery', *pr̥ṣ-ni-ṣ* 'spotted, variegated', Avest. *raoxš-ni-š* 'gleaming, clear'.

The Aryan suffix *-ani-* may in some words be referred to *-n̥ni-*; perhaps in *kṣip-aṇí-ṣ* f. 'blow' and other words in *-ani-*.

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Compare Skr. -*ána*- from -*ɲnó*- § 66 p. 142, and -*anú*- for -*ɲnú*- § 106.

Armenian. *srun-k'* (gen. *sruni-ç*) pl. 'shinbones, calves', compared with Lat. *crūs*.

Greek. Here the suffix is extremely rare. For *κλονι-ς* see p. 285. *εὐ-νι-ς* 'bereft, mulcted' is a certain example, cp. Skr. *ū-ná-s* 'deficient in something' Goth. *v-an-s* 'absent, lacking'. But *ὕν-ις ὕνι-ς* 'ploughshare' (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81), *σπάνι-ς* 'rarity, want' and one or two others are very doubtful.

Italic. Lat. *Fūnēs* 'dei silvestres' (Gloss.) beside *Faunus*. Umbr. *fons* (pl. *foner*) 'propitius, favens', cp. *fav-eō*; the word seems to have been originally a substantive, meaning 'favour'. Lat. *īg-ni-s* m.: Skr. *ag-ni-ṣ* etc. see p. 285. *pēni-s* m. f. for **pes-ni-s* beside Skr. *pás-as* Gr. *πέος* n. 'penis' (I § 570 p. 427). *amni-s* m. f. for **ab-ni-s*, compared with O.Ir. *abann* 'stream' (I § 511 p. 375). *fūni-s* m. f., *fīni-s* m. f., *crīni-s* m. f.

It is not clear how far the Adjectives in -*ni*- were brought into this class of stems merely through a secondary change of declension, cp. § 93 p. 281. *com-moini-s com-mūni-s* (Osc. múíníkad abl. 'communi' see § 87 p. 261) corresponds to Goth. *ga-máin-s* 'common' pr. Germ. **ʒa-mainі-z*. *omni-s* for **op-ni-s*, beside *op-s* (cp. Goth. *all-s* § 66 p. 147), *sēg-ni-s*, *lēni-s*, *mūni-s*, *im-māni-s*, *in-clīni-s* and others. It must not be forgotten that the uncompounded words may have been originally substantives.

Old Irish. *tāin* 'a harrying, raid' for **tu-ag-ni-* or **tu--āg-ni-*, similarly *imm-ain* 'a driving, riding' (passing into the analogy of the *ī*-stems, see Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 290), from √*aǧ-* 'agere', cp. I § 523 p. 380. *buain* 'harvesting' for **bong-ni-*, beside *bongaim* 'I gather, make harvest'. *cluain* 'meadow, mead'. -*ɲni*- may be contained in O.Ir. *colinn* (gen. *colno*) f. 'corpus, caro' Mid.Cymr. *celein* Mod.Cymr. *celain celan*, which point to **colani*- (or **colanni*-, cp. § 117 Rem. 3).

Germanic. The Substantives in -*ni*- and- *sni*- are femi-

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nine and mostly abstract. O.Icel. *hlau-n* 'hip-bone': Skr. *śró-ṇi-ṣ* etc.; see above, p. 285. Goth. *siun-s* 'looking, power of sight, visage, appearance' pr. Germ. **si(ʒ)u-ni-s*, beside Goth. *saihvan* 'to see', √ *seq-*; see I § 441 p. 327 f., § 444*c* p. 330. Goth. *anda-viz-n-s* 'sustenance, support' *váila-viz-n-s* 'welfare, good condition' from *visan*. *sōk-n-s* 'disputed question', *táik-n-s* 'notice, token' √ *deiḱ- deiǧ-*, *dáu-n-s* 'vapour, smell'. Goth. *ana-busn-s* 'bidding, charge, command' for **-butsni-*, beside *ana-biudan*, *us-beisn-s* 'expectation, patience' for **-bītsni-*, beside *us-beidan* (I § 552 p. 404), *ga-rēh-sn-s* 'intent, plan' (cp. Avest. *raš-ni-* p. 285), *rōh-sn-s* 'court, courtyard'.

The adjectival *-ni-* corresponds to the adjectival *-i-* (§ 93 p. 283), and, like *-i-*, was confused with the *i̯o*-declension. Goth. *hráin-s* O.Sax. *hrēni* 'pure': Skr. *śrēṇi-* 'bright, pure'; see p. 285 above. Goth. *ga-máin-s* 'common': Lat. *com-moini-s communi-s*, see p. 286. Goth. *ana-siun-s* 'visible', *skáun-s* 'beautiful' ('noticeable, worth looking at' beside O.H.G. *scouuōn*), *ar-ni-ba* adv. 'safely, heedfully'.

In Balto-Slavonic we find only substantives, which in both branches are almost exclusively feminine, often with *s* or (in Slav.) *z* prefixed (*-sni-*, *-zni-*).

Lith. *ug-nì-s* f. O.C.Sl. *og-nĭ* m. (the only masc.) 'fire': Skr. *ag-ní-ṣ* etc., see above p. 285. Lith. *bar-nì-s* f. 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. *bra-nĭ* f. 'battle'. Lith. *kul-nì-s* f. 'heel', *vil-nì-s* f. 'wave', *szak-nì-s* f. 'root', *pus-nì-s* f. 'snow-drift', *krós-ni-s* 'stove, oven', *dek-snì-s* f. 'burnt patch of ground' *lup-snì-s* (and *lupsznì-s* f. 'shell peeled off', *žink-snì-s* f. 'step'; the forms are frequently transferred to the *i̯o*-declension (masc.), as *žiñksni-s* gen. *žiñksnio* = *žinksnì-s*. O.C.Sl. *stri-nĭ* 'stem' *stĭg-nĭ* 'way, road', *po-jas-nĭ* 'girth', *pri-kaz-nĭ* 'tale, history, example', *sĕ-nĭ* 'shade' (no doubt to be compared with Skr. *chāy-á* 'shade', I § 393 p. 293 f., § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.), *pĕ-snĭ* 'song', *kŭ-znĭ* 'deceit', *ži-znĭ* 'life'.

§ 96. 2. *-eni-* (*-oni-*).

Indo-Germanic. **bhāni-s*: Armen. *ban* (gen. *bani*) 'λόγος', A.S. *bēn* O.Icel. *bōn bōn* f. 'prayer' pr. Germ. **bōni-z*, O.C.Sl. *basnĭ* f. 'fable, spell' (the *s* is a later insertion). We

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may place here, but with more hesitation, Goth. *as-an-s* f. 'harvest, summer' (cp. *asnei-s* O.H.G. *esni* 'day-labourer'), Pruss. *ass-ani-s* 'autumn' O.C.Sl. *jes-enĭ* f. 'autumn'.

Aryan. Skr. *-áni-* beside *-aní-* (is the latter for *-n̥ni-*? see § 95 p. 285 f.). *iṣ-áṇi-ṣ* f. 'impulse, motive' *śar-áṇi-ṣ* 'injury, transgression', *aś-áni-ṣ* f. 'missile'. *car-áṇi-ṣ* 'mobile', *cakṣ-áṇi-ṣ* 'brightener, illuminator', *rurukṣ-áṇi-ṣ* 'able or willing to destroy'. Skr. *sarva-jyāní-ṣ* f. 'complete ruin' Avest. *zyāni-š* f. 'harm', Skr. *hāni-ṣ* f. 'abandonment, decrease, loss', *glāni-ṣ glāni-ṣ* f. 'relaxation, discouragement'.

Armenian. *ban* 'λόγος': A.S. *bēn* etc., see above.

Italic. Lat. *pāni-s* m., also *pāne* n., beside *pā-bulu-m*.

Germanic. Goth. *as-an-s* f. 'harvest, summer'?, see above. A.S. *bēn* O.Icel. *bon bǫn* f. 'prayer': Armen. *ban* etc., see above. The comparison of Goth. *vēn-s* 'hope' with O.H.G. *wār* (Bremer, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 274) is still uncertain; see § 93 p. 282 The suffix was fertile in forming feminine abstracts connected with weak verbs and derived from the present stem; these words end in *-īni- -ōni- -aini-*, as Goth. *láisein-s* 'instruction' from *láisjan* 'to instruct', *laþōn-s* 'invitation' from *laþōn* 'to invite', *þuláin-s* 'patience, endurance' from *þulan* 'to endure'. The form of the suffix was *-eni-* (as opposed to *-ono-* in the infinitive, which appears in *láisjan* and *þulan*): *láisain-s* = ground-form **loiseį-eni-s*, pr. Germ. *-iį-ini-*, cp. 3. sing. Goth. *láiseiþ*, *þuláin-s* = ground-form **tl̥lēį-eni-s* pr. Germ. *-ēį-ini*, cp. 3. sing. *þuláiþ*, *laþōn-s* like 3. sing. *laþōþ*; see I § 142 p. 127. These abstract forms were very numerous even in proethnic Germanic; but the separate Germanic languages differ in the extent to which they made use of the established types. In Gothic the three methods of formation were in full use together: the form in *-ein-s* was the most, that in *-ōn-s* the least common; further examples are *uf-lagein-s* 'remission', *ga-hráinein-s* 'purification', *frijōn-s* 'caress, kiss', *þaháin-s* 'silence'. But in High German the only forms which appear are those in *-īni-*, and these are very numerous; but they were phonetically modified by confusion with secondary abstract nouns in *-īn-* (§ 115), as O.H.G. *toufīn* and *toufī*

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'baptism' = Goth. *dáupein-s*, *mendīn mendī* 'joy', *restīn restī* 'rest, repose'.

Balto-Slavonic. Pruss. *ass-ani-s* O.C.Sl. *jes-enĭ* f. 'autumn'?, see p. 288 above. Words in which the suffix was contracted with the vowel ending of the stem to which it was added, often show an inserted *s* (*z*). Lith. *dūni-s dūsni-s* f. O.C.Sl. *danĭ* f. 'gift'. O.C.Sl. *basnĭ* f. 'fable, spell': Armen. *ban* etc., see p. 287 above, *prě-stanĭ* f. 'omission' from *prě-stati* 'to omit, cease'; *nadĕznĭ* 'hope' from *dĕti* 'ponere'. These nouns are also formed from derivative verbs, and are based upon the stem of the infinitive; as *bojaznĭ* f. 'fear' (*bojati sę*), *kajaznĭ* f. 'repentance' (*kajati sę*), *prījaznĭ prijaznĭ* f. 'love, friendship' (*prījati prijati*), *bolĕznĭ* f. 'pain, sickness' (*bolĕti*). Compare Pruss. *biāsna-n* acc. 'fear' beside *biā-twei* 'to fear', *eb-signāsna-n* acc. 'blessing' beside *be-signāt-s* part. 'blessed'.

§ 97. The Suffix -*mi*-. There are a few original substantives in which -*mi*- is primary, but the suffix never became fertile. Nearly all apparent examples from later periods are obviously nothing but -*mo*- -*mā*- forms which have passed into the *i*-declension.

No general definition can be given of the function of this suffix.

Indo-Germanic. **qṛ-mi-s* 'worm' (compare Lat. *cur-vo-s*?): Skr. *kṛ́-mi-ṣ* m., O.Ir. *cruim* f. Mod.Cymr. *pryf* pr. Kelt. **kṷri--mi-*, Lith. *kirmi-s*, gen. *kirmio*, transferred to the *io*-declension (and now obsolete) from which was formed *kir-m-ėlė* (§ 76 p. 212). With the same suffix, and formed in imitation of the word **qṛ-mi-s*, but from other roots, we have Lat. *ver-mi-s* m. O.H.G. *wur-m* (pl. *wurmi*) m. 'worm' and Gr. *ἕλ-μι-ς* f. 'intestinal worm'. **u̯l̥-mi-s*: Skr. *ūr-mí-ṣ* m. 'wave', A.S. *wielm wylm* m. 'welling up, wave' pr. Germ. **u̯al-mi-z* (I § 306 p. 243). Avest. *dā-mi-š* 'creation, creature' (*dāmi-dāta-* 'gracious to created beings'?), Gr. *θέ-μι-ς* f. (with secondary formations which have invaded its declension) 'ordinance, right', √*dhē* 'set, establish'.

Aryan. Skr. *kṛ́-mi-ṣ*, *ūr-mí-ṣ*, Avest. *dā-mi-š*, see above. Skr. *bhū́-mi-ṣ* f. (also *bhū́mī-*, see § 109 Rem.) Avest. *bū-mi-š* f. O.Pers. *bumi-* f. 'earth'. Skr. *raś-mí-ṣ* m. 'rein, strap', *kūr-mi-*

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action, performance' in *tuvi-kūrmi-š* 'mighty in action', *sūr-mi-š* f. 'light, shining flame'. Avest. *dā-mi-š* (*dą-mi-š*, see I § 200 p. 169) f. 'wisdom, insight', from *dā-* 'know, understand'.

Greek. *ἕλ-μι-ς*, *θέ-μι-ς*, see above. *φῆ-μι-ς* 'speech, talk, report' beside *φή-μη*.

Italic. Lat. *ver-mi-s*, see above. A change from the *o*- to the *i*-declension produced *in-ermi-s*, *sub-limi-s* and the like; see § 93 p. 281 and § 95 p. 286.

Old Irish. *cruim*, see above. *cnāim* m. 'bone' pr. Kelt. **cnā-mi-*, beside Gr. *κνή-μη* 'shinbone', compare Aeol. *κνᾶ-μι-ν* acc. (pl. Hom. *κνημῖδες*) 'greaves'.

Germanic. O.H.G. *wur-m*, A.S. *wiel-m*, see above. By a change from the *o*- to the *i*-declension, Goth. *hái-m-s* f. village' beside pl. *hái-mō-s*, *ar-mi-ns* m. acc. pl. 'arms' beside the old *o*-stem O.H.G. *aram* O.Icel. *ar-m-r* (§ 72, 3 p. 171).

O.C.Sl. *sedmĭ* f. 'the number seven', *osmĭ* f. 'the number eight' were formed from the ordinals *sedmŭ*, *osmŭ* on the analogy of *pętĭ* : *pętŭ* and so forth.

§ 98. The Suffixes *-ri-* (*-ṛri-*) and *-li-* (*-l̥li-*)[1].

There are a few original nouns in which these suffixes are primary. *-li-* is very fertile in Italic. A large number of the examples of *-ri- -li-* which date from later periods, just as those of *-mi-*, arise simply from the transference of other stems into the *i*-declension.

No general definition can be given of their function.

Idg. *-ri-*. Skr. *áś-ri-š* f. 'the sharp side of a thing, corner, border, cut edge', Gr. *ἄκ-ρι-ς* f. 'point', esp. 'hill-top' *ὄκ-ρι-ς* f. 'point, corner, border', Lat. *oc-ri-s* m. 'hill-top'; compare Gr. *ἄκ-ρο-ς* etc.; see § 74 p. 184. Gr. *ἴδ-ρι-ς* 'knowing', O.Icel. *vit-r* 'wise' (pr. Germ. **u̯it-ri-z*), √ *u̯eid-*. Skr. *vádh-ri-š* 'gelded, castrated' Gr. *ἔθ-ρι-ς*, the same (cp. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 68).

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1) C. von Pucker, Die [lat.] nomina derivata auf *-alis* (*-aris*) und *-arius*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 113 ff.

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-li-. Lat. *tāli-s quāli-s*, O.C.Sl. *tolĭ* adv. 'so much, tantum' *kolĭ* adv. 'how much, quantum', and (derived from *-li*-stems) Gr. *τηλί-κο-ς πηλί-κο-ς*, O.H.G. Alemann. *welēr solēr*, O.C.Sl. *tolikŭ kolikŭ*; see § 88 p. 265, § 89 p. 272.

Aryan. Only the evidence of the kindred languages can determine whether in any particular word we have Idg. *-ri-* or *-li-*.

-ri-. Skr. *áś-ri-ṣ* see above *jī-rí-ṣ* 'flowing water', beside *jī-rá-s* 'lively, rough': Lat. *vi-reō* O.C.Sl. *ži-rŭ*, see § 74 p. 182 f. *śubh-rí-ṣ* with the same meaning as *śubh-rá-s* 'gleaming, beautiful': Armen. *surb* 'pure', see § 74 p. 183. *ús-ri-ṣ* with the same meaning as *us-rá-s* 'of the morning' (adj.): Gr. *αὔ-ρι-ο-ν*, see § 74 p. 181.

-li-. Skr. *tū-li-ṣ* f. 'brush', beside *tū-lī* f. 'cotton, wick, brush' *tū-la-m* 'panicle, tuft': Gr. *τύ-λη τύ-λη*, see § 76 p. 198. Skr. *dhū-li-ṣ* f. 'dust': cp. Lat. *fūlīgō* 'soot', Lith. *dùlkė* f. 'mote'. Avest. *tiγ-ri-š* m. 'arrow, missile' beside *tiγ-ra-* 'sharp, pointed': Goth. *stik-l-s*, § 76 pp. 200, 207.

In the following examples it is not clear whether the suffix originally had *r or l*. Skr. *bhū-ri-ṣ* 'abundant, great, many', neut. *bhū-ri* Avest. *būiri*. Skr. *áṅgh-ri-ṣ* m. 'foot', *váṅk-ri-ṣ* m. f. 'rib'. *áb-hri-ṣ* f. 'hoe, spatula'. Avest. *maoiri-š* m. 'ant' for pr. Ar. **maṷ-ri-š* (I § 160 p. 144), cp. Skr. *vam-rá-s* m. *vam-rí* f. 'ant'. — Skr. *aṅgú-ri-ṣ aṅgú-li-ṣ* f. 'finger' beside *aṅguṣṭha-* Avest. *aṅgušta-* m. 'toe'. There are also a few adjectives in *-uri-ṣ*, where we can hardly assume either *-ṛri-* or *-l̥li-*, as *sáhuri-ṣ* 'mighty', *jásuri-ṣ* 'exhausted, weary'.

Greek. Here it is very rare. *ἄκ-ρι-ς ὄκ-ρι-ς, ἴδ-ρι-ς*, see above. No doubt we should add *ὄβρι-ς*.

Italic. Lat. *oc-ri-s* m., Umbr. ukri-per *ocri-per* 'pro ocre': Gr. *ὄκ-ρι-ς*, see above. Lat. *ut-ri-s* m., to be compared perhaps with *uteru-s*. *secūri-s*, cp. *figūra* and similar forms. Lat. *sac-ri-* (e. g. *sacrem porcum*) beside *sac-ro-*, Umbr. sakre n. 'sacrum, hostia' beside sakra 'sacras'. Lat. *ācer ācri-s*, beside Gr. *ἄκ-ρο-ς*; Osc. akrid 'acri' or 'raptim' might also be referred to a stem akro- (cp. *amprufid* 'improbe'). Lat. *put-*

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-ri-s. Umbr. *pacrer* pl. 'pacati, propitii', cp. Goth. *fag-r-s* 'suitable' pr. Germ. **faȝ-rá-s* § 74 p. 187. Cp. *-bri-* beside *-bro-* in *anclābri-s* etc., § 77 p. 215.

In Italic *tāli-s quāli-s* (p. 291) served as the types for a large group of adjectives; as Lat. *æquāli-s, līberāli-s, nātāli-s, vēnāli-s, vītāli-s, dōtāli-s*; Umbr. *verfale* 'verbale, templum', *sorsālem* 'porciliarem', *Tefrali* abl. 'Tefri proprio'; the change of *l* to *r* by dissimilation seems to have taken place in proethnic Italic when there was already an *l* in the word (cp. I § 269 p. 217): Lat. *ālāri-s, palmāri-s, militāri-s, lūnāri-s, lūminari-s*, Umbr. *staflarem* 'stabularem'. The analogy of *vīta*: *vītāli-s* gave rise in Latin to the forms *fidēli-s (fidē-s), famēlicu-s (famē-s)*; *ovīli-s (ovi-s), hostīli-s (hosti-s)*, and then further, to *virīli-s (vir), puerīli-s (puer), hastīli-s (hasta)*; *tribūli-s (tribu-s), īdūli-s (īdūs)* pl.), whence *pedūli-s (pes)*. Cp. Gr. τοῖο-ς ποῖο-ς : παντοῖο-ς ἀλλοῖο-ς § 63 Rem. 2 p. 128 and O.C.Sl. *takŭ kakŭ* : *jedinakŭ drugako* § 89 *c*, p. 273.

-li- in Latin adjectives frequently arises from the transference of *o*-stems into the *i*-declension, and the group of original forms in *āli-s (-ēli-s -īli-s -ūli-s)* may have helped to effect the change. *simili-s*: cp. Gr. ὁμαλό-ς (in Celtic also an *i*-stem, O.Ir. *samail*, see below), *humili-s*: cp. Gr. χθαμαλό-ς, *pestili-s* etc., see § 76 p. 202 f. 205. Further *agili-s*: Skr. *ajirá-s, bibili-s, coctili-s* etc., p. 204. Cp. also *stabili-s nōbili-s* etc., § 77 p. 215.

There is one substantive in *-li-*, Lat. *tōlēs* pl. m. 'wen on the neck', for **tons-li-*, from *tens-* 'stretch' (Goth. *at-þinsan* 'to draw towards one', Lith. *tę̃s-ti* 'to stretch by pulling'); *tōnsillae* 'tonsils' points to an older form **tons-lo-* or **tons-lā-*.

Old-Irish. All the apparent examples of this suffix known to me may have originally been *ro- lo*-stems (cp. § 93 p. 282). *lēir* 'diligent'. *dūil* f. 'creature, element' (beside *dūl*). *biail*, gen. *bēla*, f. 'axe'. *samail* 'likeness, picture' with the adjectives derived from it, as *co-smil* 'similar': cp. Lat. *simili-s*.

In Germanic the suffix is extremely rare, and forms only adjectives, in which as in other *i*-stems, there is a confusion with the *jo*-declension. O.Icel. *vit-r* 'wise': Gr. ἴδ-ρι-ς, see

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above p. 290. Goth. *riu-r-s* 'fleeting-, perishable' O.Icel. *rȳr-r* 'thin'.

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *dĭb-rĭ* f. 'ravine'. Lith. *aug-li-s* f. O.C.Sl. *ąg-lĭ* m. 'coal'. O.C.Sl. *by-lĭ* f. 'plant, vegetable' beside part. *by-lŭ*, *rębʼ-lĭ* f. 'bud, shoot', *sop-lĭ* (beside *sopĕlĭ*) f. 'flute', *sŭch-lĭ* f. 'dry wood, brushwood' beside *u-sŭch-lŭ* 'dry' (cp. I § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *tek-lĭ* f. 'resin', properly 'outflow', beside part. *tek-lŭ*. In *-ē-li-* (cp. *-ē-lo-* § 76 p. 212 f.): *gybĕlĭ* f. 'destruction', *kąpĕlĭ* f. 'bath', *pečalĭ* f. 'care, grief', *sopĕlĭ* f. 'flute', *svirĕlĭ* f. 'flute', *obitĕlĭ* f. 'dwelling', *obutĕlĭ* f. 'shoe', *dĕtĕlĭ* f. 'deed'. In *-s-li-* (cp. *-s-lo-* § 76 p. 211): *jasli* pl. f. 'crib' for **ēt-s-li-* beside *jastŭ* 'he eats', *gąsli* pl. f. 'zither' beside *gądą* 'I play on the zither', *myslĭ* f. 'thought' beside Goth. *ga-máud-jan* 'to remind', *otŭ-raslĭ* f. 'sprig' beside *rastą* 'I grow'. Some of these forms with *-li-* must no doubt be explained in the same way as *žestočĭ* (§ 93 p. 278. 284); *toplĭ* (beside *toplŭ*) has already been mentioned in that section.

§ 99. The Suffix *-ti-*. In Indo-Germanic this was a common primary suffix, and formed feminine *nomina actionis*. In Aryan, Balto-Slavonic, (and Keltic, cp. § 156) regular infinitives were developed from these abstract verbal nouns; e. g. Skr. *pītáy-ē* O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink'.

Here and there we find *nomina agentis* also formed with *-ti-*, and some of these occur in more than one language; as Lat. *hos-ti-s* Goth. *gas-t-s* O.C.Sl. *gos-tĭ*, O.Ir. *tāid* O.C.Sl. *ta-tĭ*. All these forms may originally have been *nomina actionis*, the word which denoted a state or capacity being applied to the person in whom it was realised; thus Skr. *cítti-š* f. 'understanding, state of being intelligent' also means in the Rig-Veda 'he who is intelligent'. And even adjectival stems, like Skr. *pū-ti-š*, 'stinking', were developed from these abstract nouns. Cp. § 80 p. 238 f., § 108. 149. 155.

In denominative abstract nouns, *-ti-* is rare; examples are numerals like **penq-ti-s* 'fivefold character'. The *-ti* in Skr. *ká-ti* seems to be connected with this use of the suffix.

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§ 100. 1. *-ti-* in primary abstract nouns (*nomina actionis*).

The root-syllable nearly always has the vowel in its weak grade. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, and in Sanskrit and Germanic the same word often shows both, as Skr. *mati-ṣ* and *máti-ṣ*, O.H.G. *gi-burt* (pr. Germ. **burdi-*) and Goth. *ga-baúrþ-s* (pr. Germ. **búrþi-*). It is therefore probable that originally the accentuation varied in the different cases and corresponded to the different grades of the root; say nom. sing. **mén-ti-s* nom. pl. **mn̥téi-es*. In the process of levelling, the weak form of the root-syllable generally prevailed, and as the same readjustment happened also in the *to*-participles (§ 79 p. 221), the two are no doubt connected. In the Slavonic infinitive, **mén-ti-* was the type usually followed; which is due to the influence of the supine in *-tŭ* (§ 108).

These *ti*-stems were extended by the suffix *-en-*, and hence were formed a large class of abstract nouns in Italic and Keltic such as Lat. *men-tiō* beside *mēns*[1]), O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour'; these were not unknown even in Germanic and Greek, cp. Goth. *ra-þjō* = Lat. *ra-tiō*, and Gr. *δωτίν-η*. Cp. § 115. In Italic and Keltic a large proportion of the *ti*-abstracts were replaced by this newer formation.

These nouns could be derived from any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely from the root (in the strict sense of the word); hence words like Skr. *údi-ti-ṣ* f. 'speech' (beside part. *udi-tá-s*), Lat. *moni-tiō* (beside *moni-tu-s*) and Gr. *ὄρᾱ-σι-ς* f. 'seeing', Lat. *satiās occupātiō*. O.Ir. *saigid* 'a searching', Lith. *sė́dėti* O.C.Sl. *sědĕti* 'to sit'.

The addition of *-ti-* to the stem of the thematic present or aorist as in Skr. *romá-ti-ṣ* Gr. *λάχε-σι-ς* was no doubt a secondary developement, although perhaps it may have begun even in the proethnic period; cp. *-e-to-* § 79 p. 218 f.

Indo-Germanic. **sru-ti-s* f. 'a flowing, streaming' from

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1) Leo Meyer, Die lateinische Abstractbildung durch das Suffix *tiōn*, Benfey's Orient und Occident II 586 ff.

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√ *sreu̯-*: Skr. *sru-ti-ṣ* Gr. *ῥύ-σι-ς*. Skr. *júṣ-ṭi-ṣ* f. 'mark of affection, favour', Gr. *γεῦσι-ς* f. 'tasting, taste' (a later formation from *γεύω* for **γεύσω*), Goth. *ga-kust-s* f. 'trial, testing', √ *ǵeu̯s-*. Skr. *ádhi-ṣ* f. 'a leading, carrying', Lat. *vecti-s* m. 'lifter, lever' *vectiō*, inf. Lith. *vèszti* O.C.Sl. *vesti* 'to carry, vehere'. **qi-ti-s* f., from √ *qei̯-*: Skr. *ápa-citi-ṣ* 'requital, punishment', Gr. *τί-σι-ς* 'estimate, atonement, punishment' *ἀπό-τισι-ς* 'requital, punishment'. Avest. *vaŋ-ti-š* f. 'willow twig', Lat. *vī-ti-s* f., O.Ir. *fēith* f. 'sinew', Lith. *výt-ti-s* f. 'twig of willow-tree' O.C.Sl. *vi-tĭ* f. 'res torta in modum funis' *pa-vitĭ* f. no doubt = 'vitis', inf. Lith. *výt-ti* O.C.Sl. *vi-ti* 'to wind, turn'. Skr. *vitti-ṣ* 'consciousness, the finding, becoming possessed of a thing'. Avest. *e-visti-š* f. 'ignorance', Lat. *vīsiō* f., O.C.Sl. *za-vistĭ* f. 'envy, hatred' *vĕstĭ* f. 'news', √ *u̯eid-* 'videre'. **bhṛ-ti-s* f. from √ *bher-* 'ferre': Skr. *bhṛti-ṣ* 'carrying, sustenance, support', Lat. *fors*, O.Ir. *brith* inf. 'to carry, carrying', Goth. *ga-baúrþ-s* O.H.G. *gi-burt* 'birth'. **dhṛs-ti-s* 'boldness' from √ *dhers-* 'be bold': Skr. *dhṛṣṭi-ṣ* O.H.G. *ga-turst*. Gr. *ἄμελξι-ς* f. 'milking', Lith. inf. *mìlsz-ti* 'to milk', √ *melǧ-*. **gm̥-ti-s* f. from √ *gem-* 'go, come': Skr. *gáti-ṣ* (older **gati-*, cp. I § 230 p. 196). 'gait, going', Gr. *βάσι-ς* (older **βατί-*, cp. I § 235 p. 198 f.) 'gait, step', Lat *in-ventiō*, Goth. *ga-qumþ-s* 'a meeting' O.H.G. *cumft cunft* 'a coming' and O.Icel. *sam-kund* 'meeting' (the difference is due to the variation of accent in proethnic Germanic), Lith. *pri-gimtì-s* 'innate peculiarity' (cp. I § 249 p. 204). Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ má-ti-ṣ* f. 'thought, mind', Gr. *μάν-τι-ς* m. 'one inspired, seer', Lat. *mēns men-tio*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour', Goth. *ga-mund-s* f. 'remembrance' *ana-mind-s* f. 'guess', Lith. *at-mintì-s* f. 'memory' O.C.Sl. *pa-mętĭ* f. 'remembrance', √ *men-* 'reflect'. **ǧn̥-ti-s *ǧṇ̥-ti-s *ǧen-ti-s* from √ *ǧen-* 'gignere': Skr. *jāti-ṣ* f. 'birth' Avest. *fra-zainti-š* f. 'progeny, children', Lat. *gēns natiō* (cp. *gnātu-s nātu-s*. Skr. *jātá-s*). **ḱu̯s-ti-* from √ *ḱens-*: Skr. *śasti-ṣ* 'praise, glory Lat. *cēnsiō* (instead of **cens-tiō*, cp. *cēnsu-s* § 79 p. 223. 230). **peq-ti-s* f. from √ *peq-* 'cook': Skr. *pakti-ṣ* 'cooked dish', Gr. *πέψι-ς* 'cooking', Lat. *coctiō* for **cuec-tiō*, O.C.Sl. *pešti* 'fireplace' *pešti* inf. 'to cook'. **-d+ti *də-ti *dō-ti* f. from √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *bhága-tti-ṣ* 'gift

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of fortune' *dĺti-ṣ* 'riches, possessions' *dāti-vāra-s* 'loving to give, generous', Gr. δόσι-ς δῶτι-ς 'gift', Lat. *datiō dōs* (gen. *dōtis*), Lith. *dâti-s* O.C.Sl. *dostĭ* 'gift'; inf. Lith. *dû'ti* O.C.Sl. *dati* 'to give'. **dhə-ti-* **dhē-ti-* f. from √*dhē* 'ponere': Skr. *dēvá-hiti-ṣ* 'divine law, ordinance', Avest. *ni-dāiti-š* f. 'laying aside, drawing off' (of clothes), Gr. θέσι-ς 'setting, arranging, position', Lat. *con-ditiō*, Goth. *ga-dēþ-s* (st. *-dēdi-*) O.H.G. *tāt* 'deed', O.C.Sl. *blago-dětĭ* 'benefit, favour'; inf. Lith. *dėti* O.C.Sl. *děti* ponere'. Skr. *áp-ti-ṣ* 'reaching, attaining', Lat. *ad-eptiō* for **-ap-tiō*. Skr. *syū-ti-ṣ* f. 'a sewing, bag', inf. Lith. *šiú-ti* O.C.Sl. *ši-ti* 'to sew'. **plē-ti-s* f. 'filling' from *plē-* 'fill': Skr. *prā-ti-ṣ*, Gr. πλῆσι-ς (late), Lat. *ex-plētiō*. Skr. *prá-jñā-ti-ṣ* f. 'recognising' *jñā-tí-ṣ* m. 'kinsman', Gr. γνῶ-σι-ς f. 'knowledge', Lat. *nō-tiō*, O.H.G. *ur-chnāt* f. 'agnitio' (ground-form **ĝnē-ti-*), O.C.Sl. *po-znatĭ* f. 'cognitio'; cp. Av. *a-zainti-š* f. 'knowledge, understanding', Goth. *ga-kunþ-s* f. 'acquaintance' (abstr.) *ga-kund-s* f. 'a making acquainted, persuasion' O.H.G. *kunst* f. 'wisdom, mental capacity', O.C.Sl. *zętĭ* m. 'son-in-law' (cp. Lith. *žénta-s* 'son-in-law', Gr. γνωτός 'near relative').

Examples of *-e-ti-* are given under the separate languages.

In Aryan *-ti-* is a living suffix. Skr. *śrú-ti-ṣ* f. 'hearing, sound, news, tale' Avest. *fra-srūiti-š* 'recitation, declamation': O.C.Sl. inf. *slu-ti* 'to be called, nominari' √*ḱleu̯-*. Skr. *sṓma-suti-ṣ* f. 'pressing of the soma' *sú-ti-ṣ* Avest. *hūiti-š* 'pressing, preparation (of the soma)'. Skr. *buddhi-ṣ* f. insight, observation, understanding' Avest. *paiti-busti-š* f. 'observing': Gr. πύσι-ς f. 'inquiry, news', √*bheu̯dh-*. Skr. *i-ti-ṣ* f. 'going' Avest. *paitiiti-š* f., i. e. *paitīti-š*, 'a running against, regret': Lat. *i-tiō*. Lith. *pri-eitì-s* f. 'suburb', √*ei̯-* 'ire'. Skr. *kṣi-ti-ṣ* Avest. *ši-ti-š* f. 'dwelling, settlement' Gr. κτί-σι-ς f. 'founding of a colony'. Skr. *diś-ṭi-ṣ* f. 'direction, dictate' Avest. *ā-diš-ti-š* f. 'direction, instruction': Gr. δεῖξι-ς f. 'showing', Lat. *dic-tiō*, O.H.G. *in-ziht* f. 'accusation'. Skr. *bhṛ-tí-ṣ* f. 'carrying, sustenance, provision' Avest. *ber'ti-š* f. 'offering, fostering care': Lat. *fors* etc., see above p. 295. Skr. *dṛ́ṣ-ṭi-ṣ dṛṣ-ṭí-ṣ* Avest. *darš-ti-š* f. 'seeing': Gr. δέρκ-σι-ς f. 'seeing', √*derḱ-*. Skr. *apa-sṛpti-ṣ* f. 'going out, de-

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parture': Gr. ἕρψι-ς f. 'creeping'. Skr. *gá-ti-š* f. 'a going' Avest. *aiwi-gaiti-š* f. 'arrival': Gr. βά-σι-ς etc., √ *gem-*, see above p. 295. Skr. *rá-ti-š rán-ti-š* f. 'a pleasant tarrying, pleasure, delight': Gr. ἱραπί-μολπο-ς 'taking pleasure in song', Lith. inf. *rìm-ti* 'to be calm in spirit', √ *rem-*. Skr. *ha-ti-š* f. 'blow, killing' *á-hati-š á-hanti-š* f. 'inviolability' Avest. *jaiti-š jainti-š* f. 'striking, killing': Lith. *ap-ginti-s* f. 'vindication' inf. *giñ-ti* 'to drive (cattle)' O.C.Sl. inf. *žę-ti* 'to hew, mow', √ *ghen-*. Skr. *śas-ti-š* f. 'praise, glory' Avest. *sas-ti-š* f. 'instruction': Lat. *cēnsiō*, see above p. 295. Skr. *ni-śatti-š* rest, inactivity': Lat. *sessiō* Lith. *sẽs-ti* O.C.Sl. *sĕsti* 'to sit', √ *sed-* 'sit'. Avest. *ava-spašti-š* f. 'espying': Gr. σκέψι-ς 'inspection, examination' (instead of *σπεξι-ς), Lat. *īn-spectiō*. Skr. *sthí-ti-š* f. Avest. *staiti-š* f. 'standing': Gr. στά-σι-ς 'position, place, uprising', Lat. *sta-tiō*, O.H.G. *sta-t* (pl. *steti*) f. 'place, stead', O.C.Sl. *po-statī* f. 'pars, modus' inf. Lith. *stó-ti* 'to tread' O.C.Sl. *sta-ti* 'to place oneself'; a form **-st-ti-*, to be compared with Skr. *-tti-* 'gift' (p. 295 f.), may be concealed in Germ. **fir-sti-* 'roof-ridge' (cp. § 4 p. 9), which would then be parallel to Skr. *savyē-ṣṭhar-* i. e. *-st+tar-* (§ 122). Skr. *mi-ti-š* f. 'measure, worth, right judgement': A.S. *mæ-d* f. 'measure, relation', √ *mē-*. Skr. *bhak-ti-š* Avest. *bax-ti-š* f. 'distribution', √ *bhag-*. Skr. *iṣ-ṭi-š* Avest. *iš-ti-š īš-ti-š* f. 'wish', √ *aiṣ-*. Skr. *iṣ-ti-š* f. 'offering', √ *iaǧ-*. Skr. *ghrā-ti-š* f. 'odour, smell' beside parte. *ghrā-tá-s*. Avest. *šyēiti-š* (gen. *šātōiš*) f. 'well-being, place of delight, home' O.Pers. *šiya-ti-š* f. 'place of delight, dwelling-place pr. Ar. **cya-ti-*: Lat. *quiēs*, gen. *quiētis*, Idg. *qiē-* 'be at ease'. Avest. *jyaiti-š* f. 'life': cp. Gr. ζῇ 'he lives'. Avest. *upa-snāiti-š* f. 'a washing', beside Skr. *snā-ta-s* 'washed'. We may add a few more examples of the variation of the accent in Sanskrit (there are more words with the accent on the root-syllable in classical Sanskrit than in Veda): *tṛp-ti- tṛ́p-ti-*, *kīr-ti- kír-ti-*, *bhū-ti- bhú-ti-*, *hē-ti- hé-ti-*. Masculine and Adjectival forms are rare; besides those given under Indo-Germanic cp. Skr. *dhú-ti-š* m. 'shaker' (f. 'shaking', Gr. θύ-σι-ς f. 'raging, roaring'), *váṣ-ṭi-* 'desirous', Avest. *rāi-ti-š* m. 'distributor' (f. 'distribution, alms', Skr. *ra-ti-š* 'alms, gift)'.

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With reduplication we have e. g. Skr. *car-kṛ-ti-ṣ* f. 'laudatory mention, praise', *dī-dhi-ti-ṣ* f. 'devotion', Avest. *za-zāiti-š* f. 'throwing away'. Cp. the Greek forms p. 299.

Sometimes we have *-e-ti-*, e. g. Skr. *vas-a-ti-ṣ* f. 'nest', *dṛś-a-ti-ṣ* 'aspect', *ram-á-ti-ṣ* f. 'place of pleasant sojourn' *rám-a--ti-ṣ* 'gladly tarrying', *ar-a-ti-ṣ* m. 'servant', *vṛk-á-ti-ṣ* m. 'destroyer, robber', Avest. *pav-aiti-š* f. 'rottenness, filth'. Cp. Skr. *dars-a-tá-s* and the like § 79 p. 226.

In Aryan the dative of the *-ti-* abstracts served as an infinitive, e. g. Ved. *pī-táyē* 'to drink' Av. *ker*^{e}*-tēṇ* 'to fulfil' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 20 f.).

Armenian. *z-gest*, gen. *z-gesti*, 'garment': Lat. *ves-ti-s*. *sas-t*, gen. *sasti*, 'abuse, reproach, threat, anger, sternness': Skr. *śāṣ-ṭi-ṣ śiṣ-ṭi-ṣ* f. 'punishment'.

In Greek it is a living suffix, especially fertile in forming *nomina actionis* from derived verbs. *χύ-σι-ς* 'outpouring, gush, libation': Skr. *á-hutiṣ* f. 'the offering of oblations' *λύ-σι-ς* f. 'a loosing' beside *λυ-τό-ς*. *φύξι-ς* f. 'flight': Lith. inf. *búkti* 'to be cast into fear', *φθί-σι-ς* f. 'a waning, wasting': Skr. *kṣí-ti-ṣ* f. 'destruction'. *πίστι-ς* f. 'trust' beside *πιστό-ς πείθ-ω*. *δάρ-σι-ς* f. flaying': Skr. *dṛ́-ti-ṣ* f. 'leather skin or bag', Goth. *ga-taúrþ-s* (stem *ga-taúrþi-*) f. 'destruction', Lith. inf. *dir-ti* 'to skin' ground-form **dr-ti*, √*der-* 'tear'. *βρώσι-ς* f. food': Lith. *gir-ti-s* f. 'drink, feast', ground-form **gᵍr-ti- *gᵍr-ti-* √*ger-*. *μάρπ-τι-ς* m. 'seizer, robber'. *τέρψι-ς* f. 'contenting, delight': Skr. *tṛp-ti-ṣ tṛ́p-ti-ṣ* f. satiating, contenting', Goth. *þaúrf-t-s* O.H.G. *durft* f. 'requisite, want'. *βά-σι-ς* f. 'gait, step': Skr. *gá-ti-ṣ* etc., see above p. 295. *τά-σι-ς* 'stretching, straining': Skr. *ta-ti-ṣ tán-ti-ṣ* f. 'row', Lat. *in-tentiō*. *μάν-τι-ς* m. 'one inspired, seer': Skr. *ma-tí-ṣ* etc., see p. 295 above. *ἕξι-ς* f. 'condition, state', beside *ἀν-εκτό-ς ἔχ-ω*. *ἄν-εσι-ς* f. 'a slackening, loosing' *σύν-εσι-ς* f. 'understanding'. *Ποσί-οδο-ς, ἀν-ηνί-δωρο-ς* 'sending forth gifts, letting grow' (of the earth), Lat. *sa-tiō*, Goth. *mana-sēþ-s* (st. *-sēdi-*) f. 'seed of men, multitude, world' O.H.G. *sā-t* f. 'seed', Lith. inf. *sē-ti* 'to sow', √*sē-* 'throw forth, sow'. *δέ-σι-ς* f. 'binding, knot': Skr. *á-diti-ṣ* 'boundlessness, state of being unconfined', √*dē-* 'bind'. *φά-τι-ς*

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f. 'story, news' *φά-σι-ς* f. 'assertion': Skr. *bhā-ti-ṣ* f. 'gleam', √*bhā-* 'shine, cause to appear, show'. *καῦ-σι-ς* f. 'burning', from *καίω καύ-σω*. *πῆξι-ς* f. 'fixing, setting in': Lat. *pac-tiō*, √*pāk-* *pāg-*. *ὄψι-ς* f. 'sight, countenance'. *ἄμ-πωτι-ς* f. 'ebb': Lat. *pō-tiō*, cp. also Skr. *pī-ti-ṣ* f. 'drinking' O.C.Sl. *pi-ti* 'to drink', √*pō(i)-*. *ἄη-σι-ς* f. 'blowing'. *νῆ-σι-ς* f. 'spinning': O.H.G. *nā-t* f. 'seam'. *ῥῆ-σι-ς* f. 'speaking, word' for **Fρη-σι-ς*: Avest. *urvāiti-š* f. 'law' (cp. I § 157 p. 141). From derivative verbs: *ὄρᾱσι-ς* 'seeing' (*ὁράω*), *αἴτησι-ς* 'prayer, demand', (*αἰτέω*), *ἀξίωσι-ς* 'thinking worthy' (*ἀξιόω*), *κάθαρσι-ς* 'purifying' (*καθαίρω*), *ὕφανσι-ς* 'weaving' (*ὑφαίνω*), *κήρῡξι-ς* 'proclamation, announcing' (*κηρύσσω*).

With reduplication: e. g. *ποίφῡξι-ς* 'a snorting' from *ποι-φύσσω*. Cp. the Aryan forms p. 298.

With *-e-ti-* we have e. g. *σχ-έ-σι-ς* 'holding, condition', *λάχ--ε-σι-ς* 'lot, fate', *εὕρ-ε-σι-ς* 'finding'. Cp. also *ἄ-τε-σι-ς* 'completing'. In correspondence with these nouns we find the partcc. *ἄ-σχετο-ς*, *εὑρε-τό-ς*, *ἀν-ήνυ-το-ς* § 79 p. 229.

-ti- was so widely used in Greek and formed so many new words that it is often impossible to tell whether a given word arose in Greek or is really Indo-Germanic. It is not probable that forms like *φεῦξι-ς ῥεῦσι-ς ϝεῦξι-ς* Arcad. *ἔσ-τεισι-ς* (beside *φύξι-ς ῥύσι-ς τίσι-ς*), in which the root-syllable is in the strong grade, are to be referred simply and immediately to the ablaut variation of the stem in Indo-Germanic (see p. 294).

As to the association of the *-ti-*stems in compounds like *τερψί-μβροτο-ς* with the *σ*-aorist, see § 30 p. 52.

In Italic, *-ti-* was no longer a living suffix. But its extension *-tiōn- (-tin-)* was very fertile.

a. -ti-. Lat. *cu-ti-s* f.: O.H.G. *hū-t* O.Icel. *hū-ð* f. 'skin' pr. Germ. **χū-ði-*. *tussi-s* f., no doubt to be connected with *tundō*. *fus-ti-s* m. *vī-ti-s* f.: Avest. *vaŋ-ti-š* etc., see p. 295 above. *fors* f., Osc. *fortis* adv. 'forte' Pelign. *forte* gen. 'fortunae': Skr. *bhṛ-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 295 above. *mors* f.: Skr. *mṛ-ti-ṣ* f. 'death', O.Lith. *mir-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *sŭ-mrŭtĭ* f. 'death', common ground-form **mṛ-ti-s*. *sors*, also *sor-ti-s* f., beside *serō*. *ars* f.: Skr. *ṛ-ti-ṣ* f. 'method, kind, way'. *pars* f., beside *por-tiō*, see

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I § 306 p. 242. *grā-tēs* pl. f., beside *grā-tu-s*. *mēns*, beside *men-tiō*, see p. 295 above. *gēns*, beside *nā-tiō*, see p. 295 above. *messi-s* f., beside *metō*. *res-ti-s* f.: Armen. *z-gest*, gen. *z-gesti*, 'garment'. Umbr. ahtim-em 'in actionem' beside ahtu 'actui', Lat. *agō*. Lat. *hos-ti-s* m. 'foreigner, enemy': Goth. *gas-t-s* m. 'stranger, guest', O.C.Sl. *gos-tĭ* m. 'guest, companion, friend' (the root meaning is perhaps 'injury, harm', compare Skr. *ghas-* 'to consume'; see the Author, in Curtius' Stud. V. 228 ff.). *nox* f.: Skr. *nák-ti-ṣ* f. Goth. *nah-t-s* f. Lith. *nak-tì-s* f. O.C.Sl. *noš-tĭ* f. 'night'; yet this word **noq-ti-* may not belong to the oldest stratum of *ti*- nouns, but be only an extension of **noq-t-* (§ 123). *cōs*, gen. *cōtis*, f., cp. Skr. *śā-ta-s* 'whetted, sharpened', Gr. *κῶ-νο-ς* 'cone'. *quiēs*, gen. *quiētis*, f.: Avest. *šyęiti-š*, see above, p. 297. From *satiāre*: *satiās*, gen. *satiātis*, f. 'sufficiency, repletion'.

forti-s O.Lat. *forcti-s* originally followed the *o*-declension: Skr. *dṛḍhá-s* 'established, firm', √ *dhergh-*.

b. *-tiōn-*. Lat. *junc-tiō*: Skr. *yuk-ti-ṣ* f. 'a yoking, setting going', Gr. ζεῦξι-ς f. 'a yoking, putting to', Lith. inf. *jùnk-ti* 'to yoke'; the nasal of the Lat. and the Lith. form came from the present stem (Lat. *jungō* Lith. *jùngiu*). *circum-litiō*: Lith. inf. *lĕ-ti* 'to pour'. *fissiō*: Skr. *bhitti-ṣ* f. 'a breaking'. *por-tiō* beside *pars*, see p. 299 above. *cul-tiō*, from *colō* for **cŭelō* (I § 427 *a* p. 313, § 431 *a* p. 320). *ēm-p-tiō* (the regular form would have been, **en-tiō*, see I § 207 p. 174): O.Ir. inf. *air-itiu* 'accipere', O.C.Sl. *rąko-jętĭ* f. 'manipulus, sheaf' inf. Lith. *ĩm-ti* O.C.Sl. *ję-ti* 'to take'. *men-tiō* beside *mēns*, see above, p. 295. *nā-tiō cōg-nā-tiō* Umbr. natine 'natione, gente', beside *gēns*, see above p. 295. *of-fensiō*, from *of-fendō*. *coctiō*: Skr. *pak-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 295 above. *gestiō*, beside *gerō*. *messiō* (cp. *messi-s*) see above. *lec-tiō*: Gr. λέξι-ς f. 'speaking, expression'. *sta-tiō*; the stem from which this is derived, **sta-ti-*, may be contained in Umbr. statita 'statuta': Skr. *sthi-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 297 above. *ra-tiō*: Goth. *ra-þjō* f. 'reckoning, account', beside Lat. *rē-rī ra-tu-s*. *ac-tiō* beside Umb. ahtim-em 'in actionem'. *cap-tiō*: Goth. *anda-haft-s* f. 'rejoinder, answer' Mid.H.G. *haf-t* f. 'a holding, hold'. *cautiō* Skr. *á-kū-ti-ṣ* f.

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'intention'. *auctiō*: Lith. inf. *áuk-ti* 'to grow', √*aug-*. *scāuniō*, beside *scandō*. *nō-tiō*: Skr. *prá-jñāti-ṣ* etc., see above p. 296. *con-crē-tiō*. From derivative verbs: Lat. *occupātiō dominātiō captātiō* Osc. *medicatinom* 'judicationem' fruktatiuf 'usus, fructus', Lat. *largītiō sortītiō, tribūtiō*. It should be observed however that the great fertility of *-tiōn-* often makes it doubtful whether any given word really represents an original *ti*-stem, e. g. *fissiō auctiō*.

Lat. *monitiō, vomitiō, sorbitiō, ex-spuitiō*. Osc. úittiuf 'usio, usus' for **oit(i)tiuf*, see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368, § 633 p. 474. Cp. *monitu-s* and so forth, § 79 p. 231.

Old Irish. *fēith* f. 'sinew': Avest. *vaŋ-ti-š* etc., see above p. 295. *tāid* m. 'thief': O.C.Sl. *ta-tĭ* m. 'thief'.

-ti- was a living suffix, and formed abstract verbal nouns which were feminine (for the infinitives see § 156). *buith* 'being': Skr. *bhū-ti-ṣ bhū-ti-ṣ* f. 'good condition, well-being', Gr. *φύ-σι-ς* f. 'nature', O.C.Sl. *za-bytĭ* f. 'forgetting, forgetfulness', inf. Lith. *bū-ti* Slav *by-ti* 'to be'. *brith* 'carrying': Skr. *bhṛ-ti-ṣ* etc., see above p. 295. *blith* 'grinding, molere', beside *melim* 'I grind' (I § 212 p. 179). *cleith* (Mid.Ir.) 'concealment, hiding', beside *celim* 'I conceal'. *saigid* 'seeking out', beside *saigim* 'I seek out', compared with Lat. *sāgiō*. *iar-figid* 'questioning', cp. Lat. *vocātiō*.

Adjectives in *-ti-*, like *blāith* 'soft, gentle' (ground-form **mḷ-ti-s*, I § 306 p. 243), *ē-cm-ailt* 'insolens', may have originally belonged to the *o*-declension. Cp. § 93 p. 282.

Some of the feminine abstract substantives in *-tiu* are also used to form infinitives (§ 156). *er-mitiu* 'honour' *toim-tiu* 'meaning, intent': Lat. *mentiō*, see above p. 295. *air-itiu* 'accipere': Lat. *ēmptiō*, see above p. 300. *clōsi(u)* 'hearing': Skr. *śruṣ-ṭi-ṣ* f. 'a gratifying, courtesy', O.Sax. O.Icel. *hlus-t* f. 'hearing', Lith. inf. *klaus-ti* 'to ask' (I § 467, 2 p. 343). *epelt(i)u* 'death', sinking', beside *at-bail* 'he dies, perishes'. *aicsiu* 'seeing' from **-cas-tiō*, beside *ad-chess* 'visum est'. *aigthiu* 'fearing', for **-agithiu*. Sometimes we find this extended form side by side

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with the shorter form in -*ti*-; e. g. dat. *do saichtin* and *do saigthin* (both Mid.Ir.) = *do saigid* 'to seek out'.

Germanic. In proethnic Germanic -*ti*- was fertile; but later on it passed almost, if not entirely out of use. This was due to two causes; to the variation caused by phonetic change (cp. e. g. Goth. *anda-hafti-*, *ga-mundi-*, *ga-dēdi-* (pronounced -*dēdi-*), *ga-qumþi-*, *ga-vissi-*), and to the almost complete loss of the *to*- participles, which broke down its formal connexion with the verb.

Goth. *us-taúht-s* [1]) 'completion, fulfilment' O.H.G. *zuh-t* 'drawing, training': Lat. *duc-tiō*, √ *deuk-*. Goth. *fra-lust-s* 'loss, destruction' (compare O.H.G. *lus-t* 'pleasure', perhaps in the sense of 'being free, unrestrained'), beside Goth. *-liusan*: cp. Gr. *λύ-σι-ς*. Goth. *saúh-t-s* O.H.G. *suh-t* 'illness', beside Goth. *siukan* 'be ill'. Goth. *lis-t-s* O.H.G. *lis-t* 'craft, trick' beside Goth. *leisan* 'to experience, learn': O.C.Sl. *lĭs-tĭ* f. 'deceit, trick'. Mid.H.G. *trif-t* 'driving, pasturage, meadow' O.Icel. *drip-t* 'snow drift', beside Goth. *dreiban* 'to drive'. O.H.G. *scur-t* 'shearing': Gr. *κάρ-σι-ς* f. 'shearing', √ *(s)ker-*. Goth. *ga-faúrd-s* 'a meeting, high council' O.H.G. *far-t* 'travelling' ground-form **pṛ-ti-* and **pṝ-ti-*, √ *per-*. O.H.G. *ga-turst* A.S. *ge-dyrst* 'boldness': Skr. *dhṛ̥ṣ-ṭi-ṣ* 'boldness', √ *dhers-*. Goth. *fra-vaúrht-s* O.Sax. *far-wurht* 'misdeed, sin': Avest. *anvaršti-š* i. e. *anuvaršti-š* f. 'suitable conduct'. O.H.G. *gi-dult* 'patience': Lat. *ob-lātiō* (-*tlāti-* for **tl̥-ti-*), √ *tel-*. Goth. *ga-qumþ-s* 'meeting' O.H.G. *cumft cunft* 'coming' O.Icel. *sam-kund* 'meeting': Skr. *gá-ti-ṣ* etc., see above, p. 295. Goth. *anda-numt-s* 'taking up, reception' O.H.G. *numft nunft* 'taking', beside Goth. *niman*. Goth. *ga-kumþ-s* 'a being acquainted' *ga-kund-s* 'a making acquainted, persuasion', O.H.G. *kunst* 'wisdom': Avest. *ā-zainti-š* f. 'knowledge, understanding', see p. 296 above. As to *ft* and *st* in the last-named forms see I § 214 p. 180 f. and § 529 p. 386. O.H.G. *anadāht* 'devotion' for **þanχ-ti-*, beside Goth. *þagkjan* (pret. *þāhta*) 'to think'. O.H.G. *sih-t* 'sight, power of sight', beside Goth.

1) The forms which follow are feminine unless it is otherwise stated.

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saihwan 'to see': cp. Lith. *sėk-ti* 'to follow'? (cp. I § 419 p. 307). Goth. *fra-gift-s* 'bestowing' O.H.G. *gift-t* 'gift', beside Goth. *giban* 'to give'. Goth. *ga-qiss* 'agreement', beside *ga-qiþan* (pret. *ga-qaþ*). O.H.G. *sta-t* O.Sax. *ste-di* 'place, stead': Skr. *sthí-ti-ṣ* etc., see above p. 297. Goth. *ga-dēþ-s* (st. *-dēdi-*) O.H.G. *tā-t* 'deed': Avest. *ni-dāiti-š* etc., see above, p. 296. Goth. *anda-haft-s* 'rejoinder, answer' Mid.H.G. *haf-t* 'hold': Lat. *cap-tiō*. Goth. *ga-skaft-s* O.H.G. *gi-scaft* 'creation, creature', beside Goth. *ga-skapjan* 'to make'. Goth. *mah-t-s* O.H.G. *mah-t* 'might': O.C.Sl. *mošti* f. 'might' inf. *mošti* 'to be able or capable'. Goth. *gas-t-s* m. O.H.G. *gas-t* m. 'guest': Lat. *hos-ti-s*, see above p. 300. Goth. *slaúh-t-s* 'slaughter' O.H.G. *slah-t* 'striking, slaying': Gr. *λάκ-τι-ς* 'pestle for pounding, pounding' (*λακίζω*, Lat. *lacerō*)? Goth. *áih-t-s* O.H.G. *ēh-t* 'property, possession': Av. *īš-ti-š* f. 'goods, riches' (Skr. *īš-*). O.H.G. *ur-chnāt* 'agnitio': Skr. *prá-jñā-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 296 above. O.H.G. *nā-t* 'seam': Gr. *νῆ-σι-ς* f. 'spinning'. O.HG. *hano-crāt* 'cock-crow' (A.S. *crāwan* 'to crow'): Lith. inf. *gró-ti* 'to croak'. O.H.G. *bluo-t* 'blooming, bloom', beside Lat. *flō-s*. Mid.H.G. *gruo-t* 'a being green', beside Gr. *χλω-ρό-ς* 'light green, yellow'. The following no doubt come from weak verbs: Goth. *fahēþ-s* (st. *fahēdi-*) 'joy' (see Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 32), Goth. *ar-báiþ-s* (st. *arbáidi-*) O.H.G. *arabeit* 'work, need'.

Now and then we find *-s-ti-* instead of *-ti-*, as Goth. *an-st-s* O.H.G. *an-st* 'favour, grace' (compare O.Icel. *of-un-d* 'ill-will'), beside O.H.G. *unnan* 'to bestow', O.H.G. *span-st* 'enticement', beside *spanan* 'to entice', Goth. *háif-st-s* A.S. *hēst* beside O.Icel. *heip-t* 'strife', O.H.G. *trust* for **truh-st* beside *truh-t* O.Icel. *drött* 'troop, following'. This *s* came originally from forms like O.Sax. O.Icel. *klu-s-t* 'hearing' = Skr. *śruṣ-ti-ṣ* (p. 301), Mid.H.G. *bluo-s-t* (cp. A.S. *blōstm* and Lat. *flōr-ēre*) beside *bluo-t* 'bloom': in West-Germanic, forms like *kunst* must also have had some influence, if the conjecture given in I § 529 Rem. p. 386 is correct. Cp. *-s-tyo-* § 61, *-s-tro-* § 62, *-s-lo-* § 76, *-s-tu-* § 108, *-s-men-* § 117.

In the Germanic dialects many of these words became

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masculine without any change of meaning; this must be distinguished from the change of gender in such words as *gasti* 'guest'. Cp. von Bahder, Verbalstr. 76 f.

Goth. *ra-þiō* 'reckoning, account': Lat. *ra-ti-ō*, see abo p. 300.

Balto-Slavonic. Here *-ti-* was very fertile, forming all the infinitives of Lithuanian, Lettic, and Slavonic. And it should be noticed that in this group of languages the phonetic changes which the suffix underwent were very slight (O.C.Sl. *noštĭ* for pr. Slav. **notχĭ*, I § 462 p. 338).

Lith. *plu-ti* 'to become flooded, overflow' O.C.Sl. *plu-ti* Russ. *ply-t* 'to flow, swim': Skr. *plu-ti-ṣ* f. 'overflowing, flood', Gr. πλύ-σι-ς f. 'washing', √ *pleu̯-*. Lith. *isz-aũti* O.C.Sl. *iz-uti* 'to uncover the feet': Lat. *ex-ūtiō* (late). Lith. *jáu-ti* 'aquam fervidam super infundere' Lett. *jáu-t* 'to make dough, mix' *jû-tis* pl. 'joint where two bones are connected': Skr. *yu-tí-ṣ* f. meeting together' *yū-tí-ṣ* f. 'bond' Avest. *gao-jaoti-š* f. 'meadow-land, cattle-pasture'. Lith. *mùk-ti* 'to slip away' *maũk-ti* 'to graze': Skr. *múk-ti-ṣ* f. 'loosing, freeing, giving up', Gr. ἀπό-μυξι-ς f. 'blowing the nose', Lat. *ē-mūnctiō* (the nasal comes from the present). Lith. *pri-eitì-s* f. 'suburb' inf. *eĩ-ti* O.C.Sl. *i-ti* 'to go': Skr. *i-tí-ṣ* f., etc., see p. 296 above. Lith. *szli-tì-s* f. 'heap of sheaves' inf. *szlė̃-ti* 'to make one thing lean on another: Gr. κλί-σι-ς f. 'bending, inclining, lying', √ *k̂lei̯-*. O.C.Sl. *ži-tĭ* f. 'life' inf. *ži-ti* 'to live' Lith. *gý-ti* 'to revive, get well': Avest. *jī-ti-š* f. 'life'. Lith. *ný-ti-s* f. 'weaver's instrument, slaie': Skr. *nī-tí-ṣ* f. 'leading, guiding'. Lith. *lìk-ti* 'to leave': Gr. ἔκ-λειψι-ς f. 'ceasing, failing', Lat. *re-lictiō*. O.C.Sl. *čĭs-tĭ* 'honour' inf. *čisti* Russ. *čest* (i. e. **čĭsti*) 'to count, reckon, honour': Skr. *cít-ti-ṣ* f. 'thought, intent, intelligence'. Lith. *dir-ti* 'to skin' Little-Russ. *derty* (i. e. **dĭr-ti*) Slov. *dreti* (i. e. **der-ti*) 'to tear, skin': Skr. *dṛ́-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 298 above. Lith. *gir-ti-s* f. 'feast' *gér-ti* 'to drink' O.Croat. *po-žrti* Little-Russ. *žerty* (i. e. **žĭr-ti*) O.C.Sl. *žrěti* (i. e. **žerti*) 'to swallow': Gr. βρῶ-σι-ς f. 'food, victuals' (ground-form **gr̥̄-ti-s*). Lith. *pir-tì-s* f. 'bath-room' *peř-ti* 'to bathe' (trans.), pres. *periù*. Lith. *kiřsti* 'to strike sharply, strike

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hard': Skr. *kṛtti-ṣ* f. 'hide, skin' (*kart-* 'cut off, loosened'). O.C.Sl. *vrĭstĭ* f. 'condition, state, situation' Lith. *viřsti* 'to upset, be upset'. *veřsti* 'to turn': Skr. *vṛt-ti-ṣ* f. 'rolling, proceeding, conduct', Lat. *in-versiō*. Lith. *pál-ti-s* f. 'side of bacon' O.C.Sl. *plŭ-tĭ* f. 'meat'. Lith. *pìl-ti* 'to pour, shed': Skr. *pūr-ti-ṣ* 'filling, fulfilment', √*pel-*. Lith. *kil-tì-s* f. 'race, stock' *kél-ti* 'to lift, transport, help forward'. Lith. *mìlsz-ti* Slov. *molsti* (i. e. **mĭls-ti*) O.C.Sl. *mlĕsti* (i. e. **mels-ti*) 'to milk': Gr. ἄμελξι-ς f. 'milking', √*melĝ-*. Lith. *skìlsti-s* f. 'cloven foot of an ox' (*skéld-u* and *skéldžiu* I crash, break myself in two'): cp. Gr. κλάσι-ς f. 'breaking' beside κλαστί-ς κλαδ-αρό-ς (cp. I § 369 p. 280). Lith. *at-mintì-s* f. 'memory' O.C.Sl. *pa-męti* f. 'remembrance' Lith. *miñ-ti* 'to remember': Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 295 above. Lith. *liñk-ti* 'to bend' (intr.) *leñk-ti* 'to bend' (trans.) O.C.Sl. *lęšti* 'to bend' (trans.), √*leiq-*. Lith. *blįsti* 'to grow dark' *blęsti* 'to darken' (intr.) (pres. *blendžiù-s*) O.C.Sl. *blęsti* 'to go astray' (pres. *blęd-ą*), √*bhlendh-*. Lith. *ugna-dekti-s* f. 'piercing cold' *dèk-ti* 'to burn' (trans. and intrans.), O.C.Sl. *žešti* 'to burn' (trans.), beside pres. *deg-ù žeg-ą* (pr. Slav. **geg-ą* for **deg-ą*), √*dhegh-*. Lith. *ėsti* 'to devour' O.C.Sl. *jasti* 'to eat': Gr. νῆστι-ς 'fasting', Lat. *com-ēstiō* (instead of the regular **-ēsiō*, cp. I § 501, Rem. 2 p. 368), √*ed-*. Lith. *dů-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *da-tĭ* f. 'gift', Lith. *dů'-ti* O.C.Sl. *da-ti* 'to give': Skr. *dāti-* etc., see p. 295. Lith. *spė-ti* 'to have leisure, be quick enough' O.C.Sl. *spě-ti* 'to go forward, have success': Skr. *sphā-ti-ṣ* f. 'a making fat, prospering' *sphī-ti-ṣ* f. 'prosperous condition', O.H.G. *spuo-t* f. 'progress, success', √*spē(i)-*. Lith. *nak-tì-s* f. O.C.Sl. *noštĭ* f. 'night': Skr. *nák-ti-ṣ* etc., see p. 300 above. Lith. *prė-žastì-s* f. 'cause', beside *žad-ù* 'I promise'. O.C.Sl. *na-pastĭ* f. 'danger', beside *padą* 'I fall'. O.C.Sl. *sě-tĭ* f. 'cord', Lett. *sì-t* 'to bind', √*saį-*. Lith. *jó-ti* 'to ride': Avest. *vasē-yāiti-š* f. 'free course, progress after one's desire'. Lith. *žio-tì-s* f. 'cleft, ravine' *-žió-ti* 'to open the mouth wide': Lat. *hiā-tiō*. O.C.Sl. *po-znatĭ* f. 'cognitio' *zna-ti* 'to know': Skr. *prā-jñāti-ṣ* f. etc., see p. 296 above. O.C.Sl. *grě-ti* 'to warm', beside pres. *grě-ją*. Infinitives in Baltic and Slavonic were closely connected with the finite verb; hence the action of ana-

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logy caused many changes in the grade of the root-vowel. For the phaenomena in Slavonic cp. Leskien, Archiv f. Slav. Phil. V 497 ff.

In Lithuanian we sometimes find -*s-ti*-, as *ugnā-deksti-s* beside *ugnā-dekti-s* (p. 305), cp. *dek-s-nì-s* § 95 p. 287. -*ti*- stems frequently passed into the analogy of -*ja*- and -*i*- stems, e. g. *krỹ-ti-s* gen. -*tės* f. and *krỹ-ti-s* gen. -*czio* m. 'purse-net, hoop-net', *szli-tì-s* and *szli-tė* f. 'heap of sheaves'.

Infinitives of derivative verbs; Lith. *jēszkó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti* 'to seek', Lith. *sėdė-ti* O.C.Sl. *sědě-ti* 'to sit'; Lith. *ganỹ-ti* O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to protect, tend'.

§ 101. 2. -*ti*- is used to form secondary abstract substantives. This use is exactly parallel to that of the participial suffix -*to*- and the abstract nominal suffix -*to*- -*tā*- (which were originally identical); both of these, as we have seen, could beadded directly to noun stems in the proethnic and later periods (§ 79 p. 224 f. § 80 p. 238 ff, § 82 p. 249 ff.).

The forms which can be most confidently referred to the proethnic language are a group of abstract nouns connected with the ordinals in -*to*- (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) **penq-ti-s* f. 'fivefold character, the number five, a group of five': Skr. *panḱti-š*, O.Icel. *fimt*, O.C.Sl. *pęťi*: with these should no doubt be compared O.H.G. *fūst* f. 'fist' pr. Germ. **fuŋχsti-z* and O.C.Sl. *pęstĭ* f. 'fist' (-*st*- for -*kst*- as in *těste*, see I § 545 p. 399 f.), common ground-form **pn̥q-sti-s*[1]). Skr. *šaš-ti-š* f. 'sixty' ('a six-fold quantity', i. e. of tens), O.C.Sl. *šes-tĭ* f. 'a group of six'. Skr. *nava-ti-š* 'ninety' ('a nine-fold quantity' i. e. of tens) Avest. *navaiti-š* f. 'a group of nine' and 'ninety', O.Icel. *nīun-d* f. O.C.Sl. *devę-tĭ* f. 'a group of nine'. Skr. *daša-ti-š* 'a group of ten' and 'a hundred', O.Icel. *tīun-d* f. 'a group of ten', Lith. *dēszim-ti-s* f. O.C.Sl. *desę-tĭ* f. 'a group of ten'. These numeral forms naturally suggest

1) Cp. **pn̥q-* in O.H.G. *funfiu* and elsewhere (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 193 f., Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 512) and for meaning, Goth. *figgr-s* 'finger', which is doubtless connected with this numeral. — Vol. I § 249 p. 205 should be corrected accordingly.

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the conjecture, that we have the same suffix in Skr. *tá-ti* (nom. acc.) 'so many' *ká-ti* (nom. acc.) 'how many?', Lat. *tot toti-dem*, *quot*: these words may have been originally neuter.

Remark. In Greek we find numerals in *-τυ-ς* in place of such forms as **penq-ti-s* (see § 108). In proethnic Indo-Germanic there were forms in *-t-* parallel to these in *-ti-* (see § 123).

Beside Idg. **iuŋ-tá* 'youth' (§ 80 p. 239) there seems to have been a second form **iuŋ-ti-s* f. with the same meaning: Skr. *yuvati-ṣ* 'maiden, young woman' (the abstract is used for the concrete, § 155), O.H.G. *jugund* A.S. *ȝeoȝoð* 'youth' (Engl. *youth* both as the period and the person), prehist. Germ. **iuȝúnþi-* for **iuǥúnþi-* (Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 504). Lat. *sēmen-ti-s* f. 'seed, seed-corn, seed time', originally 'the being sown'.

Further it is possible that stems in *-es-ti- -os-ti-* (cp. Lat. *sceles-tu-s onus-tu-s* and the like) date from the proethnic period. In the words in which they occur, the termination *-esti- -osti-* is used as a simple and indivisible suffix. Skr. *gábhasti-ṣ* f. m. 'a thing separated into different parts, hand, fork, shaft (of a carriage)', *pulasti-ṣ* 'hair of the head, wearing smooth hair', *palasti-ṣ* 'gray with old age' (dubious). Lat. *agresti-s*, orig. 'a belonging to the country, rusticity'? O.H.G. *angust* f. 'anxiety O.C.Sl. *ǫzostĭ* 'strait, narrowing', cp. also Lat. *angustu-s angustiae*. In Lithuanian we have *-esti-s*, which passed over to the *-jo-* declension: *kalbesti-s* f. 'speech', beside *kalbesni-s* m. 'talk' and *kalbesi-s* m. 'dialect' *kalbesė* f. 'speech'; *mõkesti-s* m. (gen. *-esczio*), beside *mõkesni-s* m. 'payment'; *lūkesti-s* f. 'awaiting, hope'; *rūpesti-s* f. m. 'care'. In Slavonic there are a large number of feminine abstract nouns in *-ostĭ* (but *-j-estĭ*, see I § 84 p. 80) formed from adjectives, and, more rarely, from substantives: besides O.C.Sl. *ǫzostĭ* (cp. *ǫzŭkŭ* 'narrow'), which has been mentioned, other examples are *dlŭgostĭ* 'length' from *dlŭgŭ* 'long', *doblьjestĭ* 'bravery' from *doblĭ* 'brave', *zvěrostĭ* 'wildness' from *zvěrĭ* 'wild animal', *boljestĭ* 'illness' from *bolĭ* 'one who is ill'.

Other forms are more isolated, e. g. Skr. *addhā-ti-ṣ* (concrete) 'one who has learnt the truth, sage' beside *addhá* 'in

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truth', Goth. *gamáin-þ-s* f. 'community' beside *ga-máin-s* 'common, joint' (cp. *gamáin-dūþ-s* § 102 below, and p. 311).

For *-ti-* in *-tāti-* and *-tūti-*, see the following section.

§ 102. The Suffixes *-tāti* (*-tāt-*) and *-tūti-* (*-tūt-*)[1]. The former occurs in Aryan, Greek, and Italic; the latter in Italic, Celtic and Germanic. They formed feminine abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives. *-tāti-* appears to have arisen through the addition of *-ti-* (§ 101) to *-tā-* (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), cp. Skr. *dēvá-tā-* and *dēvá-tāti-*, Skr. *guru-tā-* and Gr. *βαρύ-τητ-*, Lat. *juven-tā-* and *juven-tāti-*. The accumulation of suffixes would be like that in Skr. *-tvá-tā-*, cp. § 56 p. 103 f. Lat. *juven-tāti-* : *juven-tā-* : Skr. *yuva-ti-* = *puruša-tvátā-* : *puruša-tva-* : *puruṣá-tā-*. *-tūti-* may have come from *-tu*-stems (§ 108) rather later. The parallel forms *-tāt-* and *-tūt-* beside *-tāti-* and *-tūti-* resemble doublets like Idg. **noq-t-* : **noq-ti-* 'night', **deḱm-t-* : **deḱm-ti-* 'ten-fold character', Skr. *sam-i-t-* f. beside *sám-i-ti-* f. (§ 123), and the shorter forms no doubt contain the suffix *-t-*.

Most of the words which occur in more than one language have *-tāt(i)-*: Skr. *sarvá-tāti-ṣ* *sarvá-tāt-* 'perfection'. Avest. *haurva-tāt-* 'safety', Gr. *ὁλό-τητς* 'totality, entirety', beside Skr. *sárva-s* Gr. *ὅλο-ς* 'whole'; Gr. *νεό-τητς* 'youth', Lat. *novi-tās*, beside Gr. *νεό-ς* Lat. *novo-s*. With *-tūt(i)-*: Lat. *juven-tūs*, O.Ir. *ōitiu* 'youth' (dat. *ōitid*) for **(i)oŋētū(s)* (*-iu* for *-u* is due to the palatal character of the preceding syllable). A form with *-tūt(i)-* in one group of languages sometimes corresponds to a form with *-tāt(i)-* in another, as O.Cymr. *duiu-tit* 'deitas': Skr. *dēvá-tāt-*; O.Ir. *beo-thu* 'life': Gr. *βιό-τητς*; O.Ir. *oen-tu* 'unitas': Lat. *ūni-tās*; Goth. *gamáin-dūþ-s*: Lat. *communi-tā-s*. In many words *-tūt(i)* may have ousted *-tāt(i)-*, which on the whole is certainly older.

For the loss of a syllable in forms like Avest. *amer'tāt-* beside *amēr'ta-tāt-* 'immortality', Gr. *ποτῆτ-* 'drink' for **ποτο-*

1) Th. Aufrecht, Das Affix *τητ tāt*, Kuhn's Ztschr. I 159 ff. C. Angermann, Das Suffix *τητ* in Primärbildungen, Curt. Stud. III 122 ff. K. Walter, Das latein. Suffix *-tāt* and *-tūt*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. X, 159. C. von Paucker, Die [lat.] substantive abstracta auf *-tas*, ibid. XXIII 138 ff.

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-tāt-, Lat. acc. *lūculentātem* beside *lūculenti-tātem*, see I § 643 p. 481 f.

Aryan. In Sanskrit, *-tāti-* and *-tāt-* (the latter is rarer) are only found in Veda, and even there not frequently. In Avestic we have only *-tāt*, where it is comparatively commoner than either form in Sanskrit. Skr. *uparā́-tāt-* 'neighbourhood, environs'. Avest. *upara-tāt-* 'superiority', beside Skr. *úpara-* 'nearer'. Avest. *upara-* 'upper'. Skr. *gṛbhītā́-tāti-ṣ* 'state of being caught' from *gṛbhītá-s* 'caught', *jyēṣṭhá-tāti-ṣ* 'sovereignty' from *jyḗṣṭha-s* 'mightiest', *satyá-tāti-ṣ* and *satyá-tāt-* 'truthfulness' from *satyá-s* 'truthful', *ásta-tāti-ṣ* 'homestead, home' from *ásta-m* 'home', *śáṃ-tāti-ṣ* 'health, bliss' from *śám-* n. 'health, bliss'. Avest. *drva-tāt-* 'durability, soundness' from *drva-* 'durable, sound', *fratema-tāt-* 'sovereignty' from *fratema-* 'first', *hunarᵉtāt-* 'virtue' for **hunarᵉta-tāt-*, compared with Skr. *sūnṛ́ta-s* 'beautiful, glorious', *ušta-tāt-* 'prosperity, welfare' from *ušta-* 'well-being', *yavaẹ-tāt-* 'eternal duration' from *yavḗ* adv. 'always', dat. of *yu-* n. 'eternity' (cp. *yuvaẹ-ji-* 'ever living).

Remark. From the last word we once find the phrase *yavaẹ-ca tāitḗ* 'for ever' (usually the word is *yavaẹtāitḗ*). Thus *-tāt-* was regarded as a compounded word (this appears also in other ways); and it seems to have been popularly connected with *tan-* 'stretch out'. Cp. Mod.H.G. *brōsāme* (O.H.G. *brosma*), which has no etymological connexion with *sāme(n)*, but has been associated with it; furthermore we find even in Greek *παντ-ό-της* like *παντ-ό-μορφο-ς* and Goth. *mikil-dūp-s* = **mikila-dūp-s* like *gud-hūs* = **guda-hūs* p. 311.

Greek. Here we find only *-τᾱτ-*, which was substituted for the *-tā-* used in forming abstracts (§ 80 p. 239 f.), and appears only in the combinations *-ο-τᾱτ-* and *-ν-τᾱτ-*. *ὀρθό-της* 'straightforwardness, rightness' from *ὀρθό-ς*: Lat. *ardui-tās*. *σκαιό-της* 'awkwardness' from *σκαιό-ς* 'awkward': Lat. *scaevi-tās*. *κακό-της* 'wickedness' from *κακό-ς*. *ἁγνό-της* 'purity, chastity' from *ἁγνό-ς*. *βιό-της* 'life' from *βίο-ς*. *θεό-της* 'godhead' from *θεό-ς*. *ἑν-ό-της* 'unity' from *εἷς* 'one'. *πᾶν-τό-της* 'totality' from *πᾶς*. Hom. *ἀνδ-ο-τῆτ-α* acc. 'manhood' (more correctly no doubt *ὀροτῆτα*; see I § 204 p. 170) from *ἀνήρ ἀνδρ-ός*. In the last three examples *-ο-* appears as it does in compounds, e. g. *παντ-ό-*

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μορφο-ς; cp. also Lat. *libīdin-i-tās*. *βαρύ-της* 'gravitas' from *βαρύ-ς*: cp. Skr. *guru-tā-* (§ 80 p. 239 f.). *γλυκύ-της* 'sweetness' from *γλυκύ-ς*. *βραδύ-της* (*βραδυτής*) 'slowness' from *βραδύ-ς*. *ταχυ-τή-ς* 'swiftness' from *ταχύ-ς*.

Italic. In Latin we cannot distinguish *-tāti-* from *-tāt-*, *-tūti-* from *-tūt*, since in very many points the consonantal declension was assimilated to that of the *i*-stems. It may have been these very suffixes, with their double forms taken along with such doublets as *noct- nocti-* etc., that helped to establish the confusion. The variation in the gen. pl. (*cīvitātium* and *cīvitātum*) is of special importance (§ 93 p. 281).

boni-tās from *bonu-s*. *dūri-tās* from *dūru-s*. *ānxie-tās* from *ānxiu-s*. *quāli-tās* from *quali-s*. *civit-tas* from *cīvi-s*. *liber-tās* from *līber*. *ūber-tās* from *ūber* (in imitation of which was formed *viduertās* from *viduo-s*; notice the parallelism in meaning). *facul-tās* from *facili-s*, with the later by-form *facili-tās*. *volup-tās* from *volupe volup*. *mājes-tās* from *mājor* (cp. § 135 Rem. 1). *hones-tās* from *honōs*. *tempes-tās* from *tempus*. *vetus-tās* from *vetus*, or for **vetusti-tās* from *vetus-tu-s*. *voluntās* for **volunti-tās* from *volēns*. *libidin-i-tās* from *libīdō*, cp. Gr. *ἐν-ό-της* (see above). Pelign. *Herentas* 'Venus' Osc. Herentateís 'Veneris, Volupiae', from *herest* 'volet', formed from the part. pres., like Lat. *voluntās*.

-tūti- -tūt- is very much rarer. Lat. *juven-tūs* (: O.Ir. *ōitiu*), *senec-tūs* beside *juven-tās juven-ta*, *senec-ta*, from *juven-i-s*, *senex*. *virtūs* from *vir*. *servi-tūs* from *servo-s*. There can be no doubt that *-tūdō* (gen. *-tū-din-s*), e. g. in *servi-tūdō alti-tūdō*, is closely related to this suffix.

In Old Irish we have *-tūt-*, which we may ascribe to pro-ethnic Celtic. *ōitiu* 'youth': Lat. *juven-tūs*; see above, p. 308. *oen-tu* 'unitas' for **oen-thu* (*th* (*þ*) after *n* was replaced by the tenuis by a comparatively late change). *beo-thu* (gen. *be-thath*) 'life'. The suffixes *-atu -etu*, in derivatives from adjectives in *-e* (*jo*-stems), are especially frequent; as *torbatu* 'utilitas' from *tor-be* 'utilis', *dommetu* 'paupertas' from *domme* 'inops', *oendatu* 'unity' from *oen-de* 'single', *ildatu* 'pluralitas

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from *il-de* 'pluralis', *fliuchaidatu* 'humiditas' from *fliuchaide* 'humidus'; the origin of this *-atu -etu* is doubtful [1]).

Germanic. It occurs only in Gothic, in certain substantives in *-dūþi-*, derived from adjectives; as *mikil-dūþ-s* 'greatness from *mikil-s (mikila-)* 'great', *gamáin-dūþ-s* 'community' from *ga-máin-s (ga-máini-)* 'common'. The loss of the vowel before the suffix is like that in *ga-máin-þ-s* (§ 101 p. 307 f.) and in compounds, e. g. *gud-hūs brūþ-faþ-s* (§ 40 pp. 69, 71 f.).

III. Suffixes in -u.

§ 103. The *u*-suffixes have a triple ablaut: *u*, *eu̯*, *ou̯* (*e*-series, I § 311—314). *u* e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. *u-s u-m*. *eu̯* e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. *-eu̯-es*. *ou̯* in gen. sing. *-ou̯-s*. The connexion of this ablaut with the original conditions of accent in the different cases cannot be exactly determined from the evidence now at our disposal. No clear explanation has been given of Gr. *ταγα(Ϝ)-ό-ς* compared with *ταν-ύ-*, Lat. *grav-i-s* compared with Skr. *a-gr-u-*, Skr. *pṛthiv-ī* compared with *pṛth-ú-*, which seem to imply *-əu̯-* as one of the proethnic forms of the suffix. The best analysis of the words is *ταγα-Ϝό-ς*, *gra-vi-s*, *pṛthi-vī*, i. e. to suppose that the root-syllable was extended by *ə*, as in *θυγά-τηρ* and the like (I § 110 p. 103 ff.).

From the proethnic period downwards we find *u*-stems in all three genders. The masculine and feminine stems had originally the same inflexion; differences only arose during the developement of the separate languages, as in Skr. acc. pl. *sūnún* m. 'sons', *hánūṣ* f. 'jawbones'.

Remark. For *ū*-stems like Skr. *śvaśrú-ṣ* O.C.Sl. *svekry* Gr. *ϝέκυ-ς*, see § 109 Rem. 2.

1) "It is hard to decide whether *-atu* came from *-antu*, or from the union of two dental suffixes (perhaps *-ato-tūt-*). Zimmer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 461) regards the acc. *corpthadid* as a true phonetic spelling (cp. I § 212 Rem. p. 179); yet, as he himself remarks, it may be merely a mistake of the scribe's. Mid.Ir. *sochmattu* 'possibility' perhaps supports *t* rather than *d*. Unfortunately the modern Celtic languages have lost the suffix. Personally I incline towards the second assumption; compare e. g. *no-erladaigtis* 'they obeyed' beside *aurlatu* 'obedience'." Thurneysen.

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§ 104. The suffix -*u*-[1]). This is always primary, and most common in adjectives. The evidence of Sanskrit, Greek, Germanic and Lithuanian proves that in Indo-Germanic these adjectives were nearly always oxytone and had the root-syllable in the weak grade. But the strong grade must have been at one time regular in a certain number of the cases. It is true that such forms as Skr. *prathú-ṣ* Lith. *platù-s* beside Skr. *pṛthú-ṣ*, Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. ἡδύ-ς O.H.G. *suozi* beside Goth. *sut-s*, cannot be taken to prove this, since a certain amount of assimilation between the forms of the three degrees of comparison (positive, comparative, and superlative) may be assumed in all these cases, and must be assumed in some; but it is fairly shewn by the variation between e. g. Goth. *filu* and Skr. *purú-ṣ*. Notice also the variation of form within the weak grade itself, e. g. **gṛr-u-* and **-gr-u* 'heavy' (I § 313 p. 250 f.). The feminine of these adjectives was differentiated by -*i̯ē-* -*ī-* in the proethnic and later periods; e. g. Skr. *tanv-ī* beside the masc. *tan-ú-ṣ* (see § 110).

The substantives were masculine, feminine, or neuter. The variations of ablaut differed in different words. Note **ǧon-u-* **ǧen-u-* **ǧn-u-* 'knee' and the like, and **pek̑-ú-* and **-pk̑-u-* 'cow' (vol. I loc. cit.).

Indo-Germanic. Adjectives. **gṛr-u-s* **-gr-u-s* (cp. the compar. Skr. *gár-īyas*): Skr. *gurú-ṣ* 'heavy, violent, hard' Avest. *gouru-š* 'adverse' Skr. *a-gru-* Avest. *a-yru-* 'unmarried' ('non gravida'), Gr. βαρύ-ς 'heavy' (Lat. *gravi-s* see § 103 p. 311), Goth. *kaúru-s* 'heavy' (I § 290 p. 232). **tṛs-ú-s*, from √*ters-* 'be dry, arid': Skr. *tṛṣṭú-ṣ* 'parched with thirst', O.Icel. *þurr* O.H.G. *durr-i* Goth. *þaúrsu-s* (instead of **þaúrz-u-s*) 'dry, arid' (cp. I § 582 Rem. 1 p. 435 f.). Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* Gr. πολ-ύ-ς (cp.

1) O. Weise, De linguarum Indogerm. suffixis primariis, I De adjectivis suffixo -*u*- formatis, Gotting. 1873. A. Bezzenberger, Eine idg. Accentregel, in his Beitr. II 123 ff. R. Thurneysen, Weibliche *u*-Stämme im Irischen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 147 ff.; Wh. Stokes, Irish feminine stems in *u*, ibid. 291 f. I. Schmidt, Über das litau. Nominalsuffix -*u*, Kuhn and Schleicher's Beitr. IV 257 ff.

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I p. 306 p. 244). O.Ir. *il* Goth. *fil-u* (n.) 'much'), √*pel-*. Skr. *pṛth-ú-ṣ prath-ú-ṣ* Gr. *πλατ-ύ-ς* 'broad', Gall. *Litu-gena Litu-māra*, Lith. *plat-ù-s* 'broad', beside the compar. Skr. *práth-īyas-*. **tn̥-ú-s* 'stretched, thin' from √*ten-* 'stretch out, lengthen': Skr. *tanú-ṣ* (*pari-tatn-ú-ṣ* 'encompassing' redupl.), Gr. *ταν-γλωσσο-ς* 'with tongue outstretched, long-tongued', Lat. *tenu-i-s*, O.Ir. *tan-a*, O.H.G. *dunn-i*, O.C.Sl. *tĭnŭ-kŭ* (from which come on the one hand *tĭnĭ-kŭ*, Czech *tenký*, on the other *tŭnŭ-kŭ*, Russ. *tonkij*). **ln̥gh-ú-s* 'quick, small', √*leṇgh-* in Skr. *raṃháya-ti* (I § 454 p. 335): Skr. *raghú-ṣ* Gr. *ἐλαχύ-ς*. **aṅ̄gh-ú-s* 'narrow', √*aṅ̄gh-* 'make narrow, bind together': Skr. *aṃhú-ṣ*, Armen. *anju-k ancu-k*, Goth. *aggvu-s* (instead of **aggu-s*, see p. 316), O.C.Sl. *ązŭ-kŭ*. Skr. *svād-ú-ṣ* 'sweet, pleasant', Gr. *ἡδ-ύ-ς* 'sweet, pleasant', Lat. *suāvi-s* for **sṇ̥ād-u̯-i-s*, Goth. *sut-s* O.H.G. *suoz-i* A.S. *swēt-e* 'sweet'. Skr. *āś-ú-ṣ* 'swift', Gr. *ὠκ-ύ-ς* 'swift', Lat. *acu-pediu-s* beside *ōc-ior*.

Substantives. **pek̑-ú-s *-pk̑-u-s* m. and **pék̑-u* n. 'cattle': Skr. *paśú-ṣ* Avest. *pasu-š* 'cattle' Avest. *haurva-fšu-* 'all the cattle' (I § 398 p. 296), Lat. *pecu-s*, with its oblique cases reformed by analogy, on the one hand gen. *pecudi-s* etc. (§ 128), on the other (when *pecus* was regarded as neuter) gen. *pecor-is* etc.; Skr. *páśu*, Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu* ('money'). Skr. *hán-u-š* f. 'jawbone', Gr. *γέν-υ-ς* f. 'jaw, jawbone', Lat. *genu-īnu-s* 'belonging to the cheek', O.Ir. *giun* m. 'mouth', Goth. *kinnu-s* f. 'cheek, jowl' instead of **kinu-s* through the influence of *kiun-*, which stands for **kinu̯-*, cp. I § 469, 8 p. 346 f. Skr. *kēt-ú-ṣ* m. 'phenomenon caused by light, picture, form', Goth. *háid-u-s* m. 'kind, way'. **bhāgh-u-s* m.: Skr. *bā-hú-ṣ* 'arm', Gr. *πᾶχυ-ς πῆχυ-ς* 'fore-arm, something bent' O.Icel. *bōg-r* 'something bent'. **medh-u* n.: Skr. *mád-hu* 'sweetness, honey' (the Skr. adj. *mádhu-* was derived from this subst.), Gr. *μέθυ* 'intoxicating drink, wine', O.Ir. *mid* (gen. *meda*) O.H.G. *meto* m. 'mead', Lith. *medù-s* m. O.C.Sl. *medŭ* m. 'honey'. **ǧon-u- *ǧen-u- *ǧn-u-* n. 'knee': Skr. *jáṅ-u* 'knee' *jñu-bádh-* 'bending the knees' Avest. *zanv-a* pl. 'knees' *fra-šnu* 'knee bent forward' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. **γόνυ, γεννῶν· γονάτων* Hesych. (Cp. I § 639 p. 479), *γυ-πετεῖν* 'to sink

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on one's knees, become helpless', Lat. *genu*, Goth. *kniu* (st. *kn-iv-a-*) 'knee' *knu-ssjan* 'to kneel'.

Aryan. Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* Avest. *pouru- par-ao* O.Pers. *par-u-* 'much' (I § 290 p. 231 f.): Gr. *πολ-ύ-ς* etc.; see p. 312 above. Skr. *ur-ú-ṣ* Avest. *vouru-š* 'broad' common ground-form **ṷr-ú-* (I § 157 p. 141): Gr. *εὐρύ-ς* 'broad' no doubt for **ἐ-Ϝρυ-* with prothetic *ἐ*; the relation of the Aryan to the Greek form is therefore the same as that of Skr. *gurú-*: *-gru-*. Skr. *ṛj-ú-ṣ* Avest. *er^{e}z-u-š* 'straight, right'. Skr. *pṛth-ú-ṣ* Avest. *per^{e}θ-u-š* 'broad': Gr. *πλατ-ύ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *vás-u-ṣ* Avest. *vaŋh-u-š* O.Pers. *vahu-* (in the proper name *vahu-ka-*) 'good', the neut. in Skr. and Avest. = 'goods'; the substantival use is perhaps older than the adjectival (cp. Skr. *mádhu-* p. 313): O.Ir. *fiu* 'suitable' or 'suitability' (cp. under Old Irish). Skr. *āś-ú-ṣ* Avest. *āṣ-u-š* 'swift': Gr. *ὠκ-ύ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *ṛbh-ú-ṣ* 'clever, artistic', *śay-ú-ṣ* 'lying', *dār-ú-ṣ* 'breaking', *jāy-ú-ṣ* 'victorious', *šu-ṣṭh-ú-ṣ* 'standing well, in good condition' *(sthā-)*, *táp-u-ṣ* 'hot', *tár-u-ṣ* 'passing through'; *ci-kit-ú-ṣ* 'skilful', *ji-gy-ú-ṣ* 'victorious'; there are many adjectives from desiderative stems, as *di-dṛkṣ-ú-ṣ* 'wishing to see' *ci-kits-ú-ṣ* 'clever, crafty', *di-ts-ú-ṣ* 'ready to give'. Avest. *driy-u-š* 'poor', *ja-γāuru-š* 'awake, watchful'.

Skr. *íṣ-u-ṣ* m. f. Avest. *iš-u-š* m. 'arrow'. Skr. *ás-u-ṣ* m. 'spirit of life' Avest. *aŋh-u-š* m. 'the world, the sum of living beings', O.Pers. *au-ra-*, § 76 Rem. 1 p. 201. Skr. *bāh-ú-ṣ* m. Avest. *bāz-u-š* m. 'arm': Gr. *πῆχ-υ-ς* etc., see above p. 313. Skr. *síndh-u-ṣ* m. f. 'stream, Indus, region of the Indus', Avest. *hind-u-š* m. O.Pers. *hi(n)d-ū-š* 'India'. Skr. *mádh-u* n. Avest. *maδ-u* n. 'sweetness, honey': Gr. *μέθ-υ*, etc.; see above, p. 313. Skr. *dā́r-u* n. 'wood, piece of wood, beam, plug' Avest. *dāuru* n. 'wood, spear' Skr. *dar-v-í-ṣ dar-v-ī* 'spoon' *dr-u-* n. m. 'wood, wooden implements' m. 'tree, branch'. Avest. *dr-u-* n. 'wood, spear': Gr. *δόρ-υ* n. 'wood, beam, spear-shaft, spear' *δρυ-τόμο-ς* 'cutting wood' *δρύ-α* n. *δρύ-ες* f. 'oaks', O.Ir. *daur*, gen. *daro dara*, Mod. Cymr. *derw-en* 'oak', O.Ir. *derucc* 'acorn', Goth. *triu* (st. *tr-iv-a-*) n. 'tree', Lith. *der-ė* f. 'pine-wood' O.C.Sl. *drěvo* n. 'tree' (pr.

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Slav. **der-v-o*) *dr-ŭv-o* (usually in pl. *dr-ŭv-a*) 'wood', Idg. **dor-u- *der-u- *dr-u-*. We have a corresponding variation of ablaut in another neuter word, Skr. *sán-u- sn-u-* n. m. 'peak'. Skr. *bándh-u-š* m. 'relationship, relation', *qš-ú-š* m. 'stem', *ci-kit-ú-š* f. 'insight, understanding', *párś-u-š* f. 'rib': Avest. *per^{e}s-u-š* m. 'rib', *tál-u* n. 'palate', *tráp-u* n. 'chin'. Avest. *sēŋh-u- sēŋgh-u-* f. 'instruction'.

Armenian. *barj-r*, gen. *barju* 'high', ground-form **bhṛĝh-u-*. *anju-k ancu-k* 'narrow', (extended by *-qo-*, see above p. 313). *bazu-k* 'arm' has the same addition, compare Skr. *bāhú-š* (see above, p. 313), but the word may have been borrowed from Persian. Other derivatives from *u*-stems: *cn-aut* 'jawbone, cheek', beside Skr. *hán-u-š* etc. (see above, p. 313), *cun-r* (pl. *cunk-ĕ*) 'knee', beside Skr. *jáñ-u* etc. (see above, p. 313), and other words.

Greek. *θρασ-ύ-ς* 'bold': Mid.H.G. *türr-e* 'bold' Lith. *drąs-ù-s* 'bold' (this word like *drąs-à* 'boldness' which is closely akin, was modified through the influence of *drįs-*; see I § 285 Rem. p. 228), √*dhers-*. *βραδ-ύ-ς* 'slow': Skr. *mṛd-ú-š* 'tender'. *παχ-ύ-ς* 'thick': Skr. *bah-ú-š* 'thick, much', common ground-form **bhn̥ĝh-ú-s*; can we compare Lith. *bing-ù-s* 'stately, stiff, proud' in spite of the palatal *ĝh* (cp. Avest. *bązah-* n. 'size, strength')? see I § 467, 2 p. 343. *λιγ-ύ-ς* 'clear-sounding', *γλυκ-ύ-ς* 'sweet', *ταρφ-ύ-ς* 'thick' *βαθ-ύ-ς* 'deep', *δασ-ύ-ς* 'thickly overgrown', *ἡδ-ύ-ς ἐϋ-ς* 'stout, good', *τραχ-ύ-ς τρηχ-ύ-ς* 'rough, uneven, rugged', *βριθ-ύ-ς* 'heavy', *ὀξ-ύ-ς* 'sharp, piercing'.

πῆχ-υ-ς m. 'fore-arm, something bent': Skr. *bāh-ú-š* m. etc., see above p. 313. *πέλεκ-υ-ς* m. 'axe': Skr. *paraś-ú-š parś-u-š* m. 'axe'. *στάχ-υ-ς ἄσταχ-υ-ς* m. 'ear of corn'. *γῆρ-υ-ς* m. 'voice'. *γέν-υ-ς* f. 'chin, jawbone': Skr. *hán-u-š* etc., see above p. 313. *ἄρκ-υ-ς* f. 'hunter's net'. *μέθ-υ, γόν-υ, δόρ-υ* n., see above pp. 313, 314. *πῶυ* n. 'herd' for **πωι̯-υ*: cp. Skr. *pāy-ú-š* 'guardian', beside Gr. *ποι-μήν* Lith. *pē-mů* 'herdsman' (cp. § 105 Rem. p. 318). *γλάφ-υ* n. 'grotto, cave'.

Italic. We seem to have a trace of the old adjectival *u*-stems in Lat. *īdūs* pl. fem. sc. *noctēs*, 'the bright (nights)'.

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from √*aidh-* 'burn, be clear'. Compare also *acu-pediu-s* beside Skr. *āś-ú-ṣ* Gr. *ὠκ-ύ-ς* 'swift'. The other Latin forms of this class have gone over to the *i*-declension: *grav-i-s*, *ten-u-i-s*, *suāvi-s* for **sṷād-ṷ-i-s*, see above pp. 312, 313; and no doubt *levi-s*, *pingui-s*. The form of the feminine (cp. Skr. *tanv-ī*) must have had something to do with this change of declension.

Masc. *lac-u-s*: O.Ir. *loch* 'lake' n.; compare Gr. *λάκκο-ς* 'hole, pit', which according to the rule given in vol. I § 166 p. 147 implies a stem **λακν-*. *im-petu-s*, *alg-u-s*, *grad-u-s*. Fem. *trib-u-s* Umbr. *trifo* 'tribum', which can scarcely come from *tri-* 'three' + √*bhu-*; *dom-u-s*: O.C.Sl. *dom-ŭ* 'house'; *ac-u-s*, *col-u-s* (also m.). Neut. *pec-u-* Umbr. *pequo* 'pecua' beside Lat. *pec-u-s*, see p. 313 above; *gen-u* see p. 313 f.; *veru* Umbr. berva 'verua' berus 'verubus': O.Ir. *bir* 'sting, spear', common ground-form **ger-u-*; *spec-u* (beside *spec-u-s* m. f.); *gel-u*.

Old Irish. *tiug* (gen. *tig*) 'thick': O.H.G. *dicchi* 'thick, dense' (Goth. **þik-u-s* or **þiq-u-s*). *il* 'much': Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* etc.; see p. 312 above. *fiu* 'suitable, worthy' or 'suitability' Mod.Cymr. *gwiw* 'proper, fitting, worthy' Gall. *Visu-rīx* pr. kelt. **ṷes-u-*: Skr. *vás-u-ṣ vás-u* (p. 314), see Thurneysen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 148 f. *dub* 'black'. *fliuch* 'wet'. From an Indo-Germanic *u*-stem come also *tana* Corn. *tanow* Bret. *tanav* 'thin', cp. Gr. *ταν-υ- ταvυ-(f)ο-* etc., p. 312 f., and § 103 p. 311.

Masculine. *giun* O.Cymr. *genou* Corn. *genau* 'mouth': Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* f. etc., see above p. 313. *mug* 'slave, servant' for **mog-u-s*: Goth. *mag-u-s* 'boy, servant'; *fid* 'tree': O.H.G. *witu* 'wood'. Feminine. *mucc* 'sow', *deug* 'drink'. Neuter. *mid* 'mead': Skr. *mádhu* etc., see above p. 313; *loch* 'lake': Lat. *lac-u-s* m.

Germanic. The adjectival *u*-stems were partly absorbed into the *jo*-declension, the point of connexion being the original feminine formation with *-iē- -ī-*. Goth. *kaúr-u-s* 'heavy': Skr. *gur-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 312. Goth. *þaúrs-u-s* O.H.G. *durr-i* 'dry, arid': Skr. *tṛṣ-ú-ṣ* etc., see above, p. 312. Goth. *aggvu-s* 'narrow' instead of **aggu-s* through the influence of the weak form *aggv-* = Skr. *aṁh-*, O.H.G. *eng-i* O.Icel. *ǫng-r*: Skr. *aṁh-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. Goth. O.H.G. *fil-u* (A.S. *fealo*

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= pr. Germ. **fal-u*, Fris. *ful* = **ful-u*) 'much': Skr. *pur-ú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 312. Goth. *hard-u-s* O.H.G. *hart hert-i* 'hard': Lith. *kart-ù-s* 'bitter'. A.S. *myrg-e* 'lasting a short time' O.H.G. *murg-fāri* 'caducus, fragilis, transitorius': Gr. βραχ-ύ-ς 'short', common ground-form **mṛgh-ú-*. Goth. *tulg-u-s* 'firm', *qairr-u-s* 'soft'. A.S. *spit-u* O.H.G. *spiz* m. 'spear', properly something 'pointed', compared with O.H.G. *spizzi* 'pointed'.

Goth. *mag-u-s* O.S. *mag-u* m. 'boy': O.Ir. *mug* 'slave, servant'. Goth. *hair-u-s* m. 'sword': Skr. *śar-u-ṣ* m. f. 'missile' Goth. *háid-u-s* m. 'kind, way' O.H.G. *heit* m. f. 'persona, sexus, rank, position' A.S. *hād* m. 'family, position, nature': Skr. *kēt-ú-ṣ* m. 'phenomenon due to light, picture, form'. A.S. *aelf* Mid.H.G. *alp (alb-)* m. 'goblin, elf' was originally, no doubt, an *-u*-stem: Skr. *ṛbh-ú-ṣ* 'artistic, a sculptor'. Goth. *kinnu-s* f. 'cheek' instead of **kinu-s*, A.S. *cin* f. 'chin': Skr. *hán-u-ṣ* etc., see above p. 313. Goth. *hand-u-s* f. O.H.G. *hant* (dat. pl. *hantum*) f. 'hand'. Goth. *falhu* n. 'money' O.H.G. *fih-u* n. 'cattle': Skr. *páś-u* etc.; see p. 313 above.

In Germanic the *u*-inflexion of consonantal stems largely increased the number of the substantives in *-u-*; the point of contact is seen in forms like (Goth.) acc. sing. *fōt-u* acc. pl. *fōt-uns*. Cp. § 56 p. 103, § 160, 1, § 161.

Balto-Slavonic. Adjectives in *u*-have survived only in Lithuanian, but there they are very common; and their number was considerably increased by the fact that a parallel form in *-u-s* could be made to any adjective in *-a-s*; e. g. *asztrù-s* § 74 p. 187 f., *gailù-s* § 76 p. 210, *gẽdrù-s* beside *gẽdra-s*, *drungnù-s* beside *druñgna-s*. Most of the cases passed into the *-io-* inflection; cp. the Germanic section, p. 316. *platù-s* 'broad': Skr. *pṛth-ú-ṣ* etc.; see above, p. 313. *drąs-ù-s* 'bold': Gr. θρασ-ύ-ς; see above, p. 315. *sald-ù-s* 'sweet': O.C.Sl. *sladŭ-kŭ* 'sweet'. *dub-ù-s* 'hollow', *dyg-ù-s* 'prickly', *baug-ù-s* 'timorous', *staig-ù-s* 'hot-tempered', *smag-ù-s* 'malleable'. It is only rarely that the root has the accent, as in *tánk-u-s* 'thick'. The existence of pairs like *drąsù-s* 'bold' and *drąsà* 'boldness' led to the use of *-u-* as a denominative suffix; e. g. *tamsù-s* 'dark' from

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tam-s-à 'darkness', *czësù-s* 'timely' from *cszĕsa-s* 'time' (a borrowed word). In Slavonic adjectival *u*-stems are found in derivatives with *-qo-*; besides *sladŭ-kŭ* we have e. g. *tĭnŭ-kŭ ązŭ-kŭ* (p. 313).

In Balto-Slavonic the substantives in *-u-* are all masculine. Lith. *med-ù-s* O.C.Sl. *med-ŭ* 'honey': Skr. *mádh-u* n. etc.; see above, p. 313. Lith. *virsz-ù-s* 'the upper, outer part' O.C.Sl. *vrĭch-u* adv. 'above'. Lith *dang-ù-s* 'heaven' beside *dengiù* 'I cover', *vid-ù-s* 'the inner part', *al-ù-s* a drink like beer. O.C.Sl. *dom-ŭ* 'house': Lat. *dom-u-s* (√*dem-* 'build'), *vol-ŭ* 'ox', *pol-ŭ* 'side'. In Slavonic all *u*-stems were inflected as *o*-stems.

§ 105. The Suffix *-i̯u-*. This must be regarded as proethnic, even though we cannot point with certainty to any one example which dates from the Indo-Germanic period. It should be noticed how frequently we find *-i̯u-* and *-io-* side by side, as Skr. *vā-yú-ṣ* Lith. *vĕ-ja-s* 'wind', Gr. *v-ιό-ς* and *v-ιό-ς* 'son'. Skr. *yáj-yu-ṣ* 'revered as divine' and 'revering, pious' and *yaj-ya-s* 'venerandus'.

Remark. The explanation of Skr. *pāy-ú-ṣ* pr. Gr. **πωι̯-υ* (§ 104 p. 315) as containing the suffix *-u-*, not *-i̯u-* (similarly Skr. *stāy-ú-ṣ tāy-ú-ṣ* Avest. *tāy-u-š* 'thief' cp. Skr. *stē-ná-s*, Skr. *dhāy-ú-ṣ* 'thirsty' cp. *dhē-nā-*) is based on the hypothesis mentioned in vol. I § 150 p. 136, which would allow us to assume such a root as e. g. **pōi̯-*, not **pō-*. If this hypothesis be correct, it is natural to conjecture that the suffix *-i̯u-* may have sprung from these nouns, **pōi̯u-* being analysed as **pō-i̯u-* etc. On this model then were formed e. g. Skr. *vā-yú-ṣ* (Idg. *u̯ē-*), *dhā-yu-ṣ* 'generous' (Idg. *dhē-*), and later on *-i̯u-* was added to consonant stems, as Skr. *dás-yu-ṣ*. So far as I can see there is nothing to prevent our assuming that this process took place in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Aryan. Skr. *dás-yu-ṣ* m., a title both of the gods' enemies, the demons, and of the unbelieving tribes, Avest. *daŋhu-š* f. (cp. I § 125 p. 115, § 558 p. 415) O.Pers. *dahyu-* (nom. sing. *dahyā̆u-š*) f. 'land, district, neighbourhood'. Skr. *man-yú-ṣ* m. 'excited thought, zeal, displeasure, anger' Avest. *mainyu-š* m. 'spirit, genius'. Skr. *vā-yú-ṣ* m. Avest. *va-yu-š* m. 'wind': the Avestic form is no doubt for **u̯ə-i̯u-*, see I § 109 p. 101. Skr. *mṛ-t-yú-ṣ* m. 'death': perhaps identical with the

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Armen. *u*-stem *marh mah* (gen. *marhu mahu*) 'death', see I § 360 p. 276; it is based on a stem *mr̥-t-*, see § 123.

Skr. *bhuj-yú-ṣ* 'flexible', *śundh-yú-ṣ* 'neat, pure', *dhā-yu-ṣ* 'generous', *sáh-yu-ṣ* 'strong'. The commonest forms are adjectives which are connected with derivative verbs, and mean 'seeking after, desiring something' or 'possessing, performing, exhibiting something' and the like. Examples are *aśvayú-ṣ* 'desiring horses', *śravasyú-ṣ* 'ambitious', *dēvayú-ṣ* 'reverencing the gods', *udanyú-ṣ* 'containing water' *vīrayú-ṣ* 'behaving like a hero'; cp. part. *dēvayánt-* 'reverencing the gods' and feminines like *aśvayá* 'desire for horses'. Avest. *aŋhu-yu-š* a proper name, beside *aŋhuyēmi* 'I govern' *aŋhuyā-* f. government'.

Armenian. Perhaps we should class here *marh* 'death'; see above, under Aryan.

Greek. Lac. Arcad. *ϝ-ιύ-ς* 'son', Cret. *υ-ιύ-ς*, Att. *ὑύ-ς* (inscr.), Hom. gen. *υἱέος* etc., beside *υἱό-ς υὸ-ς*, which can scarcely have come from the former by dissimilation: cp. Skr. *su-ta-s* 'begotten, son' (cp. W. Schulze, De reconditioribus quibusdam nominum in -ΥΣ exeuntium formis, Commentationes philologae Gryphiswaldenses, Berol. 1887, p. 17 ff.).

According to Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 295 ff., XXVII 84 ff.) substantives in *-εύ-ς* like *νομεύ-ς* 'herdsman' (nom. pl. Cypr. *-ῆϝ-ες*) also belong here, and should be compared immediately with the Sanskrit nouns in *-ayu-ṣ*. Yet some difficulties still remain; should we, for instance, assume Idg. *-ei̯u-s* or *-ēi̯u-s* for the nom. sing.? The latest discussion of these stems is by Johansson (De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae, 1886, p. 73 ff.).

Germanic. Goth. *drun-ju-s* m. 'noise', *stub-ju-s* m. 'dust', (cp. O.H.G. *stuppi* 'dust'); perhaps also *-vaddju-s* f. 'partition, wall, rampart' (O.Icel. *vegg-r*, O.Sax. acc. pl. *wegos* i. e. *weijos*), where *ddj* came from *i̯* (I § 142 p. 127).

Baltic. In Lithuanian *-i̯u-* is common, both in primary and secondary use. It forms only masculines. *gỹr-iu-s* 'praise, glory', *vỹr-iu-s* 'eddy', *skỹr-iu-s* 'separation', *vỹ-lu-s* 'enticement, trick' *spẽcziu-s* 'swarm' cp. *spẽcziù* inf. *spẽsti* 'to swarm' (of bees).

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There a large number of *nomina agentis*, as *pirdžiu-s*, 'peditor' *sùkczin-s* 'trickster', *audẽju-s* 'weaver', *rãcziu-s* 'wheelwright', *bezdãlu-s* 'who sends forth many blasts', and other appellations of living beings to denote a particular characteristic, as *skarmãlu-s* 'scamp' (*skařma-la-s* 'rags torn off') *bẽdžiu-s* 'poor creature' (*bẽdà* 'need'), *kytrũlu-s* 'wiseacre, coxcomb' (*kytrù-s* 'clever'), *ragũczin-s* 'horned thing' (*ragũta-s* 'horned'). In Lithuanian *-ṇu-* was far more fertile than in the other European languages. Brückner assumes that the whole group of nouns in *-ju-* is a purely Lithuanian formation (Archiv f. slav. Phil. III 254 f.), but this is improbable.

§ 106. The suffix *-nu- (-ṇnu-)*. This is rare in most of the languages. It usually forms substantives.

Indo-Germanic **sŭ-nu-s* m. 'son': Skr. *sūnú-ṣ* O.H.G. *sunu* Lith. *sūnù-s* O.C.Sl. *synŭ*.

Aryan. Skr. *sū-nú-ṣ* Avest. *hunu-š* m. 'son': Lith. *sū-nù-s* etc., see above. Skr. *bhā-nú-ṣ* 'gleam, sun' Av. *bā-nu-š* m. 'gleam, light'. Skr. *dhē-nú-ṣ* f. 'milch cow' Avest. *daę-nu-s* f. 'female' (of animals). Skr. *dā-nu* Avest. *dā-nu* n. 'trickling moisture, dew', also Skr. *dā-nu-ṣ*. Skr. *vag-nú-ṣ* m. 'sound, cry', *sthāṇú-ṣ* m. 'stick, stump'; *dhṛṣ-ṇú-ṣ* 'bold', *gṛdh-nú-ṣ* 'eager, greedy'. Avest. *taf-nu-š* m. 'heat, heat of fever', *bar'š-nu-š* f. 'peak, height'; *zaę-nu-š* 'equipped'.

In Sanskrit we find also *-anú-*, as *krand-anú-ṣ* m. 'bellowing' *nad-anú-ṣ* m. 'din', *vi-bhañjanú-ṣ* 'breaking to pieces'. This *-anú-* is parallel to *-aní-*, as is shewn by *kṣip-aṇú-ṣ* 'missile' *kṣip-aṇíṣ* 'a cut with a whip'. Hence no doubt it should be derived from *-ṇnu-*. See § 95 p. 285.

Forms like *kṛ-t-nú-ṣ* 'active' (*lōka-kṛt-nú-ṣ* and *lōka-kṛ-t-* 'making a clear space', see § 123) gave rise to the fairly common adjectival suffix *-tnu-* (cp. *-t-van-* § 116 and the like): *dar-tnú-ṣ* 'breaking to pieces', *dravi-tnú-ṣ* 'running', *mādayi-tnú-ṣ* 'intoxicating'.

The adjectival suffix *-snu-* was no doubt derived from more than one typical form. *kravišṇú-ṣ* 'greedy of raw flesh' (*kraviṣ-* 'raw flesh'), *rōciṣṇú-ṣ* 'shining' (*rōciṣ-* 'light'); *cariṣṇú-ṣ*

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'wandering', *gamišṇú-ṣ* 'going', *cyāvayišṇú-ṣ* 'setting in motion', *jišṇú-ṣ* 'victorious', *ni-ṣatsnú-ṣ* 'sitting down'. *vadhasnú-ṣ* 'carrying a murderous weapon' beside *vadhasnú-m* 'murderous weapon' (see § 66 p. 142), as Avest. *zaṇnu-š* 'equipped, beside *zaṇne-m* 'equipment, weapon'.

Greek. Here *-νυ-* is very rare. Hom. *θρῆ-νυ-ς* 'footstool' beside Att. *θρᾶ-νο-ς* 'seat, bench'. *λιγ-νύ-ς* 'smoke, vapour'.

Italic. The suffix is rare. Lat. *ma-nu-s* f., Umb. *manuv-e* 'in manu', no doubt standing for **mə-nu-*, from √*mē-* 'measure'. Lat. *cor-nu* n. and *cor-nu-s* beside the rare *cor-no-* n.: Gall. *κάρ-νυ-ξ* (schol. Iliad, Σ 219, Eustath. 1139, 57) beside *κάρ-νο-ν* acc. 'trumpet' (Hesych.), Goth. *haúr-n* n. 'horn' (§ 66 p. 147); cp. Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 188. *pī-nu-s* f., also *pī-no-* f., cp. Gr. *πί-τυ-ς*. The dative *vēnui* beside *vēnō vēnu-m* from **ves-no-* or **vēs-no-* (§ 66 p. 142 under Armenian) is certainly a late change of declension.

Old Irish. *lī-n* 'number' ground-form **plē-nu-*. Cp. also *orgun orcun* f. 'killing, to kill' for **orgọnu *orgunu* according to Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 291; but **orgunā-* might equally be assumed as its original form.

Germanic. Goth. *su-nu-s* O.H.G. *sunu* O.Icel. *sun-r* m. 'son': Skr. *sū-nú-ṣ* etc., see p. 319 above. Goth. *þaúr-nu-s* m. 'thorn' beside the *-o*-stems O.H.G. *dorn* O.Icel. *þorn*; there is, however, no reason why we should not assume that **þur-nu-* was the pr. Germ. form; O.C.Sl. *trŭ-nŭ* may also be an original *u*-stem, but note Skr. *tṛ́-ṇa-m* 'stem of grass'. Goth. *asilu-qairnu-s* f. '*μυλὸς ὀνικός*, millstone' (its suffix may he compared with that of O.C.Sl. *žrŭ-ny* f. 'mill') beside O.H.G. *chwir-na* 'millstone, mill' O.Icel. *kver-n* 'mill', Lith. *gìr-nos* pl. 'millstones, mill'.

Balto Slavonic. Lith. *sū-nù-s* O.C.Sl. *sy-nŭ* m. 'son': Skr. *sū-nú-ṣ*, see above p. 319. O.C.Sl. *či-nŭ* m. 'rank, order', beside Skr. *ci-tá-* 'ranged, trooped'. In Lithuanian there are a few adjectives, which however may be simply modifications of forms in *-na-* (see p. 317): e. g. *drung-nù-s* 'lukewarm' (beside *druñg-na-s*), *gad-nù-s* 'useful', *szvel-nù-s* 'tender, soft to touch'; with *-s-*, *dů-snù-s do-snù-s* 'generous'.

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§ 107. The Suffixes *-ru-* and *-lu-*. These are original in a few nouns. They are more or less fertile in Baltic as adjectival suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. *-ru-*. **dak-ru* n. 'tear': Gr. *δάκρυ*, Lat. *dacru-ma lacru-ma lacri-ma* (I § 369 p. 279 f.), Corn. *dagr* pl. *dagrou*; hence no doubt Germ. **táχra-* (O.H.G. *zahhar* O.Icel. *tār*) and **taχrá-* (Goth. *tagr* A.S. *teaзor*) originally had *-ru-*; another word which no doubt was formed in imitation of this, though from a different root, is Skr. *áś-ru* n. 'tear', cp. Skr. *kṛ́-mi-ṣ*: cp. Lat. *ver-mi-s*: cp. Gr. *ἕλ-μι-ς* § 97 p. 289. Skr. *śmáśru* n. 'beard, moustache' for **smaś-ru* (I § 557, 4 p. 413), Armen. *moruk (mōru-k muru-k)* 'beard' (though this comparison is not quite certain); compare Lith. *smak-rà* 'chin' (I § 467 p. 343).

-lu-. Skr. *dhā-rú-ṣ* 'sucking' Gr. *θῆ-λυ-ς* 'giving suck, female', beside Gr. *θῆ-λή* 'mother's breast' Lat. *fē-lāre* etc., see I § 256 p. 210. Skr. *bhī-rú-ṣ bhī-lu-ṣ* Lith. *bai-lù-s* 'timorous'.

Aryan. Only the evidence of the cognate languages can decide whether the suffix is Idg. *-ru-* or Idg. *-lu-*. Idg. *-ru-* may be assumed in: Skr. *áś-ru* Av. *as-ru* n. 'tear' beside Skr. *aś-rá-m* 'tear' (see above), and Skr. *śmaś-ru* n. 'beard' (parallel to this we find *húri-śmaśāru-s* 'with light coloured beard'); see above.

In the following instances it is doubtful whether we have Idg. *r* or *l*. Skr. *pē-ru-ṣ* no doubt meaning 'making to bubble, swell'. Avest. *duž-vandru-š* 'desiring evil'. Skr. *patá-ru-ṣ* 'flying', like *pata-rá-s* § 74 p. 182. Skr. *vandá-ru-ṣ* 'praising, glorifying', *píyā-ru-ṣ* 'despising, scorning', *patayā-lú-ṣ* 'flying'. Is *śát-ru-ṣ* 'foe' = *śát-ru-* or *śát-tru-*?

Greek. *δάκ-ρυ* n., see above. *κάγχρυ-ς* f. *κάχρυ* (*κάγχρυ*) n. 'roasted barley' and *βότρυ-ς* m. 'bunch of grapes' may be classed here provisionally.

Italic. Extended by *-mā-*: Lat. *dacru-ma* (see above). Perhaps we should class here *tonitru-s* m. *tonitru* n., whose formation seems to resemble that of Skr. *stanayi-tnú-ṣ* (compare § 106 p. 320) and *tanyatú-ṣ* 'thunder' (§ 108).

Germanic. Goth. *ái-ru-s* O.Icel. *ǫ-r-r ā-r-r* m. 'messenger',

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√ *ei̯-* 'go'; also A.S. *ār* 'messenger', which is no longer recognisable as an *u*-stem. Goth. *hūh-ru-s* m. and O.H.G. *hungar* m. (of which the same may be said) 'hunger', pr. Germ. **χúŋχ-ru-z* and **χuŋʒ-rú-s*. Pr. Germ. **flō-ru-* Mid.H.G. *vluor* m. f. 'corn-field, ground' A.S. *flōr* m. f. 'house-floor, barn-floor': O.Ir. *lā-r* 'flooring, floor'.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian there are a considerable number of adjectives in *-rù-s* and *-lù-s*: *bud-rù-s* 'watchful', *suk-rù-s* 'active', *kant-rù-s* 'patient', *ėd-rù-s* 'ravenous' (*ėd-rà* 'fodder') *isz-matrù-s* 'sharp-sighted' (cp. O.C.Sl. *mot-r-iti* 'to look'), *buk-lù-s* 'crafty, sly' *isz-teklù-s isz-tenklù-s* 'sufficing'. Parallel to these we sometimes have forms in *-ra-s -la-s*, as *gëd-rù-s* and *gẽd-ra-s* 'bright, clear', and *gai-lù-s gai-la-s* 'ill-tempered, snappish' (of dogs). The *a*-form appears in most cases to be older than the other, and it must sometimes be pre-supposed, even where it does not occur, e. g. in *asztrù-s* 'sharp' beside O.C.Sl. *ostrŭ* Skr. *catur-aśra-s* Gr. *ἄκρο-ς* (§ 76 p. 184 and p. 187).

§ 108. The Suffix *-tu-*[1]). This was a common primary suffix used in forming abstract substantives (verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*) even in the proethnic period. These were masculine; but through the influence of the gender of other abstract nouns, they became feminine universally in Greek, and sometimes in Aryan and Germanic. In Aryan, Latin, Balto-Slavonic (and Keltic, see § 156) they are found attached to the verbal system as infinitives (gerunds, supines); and it is possible that this association with the verb, which gave rise to a large number of new formations, began at least in part before the end of the proethnic period. And in this connexion it is especially important to observe that we find the acc. *-tu-m* used after verbs of motion in precisely the same way in Sanskrit, Latin, and Balto-Slavonic; e. g. Skr. *hṓtum ēti* 'he goes make sacrifice',

1) Th. Benfey, Die Suffixe *τυ*, *tu* sammt *ātu*, Kuhn's Ztschr. II 215 ff.

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Lat. *cubitum it*, Lith. *eĩkšz válgytū* 'come and eat', O.C.Sl. *česo izidoste vidětŭ*? 'quid exiistis visum?'

Only a few masculine and feminine substantives formed with this suffix are other than *nomina actionis*, and their uses can easily be derived from the meaning of an abstract verbal noun. The *nomina agentis* (as Skr. *mán-tu-ṣ* m. 'counsellor' beside *mántu-ṣ* m. 'counsel, advice', Goth. *hliftu-s* m. 'thief', O.Icel. *vǫrð-r* m. 'watcher, waiter' beside *vǫrð-r* m. 'watch') show the same change of meaning as Lat. *hosti-s* O.Ir. *tāid*; and the few adjectives that occur (as Skr. *tapya-tú-ṣ* 'hot, glowing') are parallel to such forms as Skr. *pū-ti-ṣ* 'stinking'. Cp. § 99 p. 293, §§ 149. 155.

There are a few neuter substantives as Skr. *vás-tu* Gr. *ἄσ-τυ*.

Originally the accent varied in the different cases in connexion with differences in ablaut, e. g. **éi̯-tu- *i-tu-* (from **ei̯-* 'go'); such a distinction is preserved in Skr. **ṷ́-tu-m*: *i-tv-á*. In Sanskrit the variation survived in these cases, which had been incorporated into the verbal system, because, through the difference in their use, their connexion in form was forgotten, but in the complete declension of any one noun the differences were levelled; in some cases the type **ei̯-tu-* was adopted (e. g. *mántu-ṣ*), in others **itu-* (e. g. *ɣtú-ṣ*). Other survivals of the old gradation are seen in (e. g.) Gr. *κλει-τύ-ς* and *κλῑ-τύ-ς*, Lith. *lẽ-tu-s* and *ly-tù-s*. In Latin and Lithuanian the supine was influenced by the *to*-participles and the abstract nouns in *-ti-*, so that the type **itu-* prevailed: e. g. Lat. *da-tu-m da-tū* like *da-tu-s (da-to-s) da-tiō*, Lith. *mìlsz-tū* like *mìlsz-ta-s mìlsz-ti (√melg-)*. On the other hand, the corresponding form in Slavonic generally shows the type **eitu-* and itself influenced the *ti*-infinitive (e. g. O.C.Sl. *mlěs-tŭ* and *mlěs-tĭ*); this is certainly connected with the comparative disuse of the *-to-* participle in this group of languages (§ 79 p. 336).

These nouns could be based upon any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely on the root (in the strict sense); hence forms like Skr. *vámi-tu-m* inf. 'to vomit'. Lat. *vomi-tu-s* m., Skr. *jīvá-tu-ṣ* f. 'life' (cp. Av. *jyā-tu-š* f. 'life'), Gr. *βοη-τύ-ς*

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f. 'cry', Lat. *apparā-tu-s* m. *andī-tu-s* m., O.Ir. *scarad* 'a severing' Goth. *vratō-du-s* m. 'journey', Lith. *jëszkó-tū* O.C.Sl. *iska-tŭ* 'to seek'.

-e-tu- is found like *-e-to-* § 79 p. 219 and *-e-ti-* § 100 p. 294), e. g. Skr. *kr-á-tú-ṣ* 'power, strength' *vah-a-tú-ṣ* m. 'bridal procession', Gr. ἔτυ-μο-ς 'truthful' from **ἐ-τυ-* instead of **h-ετ-υ-* 'existence' (√ *es-*).

Indo-Germanic: Skr. inf. *bhávi-tu-m* gerund *bhū-tv-á* from *bháva-ti* 'he becomes, is', Lat. *fu-tu-ō*, sup. Lith. *bú-tū* O.C.Sl. *by-tĭ* 'to be'; we may add, with hesitation, Gr. φῑ-τυ-ς 'begetter' φῑ-τυ 'shoot, scion' (see I § 56 p. 46). Skr. *juṣ-ṭy-ā* gerund of *jóṣa-ti* 'has pleasure in something', Lat. *gūs-tu-s* m., Goth. *kus-tu-s* m. 'trial, proof'. Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* m. 'sap, drink, food' nourishment' *pītu-dāru-* m. 'pine tree' n. the resin of this tree, Gr. πί-τυ-ς 'pine', Lat. *pītu-īta*, O.Ir. *i-th* m. 'corn', Lith. *pē-tūs* pl. 'midday meal, midday'. Skr. inf. *véttu-m véttav-ē* ger. *vittv-á* from *vinda-ti* 'finds, becomes possessed of', *védi-tu-m vidi-tv-á* from *vētti* 'perceives, knows' (the root is the same), Lat. *vīsu-s* m., O.Ir. *fiss* m. 'knowledge'. Avest. *pešu-š* m. 'ford' (*-š-* for *-rt-*, see I § 288 p. 229 f.), Lat. *por-tu-s* m., O.H.G. *fur-t* m. 'ford' (it has lost its character as a *u*-stem) O.Icel. *fjǫrā-r* m. 'firth, gulf'. Skr. *gán-tu-ṣ gā-tú-ṣ* m. 'course, way', inf. *gán-tu-m gán-tav-ē* ger. *ga-tv-á*, Lat. *ad-ven-tus* m., sup. *ven-tu-m ven-tū*, Lith. sup. *giñ-tū* 'to be born' (cp. I § 249 p. 204), √ *gem-*. Skr. *mán-tu-ṣ* m. 'counsel, counsellor' inf. *mán-tav-ē* ger. *ma-tv-á*, Lith. sup. *miñ-tū* 'to think of', √ *men-*. Skr. inf. *śáṣi-tu-m* ger. *śas-tv-á* from *śáṣa-ti* 'he recites', Lat. *cēnsu-s* m. instead of **cens-tu-s* (cp. § 100 p. 295), √ *kens-*. Skr. inf. *pák-tum pák-tav-ē* ger. *pak-tv-ā* from *páca-ti* 'cooks', Lat. *coc-tu-m coc-tū*, O.C.Sl. sup. *peštĭ* 'to bake' for **pek-tŭ* (I § 462 p. 338). Lat. sup. *rēc-tu-m rēc-tū*, O.Ir. *rech-t* n. 'right', O.Icel. *rētt-r* n. 'right'. Skr. *dhá-tu-ṣ* m. 'constituent part, element', inf. *dhá-tu-m* ger. *dhi-tv-á hi-tv-á*, Lat. *con-ditu-s* m. sup. *con-ditu-m -ditū*, sup. Lith. *dė-tū* O.C.Sl. *dė-tŭ* 'positum'. Skr. *aktú-ṣ* m. 'salve, light, night' ground-form **ṇq-tú-s*, Lat. *ūnc-tu-m ūnc-tū*. Skr. inf. *āp-tu-m* ger. *āp-tv-ā* from *āp-nó-ti* 'attains, gains', Lat. *ad-eptu-s* m. Skr.

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vás-tu n. 'dwelling-place,-house', Gr. *ϝάσ-τυ ἄσ-τυ* n. 'city'. Skr. *yā-tu-ṣ* m. 'traveller, time' (no doubt identical with *yātú-ṣ* 'ghost', see below), Lith. *jó-tū* 'to ride'. Lat. sup. *nō-tu-m nō-tū* (*ignō-tu-m ignōtū*), O.C.Sl. sup. *zna-tŭ* 'to know'.

Aryan. Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* m. 'sap, drink, food, nourishment' Avest. *pi-tu-š* m. 'food': Gr. *πί-τυ-ς* etc., see above p. 325. Skr. inf. *car-tu-m cari-tu-m* ger. *cīr-tv-ā car-tv-ā cari-tv-ā* from *cára-ti* 'goes, travels', Avest. *car^{e}-tu-š* m. 'horse's course, distance a horse can gallop'. Skr. *gán-tu-ṣ gā-tú-ṣ* m. 'course, way', Avest. *gā-tu-š* 'place, room, throne' O.Pers. *gāϑu-* 'place, room, throne' (*ϑ* arose regularly in the cases which had *gā-ϑw-* — see I § 473 p. 348 f. — and from these it spread to the rest): Lat. *ad-ven-tu-s* etc., see above p. 325. Skr. *jan-tú-ṣ* m. 'creature, being, child, people, family, stock', Avest. *zan-tu-š* m. 'alliance, stock', Skr. inf. *jáni-tōṣ*, adv. *já-tu* 'generally': Lat. *geni-tu-s* m., sup. *geni-tu-m geni-tū*, *nā-tu-s* m., √ *ĝen-*. Skr. *dā-tu* n. 'part, task' Avest. *vī-dātu-ṣ* m. 'breaking up of the body, dissolution, death', beside Skr. *dā-ti dyú-ti* 'cuts off': cp. Gr. *δα-τύ-ς* 'meal' (orig. 'portion') *δαιτυ-μών* 'guest'. Skr. *sē-tu-ṣ* m. 'connexion, bond, chain, bridge; binding' (adj.), Avest. *haę-tu-š* m. 'ford, bridge': Lett. sup. *si-tu* 'to bind', √ *saį-*. Skr. *yā-tú-ṣ* Avest. *yā-tu-š* m. 'ghost, demon', no doubt (like *yātu-* above) from *yā-* 'go, fall upon something' (cp. *yā-tár-* 'pursuer'). Skr. *ṛ-tú-ṣ* m. 'fixed time', *tán-tu-ṣ* m. 'cord' (was O.Ir. *tēt* Mod.Cymr. *tant* 'string' an *u*-stem?) *ṓ-tu-ṣ* m. 'woof'; *sū-tu-ṣ* f. 'pregnancy' inf. *sū-tav-ē* ger. *sū-tv-ā*: O.Ir. *su-th* n. 'fetus'. Avest. *mer^{e}-tu-š* m. 'thought'; *jyā-tu-š* f. 'life'. Skr. *jīvā-tu-ṣ* f. 'life' (no doubt with the same *ā* as Avest. *jyā-tu-š*; though we might also regard it as *ā* = Idg. *o*, cp. Lith. *gyva-tà* O.C.Sl. *živo-tŭ* Gr. *βίο-το-ς*), inf. *ā-śvā-sayi-tu-m* 'to cause to breathe again, console' from *ā-švās-aya-ti* 'makes to breathe again, consoles'.

With *-e-tu-*: Skr. *kr-ú-tu-ṣ* m. 'power, strength, power of mind', Avest. *xr-a-tu-š* m. 'understanding, insight', from *kar-* 'set at work'. Skr. *vah-a-tú-ṣ* 'bridal procession', *tan-ya-tú-ṣ* m. 'thunder', *tap-ya-tú-ṣ* 'hot, glowing'. Avest. *r-a-tu-š* 'fixed time' beside Skr. *ṛ-tú-ṣ*.

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In classical Sanskrit the accusative, in Veda also the dative and genitive-ablative served as infinitives; e. g. *śrṓ-tu-m*, *śrṓ--tav-ē*, *śrṓ-tōṣ*. The formation of compounds like *śrōtu-kāma-* 'desire to hear' shows that even in later times the feeling that the form in *-tum* was a case had not quite died out. The instrumental (*śru-tvá*, orig. 'with hearing') was used as the (so-called) gerund, logically connected with some noun in the sentence to denote an action accompanying or (generally) preceding the action of the verb, e. g. *śrutvā cābruvan* (*ca abruvan*) 'and hearing (or having heard) they spoke'. All such forms could be used in this way, except those derived from thematic stems (*kr-ú-tu-* etc.).

Armenian. Amongst the *tu*-stems (e. g. *zar-d*, gen. *zar-du* adornment') there seem to be none which can be ascribed with certainty to proethnic Indo-Germanic. Hübschmann (Arm. Stud. I 46) with some hesitation connects *ort*, gen. *ortu*, 'calf' with Skr. *pṛthu-ka-s* 'the young of an animal, child, boy' (Gr. *πόρ--τι-ς πόρ-ταξ* 'calf').

Greek. The Substantives in *-τυ-ς*, except the late form *φῖ-τυ-ς* (p. 325), are all feminine, and occur for the most part in the Ionic dialect. *κλῖ-τύ-ς κλει-τύ-ς* 'slope, hill': Skr. *śri-tv-á* ger. of *śráy-a-ti* 'leans'. *πί-τυ-ς* 'pine': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see p. 325 above. *ἴ-τυ-ς* 'circumference, circle of a wheel, felloe', Lat. *vi--tu-s* m., sup. Lith. *výt-tū* O.C.Sl. *vi-tŭ* 'to wind'. *βρω-τύ-ς* 'food, meal': Lith. *gér-tū* 'to drink'. *γραπ-τύ-ς* 'a scratch', from *γράφω*. *ἀρ-τύ-ς* 'bond': Lat. *ar-tu-s ar-tu*. *ἀπ-εστύ-ς* 'absence'. *δαι-τύ-ς* 'meal'. *ἀπο-δαστύ-ς* 'division'. *κτιστύ-ς* 'founding' from *κτίζω*, *ἀκοντιστύ-ς* 'javelin-throwing, fight with missiles', from *ἀκοντίζω*, *λῃστύ-ς* 'making of booty' from *λῃΐζομαι*, *φραστύ-ς* 'reflection' from *φράζω*, *ἀσπαστύ-ς* 'greeting' from *ἀσπάζομαι*, cp. Germ. *-assu-s* from verbs in *-atjan* p. 331. *ἁρπακτύ-ς* from *ἁρπάζω* fut. *ἁρπάξω*. *ἀγορητύ-ς* 'harangue' from *ἀγορᾶομαι*, *βοητύ-ς* 'cry, call' from *βοάω*, *ποθητύ-ς* 'desire' from *ποθέω*.

Neuters: only *φῖ-τυ* and *ἄσ-τυ*, see above pp. 325, 326.

In the other Indo-Germanic languages, we find numerals in *-ti-s*, as **penq-ti-s* f. 'fivefold character, the number five'

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(§ 101 p. 306 f.). The corresponding forms in Greek are feminines in -τύ-ς; as πεντηκοστύ-ς, ἑκατοστύ-ς τριτύ-ς (τριττύ-ς is due to the influence of τριττό-ς) also τρικτύ-ς τετρακτύ-ς, cp. Baunack, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 249 ff.

ἔτυ-μο-ς 'truthful' from *ἐτυ- 'existence' (instead of *h-ε-τυ-, cp. Dor. ἔντες, Lesb. ἔρσα) ground-form *s-e-tu-, from √es- 'esse'.

Italic. The Substantives in -tu-s are masculine. Lat. ăc-tu-s, Umbr. ahtu 'actui'. Lat. adi-tu-s: Skr. svā́tu-ṣ (svá-ētu-ṣ) 'having its own course' inf. ē-tu-m ger. i-tv-ā́, Lith. ēi-tū O.C.Sl. i-tŭ 'to go'. rūc-tu-s: Lith. rúk-tū 'to belch', √reug-. duc-tu-s. or-tu-s. morsu-s beside mordeō. ē-ven-tu-s: Skr. gán-tu-ṣ etc., see above p. 325. sēnsu-s beside sent-iō. con-spectu-s. tex-tu-s: Lett. tesṷtu 'to hew with an axe'. ēsu-s: Skr. áttu-m 'to eat', Lith. ēstū 'to devour', O.C.Sl. jastŭ 'to eat', √ed-. sta-tu-s, sup. sta-tu-m sta-tū, prae-stitu-m and prae-stātu-m: Skr. inf. sthā́-tu-m ger. sthi-tv-ā́ from tíṣṭhá-ti 'he stands', Lith. pa-stótū 'to become' O.C.Sl. sta-tŭ 'to place oneself'. sa-tu-s: Lith. sē-tū 'to sow'. fē-tu-s. cap-tu-s. rap-tu-s. can-tu-s. quaes-tu-s. auc-tu-s: Lith. áuk-tū 'to grow', √aug-. haus-tu-s. flā-tu-s. flē-tu-s. gemi-tu-s. fremi-tu-s. strepi-tu-s. crepi-tu-s. domi-tu-s. habi-tu-s. exerci-tu-s. conā-tu-s. ap-parātu-s. audī-tu-s. vestī-tu-s. Words like jūdicātu-s (jūdicāre jūdex) gave rise to an independent suffix -ātu- for denoting an office or an official organisation, as principātu-s, ducātu-s, pontificātu-s, senātu-s (cp. German. -ōṗu- -ōd̆u-).

The tu-stems (i. e. the so-called supines) form a very large group in Latin. -tu-m was orig. acc., -tū loc. or instr. Most of the substantives in -tu-s were also used as supines, e. g. ēsu-s 'eating' and ēsu-m ēsū; on the other hand, it is only a small proportion of the supines beside which we find independent declinable substantives. The freedom with which supines were formed was practically unlimited.

The gender of the neut. subst. ar-tu- beside masc. ar-tu-s was no doubt fixed by that of membru-m, and testu- n. (*ters--tu-, √ters- 'dry') by that of testu-m (stem testo-).

Old Irish. Masculines. bi-th, gen. betho, 'world'; Mod.Cymr.

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by-d, Gall. *Bitu-rīgēs* ('world-kings'): Lith. *gýv-tū* 'to revive' O.C.Sl. *ži-tŭ* 'to live', √*geiə-*. *i-th* 'corn': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see above p. 325. *fiss* 'knowledge, knowing', ground-form **u̯id+tu-*: Skr. *vēthu-m* etc., see above ibid. *gu-th* 'voice'. *cru-th* 'form' *mess* 'judging, judgement' beside *midiur* 'I judge'.

Neut. *su-th* 'fetus': Skr. *sū-tu-ṣ* f. 'pregnancy'. *sru-th* 'stream', √*sreu̯-*. *rech-t* 'right': Lat sup. *rēc-tu-m* etc.; see above p. 325.

Like *fiss* and *mess*, the numerous masculines in *-ad* (for *-ā-tu-*) formed from verbs of the 2. conj. are used as infinitives (cp. § 156), as *nertad* 'strengthening' from *nertaim* denom. verb from *nert* 'strength' (cp. Gr. *ἀγορητύ-ς*, Lat. *cōnātu-s*), and similarly those in *(i)ud* (for *-(i̯)e-tu-*) formed from verbs of the 3. conj., as *der-choiniud* 'despair, despairing' from *der-choinim* 'I despair', *foillsigud* 'showing' from *foillsigim* 'I show' (cp. Skr. *vaha-tū-ṣ anya-tú-š*).

-tu- is a secondary suffix in the termination *-es-tu-* (*-os-tu-*). *ais aes ois* (gen. *aisso aisa aesa*) m. 'age' ground-form **āi̯u̯es-tu-s*, cp. Gr. *αἰ(ϝ)ές* 'always'; yet Mod.Cymr. *oes*, since *u̯* is not usually lost in Cymric, perhaps indicates that the word is to be derived from a stem corresponding to the Skr. *áyuṣ-*, which afterwards, we must assume, was confused with the *es*-stem. *senchas* m. 'antiquity (O.Cymr. *hencass*, pl. *hencassou* 'old tale') may be an extension of **seno-qo-* (cp. Skr. *sana-ká-s* etc., § 88 p. 263), the ground-form being **seno-q-os-tu-*, or a compound **seno-cassu-*. *dorus* n. 'door' (cp. Mod.Cymr. *drws* Corn. *daras*), dat. pl. *doirsib* for **doressaib*, and therefore from a stem **du̯ores-tu-* in proethnic Keltic. *follus* 'clear'.

Germanic. In West Germanic most of the *tu*-stems (which were common in proethnic Germanic) lost their distinctive character; there was a confusion between the (masc.) *tu-* and the (fem.) *ti*-stems, e. g. O.H.G. *luf-t* m. and f., A.S. *lyf-t* m. and f. The original form of the *tu*-stems is best preserved in Gothic.

O.H.G. *fri-du* A.S. *fri-thu* m. 'joy' pr. Germ. **fri̯-þu-z*, from Germ. *frī- fri* 'cherish, spare' (which appears in Goth. *freidjan* 'to spare' and other words. Goth. *li-þu-s* m. 'limb', cp. O.Icel. *li-m-r* 'limb'. Goth. *kus-tu-s* m. 'trial, proof', O.Icel.

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kos-t-r (acc. pl. *kosto kostu*) m. 'condition', O.H.G. *kos-t* A.S. *cys-t*: Skr. *juṣ-ṭv-ā* etc. see above p. 325. Goth. *luf-tu-s* m. O.H.G. *luf-t* m. 'breeze, air'. O.H.G. *fur-t* m. 'ford' O.Icel. *fjǫr-ð-r* 'firth, gulf': Avest. *pešu-s* etc., see p. 325 above. O.H.G. *durs-t* A.S. *ðurs-t (ðyrs-t)* m. 'thirst', √*ters-*. Goth. *vul-þu-s* m. 'glory'. Goth. *lus-tu-s* O.H.G. *lus-t* m. 'desire', for **l̥s-tu-s*, if it is connected with Skr. *lā-las-a-s* (I § 299 p. 238, II § 100 p. 302). Goth. *þūh-tu-s* m. 'thought', from *þugkjan* 'to think'. O.Icel. *rētt-r* m. right': Lat. *rēc-tu-m* etc., see above p. 325. O.Icel. *hǫtt-r hātt-r* m. 'way, sort, kind', beside *haga* 'to arrange'. Goth. *vahs-tu-s* O.Icel. *vǫxt-r* m. 'growth'. Goth. *dáu-þu-s* O.H.G. *tō-d* m. 'death'. O.H.G. *blās-t* O.Icel. *blǫst-r blāst-r* n. 'blast'. Goth. *flō-du-s* O.H.G. *fluo-t* m. 'flood'. With the meaning changed to that of a *nomen agentis* we have e. g. Goth. *hlif-tu-s* 'thief', O.Icel. *vǫrð-r* 'watchman'.

-s-tu- is rare (cp. *-s-ti-* § 100 p. 303 and *-s-tṷo- -s-tro-* etc., see § 61 p. 117). Goth. *maih-s-tu-s* O.H.G. *mist* m. 'ordure', beside O.Icel. *mīga* 'mingere'. O.Icel. *lǫst-r* m. 'mistake' for **lax-s-tu-*, beside O.H.G. *lastar* n. 'crime, vice' (suffix *-s-tro-*, § 62 p. 121), cp. O.H.G. *lahan* 'to blame'.

The termination *-ō-þu-* (also *-ō-ðu-* through the original variation of accent), which appears in derivatives of the weak verbs in *-ōn*, became an independent suffix (cp. Lat. *-ātu-* p. 328). Goth. *gáunōþu-s* m. 'sorrow' from *gáunōn* 'to sorrow', *vratōdu-s* 'journey' from *vratōn* 'to travel'; O.H.G. *wegōd* m. 'help' from *wegōn* 'to help', *klagōd* m. 'lament' from *klagōn* 'to lament'; O.Icel. *laðað-r* m. 'invitation' from *laða* 'to invite'. The following are examples of nouns beside which there is no corresponding verb in *-ōn*: Goth. *gabaúrjōþu-s* 'desire' *mannis-kōdu-s* 'humanity', O.H.G. *strītōd* 'strife' *leichōd* 'hymenaeus, concubitus', O.Icel. *unað-r* 'delight'. In O.H.G. the formations in *-isōd inōd -ilōd -alōd* are especially common, as *rīchisōd* 'lordship' from *rīchisōn* 'to govern', *ellinōd* 'zeal, emulation' from *ellinōn* 'to be zealous', *swintilōd* 'giddiness' from *swintilōn* 'to become giddy', *hantalōd* 'laying on of hands' from *hantalōn* 'lay hands on handle'. On the other hand in Anglo-Saxon and

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Norse we find the termination *-nōþu-*, which came from verbs in *-nōn -nan* (e. g. A.S. *haftnōd* 'hold' beside *hæftnian*, O.Icel. *batnaðr* 'improvement' from *batna*); this became fertile and usurped the place of the older *-ōþu-*; e. g. A.S. *fuzelnoð* instead of, and parallel to, *fuzeloð* 'fowling', from *fuzelian*, O.Icel. *dugnaðr* 'strength, help', from *duga*.

The weak verbs in *-atjan* (Gr. *-αζειν*) gave rise to the suffix *-assu-* (Gr. *ἀσπαστύ-s* from *ἀσπάζομαι*, p. 327), which was very fertile in all branches of Germanic except Norse, especially in the extended form resulting from its addition to *n*-stems, *-n-assu-* (Goth. *-in-assu-*). In West Germanic we have also *(-n)-iss(u)-* and *(-n)-uss(u)-*, whose *i* and *u* are variously explained (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 119 ff.); and further various modifications of the final *-u-*, due to the analogy of feminine and neuter abstract substantives: fem. *(-n)-iss-ō- (-n)-uss-ō-, (-n)-iss-jō- (-n)-uss-jō-, (-n)-ass-ī- (-n)-iss-ī- (-n)-uss-ī-*, neut. *(-n)-ass-ja- (-n)-iss-ja- (-n)-uss-ja-*. Examples are Goth. *ibnassu-s* 'equality, fairness' (A.S. *emness*), beside A.S. *emnettan* 'adaequare' = Goth. **ibnatjan*; *ufarrassu-s* 'overflow, abundance' from *ufar*. These forms are especially frequent in connexion with verbs in *-inōn*; as *hōrin-assu-s* 'adultery' beside *hōrinōn*, which gave the type for words like *blōt-inassu-s* 'divine service' (from *blōtan*). O.H.G. *rāt-ussa* f. 'riddle' *offan-ussi* f. 'opening'; *ir-suochnissa* f. 'experimentum' *gi-miscnissī* f. 'mixture' *gi-hōrnissī* f. 'hearing'. *-nissa -nissī* had often the appearance of a denominative suffix, and hence it gave rise to a large number of formations like O.H.G. *got-nissa* f. 'godhead' *rein-nissa* f. 'purity' *churt-nassī* f. 'shortness'. In Upper Germany these suffixes were extended by *-iþo-* (§ 80 p. 240), hence *-nissida -nussida*, as in (O.H.G.) *fir-loranissida* 'loss'. *fūlnussida* 'idleness'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *ly-tù-s lē-tu-s* m. 'rain' (supine *lýt-tū* 'to rain' *lẽt-tū* 'to pour'): Lat. sup. *li-tu-m li-tā*, Goth. acc. sing. *lei-þu* O.H.G. *lī-ð* m. n. 'fruit-wine'. Lith. *pē-tū-s* pl. 'midday meal, midday': Skr. *pi-tú-ṣ* etc., see p. 325 above. It is a moot point whether the adjectives in *-tù-s*, as *sta-tù-s* 'blunt, impolite', *drums-tù-s* 'dark, troubled' (of water), were

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originally abstract substantives (p. 324), or whether they were modifications of old adjectives in *-ta-s* (see p. 317). O.C.Sl. *kra-tŭ* 'a time, occasion' (*dŭvā kraty* 'twice'): Skr. acc. pl. *kí-tv-as* 'so many times'; Lith. *kařta-s* may have also been originally a *u*-stem, from which we could then directly derive the form in *dù kartù* 'twice' *szeszìs kartùs* 'six times' and the like.

The largest group of *tu*-stems are the infinitives (supines), which were formed at will from any verb. The Lithuanian supines in *-tu -tū* (the quantity differs in different dialects), which should properly be written *-tų* (their final nasal is still kept in the compound form of the optative, e. g. 1. pl. *sùktum-bime*), and the Slavonic forms in *-tŭ*, are acc. sing.; cp. Lat. *-tu-m*. Lith. *dů́-tū* O.C.Sl. *da-tŭ* 'to give', *bú-tū bý-tŭ* 'to be', *ẽstū* 'to devour *jastŭ* 'to eat', *jẽszkó-tū iska-tŭ* 'to seek', *sėdė́-tū sědě-tŭ* 'to sit', *ganý-tū goni-tŭ* 'to tend, pasture'; cp. also Pruss. *dā-tun dā-ton* 'to give' *maitā-tun* 'to nourish' with other examples. In Old Church Slavonic there is a rare parallel form in *-tu*, (as *by-tu*), which may be regarded as gen. or loc., and Prussian has dative forms in *-twei*, as *dā-twei*.

IV. The Suffix -ī- (-i̯ē-)[1].

§ 109. This suffix was used to form feminines in the proethnic and later periods. It served to differentiate the gender in the same way as *ā* beside *o* (§ 59 ff.). In this function it was a secondary suffix, since these feminines were derived from the masculine and neuter stem. When a feminine of this kind was formed from *o*-stems, the stem-final *-o* was dropped in exactly the same way as before the suffix *-i̯o-*; e. g. Skr. *vṛ́k-ī* 'she-wolf' the feminine of *vṛ́ka-s* 'wolf' (cp. § 63 p. 126, Rem. 3 p. 132). More rarely *-ī-* has the appearance of a primary suffix,

1) E. Sievers, Über die Feminina auf urgerm. ī, Paul-Braune's Beitr. V 136 ff. O. A. Danielsson, Om die indoeuropeiska femininstammarne *på -ī*, Upsala universitets årsskrift 1881. W. Burda, Das slav. Suffix *ynja*, nom. sg. *yni*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 194 ff.

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as in Skr. *śám-ī* 'work' Gr. *φύζα* 'flight' (for **φυγ-ια*); it cannot be shewn with certainty that such primary feminine forms existed in the proethnic language.

It is difficult to determine what was the strong form of the suffix -ī- in the Indo-Germanic paradigm. For though as a rule the classes of feminine nouns which contain the suffix are easily distinguished in the different languages, yet they show important differences in form which cannot have arisen simply and solely through the operation of phonetic laws. Indeed it is obvious that its declension has been influenced in very many ways by that of other stems. To me it seems most probable that -i̯ē- (sometimes -ii̯ē-) was the form of the strong-grade in Indo-Germanic. Cp. -i̯ē- -ii̯ē- : -ī- in the optative, as in Lat. *s-iē-s* : *s-ī-mus*, and the masculine suffix -i̯e- -i̯o-, -ii̯e- -ii̯o- : -i-, -ī- (§ 63 p. 122 f.).

Remark 1. The following conclusions seem to me fairly probable. In proethnic Indo-Germanic the nom. sing. ended in *-ī; Gr. -ιᾰ was formed on the analogy of -ιᾱν; Lat. -iē-s Lith. -(i̯)ė (beside -ì) come from the extension of the form -i̯ē- (-ii̯ē-) to all the cases. The acc. sing. ended sometimes in *-ī-m (Skr. -ī-m) sometimes in *-ii̯-m̥ cp. the opt. 3. pl. Lat. *s-i-ent* for **s-ii̯-n̥t*, I § 226 p. 193), from the latter we have Lat. *-iem* (*māter-iem*), Skr. *-iyam* (*str-iyam*), Gr. -ιαν (*πότν-ιαν*), the Skr. and the Gr. form having -m -ν added on the analogy of the terminations -ī-m -ū-m etc. Similarly the acc. pl. generally, perhaps always ended in *-ii̯-n̥s Skr. *-iyas* (*str-iyas*), Lat. *-iēs* (*māter-iēs*): in Gr. *-ii̯-n̥s* is perhaps represented by -ιᾱς, the by-form of -ιανς -ιᾱς before consonants The so-called Weak Cases with a case-suffix beginning in a consonant had -ī-, as loc. pl. *-ī-su (Skr. -ī-ṣu). Elsewhere the form was -i̯ē- or -ii̯ē-, e. g. gen. sing. *-(i)i̯ēs. This form of the suffix is regularly represented in Latin, Balto-Slavonic, and Aryan, Lat. *māter-iē-*, Lith. *žem-ė-* for **žem-i̯ē-*. (I § 147 p. 131), O.C.Sl. *zem(l)-ja-* (cp. *stojati* for **stojěti*, I § 76 p. 66), Skr. *viduṣ-yā-*. The Ablaut is thus precisely parallel to that of the optative suffix -i̯ē-, e. g. Lat. *rab-iē-s* (gen. sing.): *rab-i-em* : *datr-ī-x* = *s-iē-s*: *s-i-ent* : *s-ī-mus*. In several languages confusion with the i̯ā- stems led to the substitution of -(i)i̯ā- for -(i)i̯ē-: e. g. gen. sing. Gr. *ποτν-ίας ἰδνίας* (this change was probably due in part to the influence of the heavier form of the acc., sing. and pl. -ιανς -ιαν.) O.Ir. *Brigte* (cp. Skr. *bṛhatyās*), Goth. *máujōs* beside nom. sing. *πότνια ἰδνία*, *Brigit* (Skr. *bṛhatī*), *mavi*; so also Lith. *marczióš* beside *martì*. Different views as to the form of the strong grade in this suffix have been maintained by Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VI 391 f., and by Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Pers. 338 f.

-ī- was the regular form of the suffix when other suffixes were

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added to it: e. g. Skr. *pátnī-vant-* 'accompanied by one's wife', Gr. *πολί-ϝη-ς* beside Dor. *πολᾱ́-ϝᾱ-ς* Ion. *πολῑ́-ϝη-ς* 'citizen', Lat. *victrī-x*.

There was a confusion with the *i*-stems (§ 92 ff.) as well as with the *i̯ā*-stems. Compare e. g. Skr. *nā́r-ī-* and *nā́r-i-* 'woman' (see Benfey, Nachr. von der gött Ges. d. Wiss. 1876 p. 644 ff., Lanman, Noun-Inflection p. 370), Gr. *λῃστρί-ς* (gen. *λῃστρί̄δος*) 'female robber' beside *ψάλτρι-α* 'girl who plays the guitar', Lat. *nept-i-s* beside O.H.G. *nift* (= Goth. **nift-i*) Skr. *napt-ī-*, *suāvi-s* for **sṷād-u̯-i-s* beside Skr. *svādv-ī*, Skr. *ārti-ṣ* Lith. *ánti-s* beside Gr. *νῆσσα* 'duck' for **νᾱτ-i̯α*. In these cases the *-i-*declension was the older, but the converse change occurs in Sanskrit, stems in *-i* being inflected in the same way as those in *-ī-* in order to mark their feminine gender, e. g. gen. sing. *gátyās* beside *gátēṣ* from nom. *gáti-ṣ*, nom. sing. *bhūmī* gen. sing. *bhūmyās* beside nom. *bhūmi-ṣ* (§ 97 p. 289), *yuvatī* beside *yuvatí-ṣ* (§ 101 p. 307).

Finally these stems were confused with the inflexion of monosyllabic stems, such as Skr. *bhī-* Gr. *κῑ-*, in which *-ī-* and *-i̯ē-* alternated (nom. *bhī́-ṣ* gen. *bhiy-ás*, Gr. *κῑ-ς κι-ός*). Hence e. g. Skr. nom. *napt-ī́-ṣ* gen. *napt-iy-as*, Gr. *πόλι-ς πόλι-ος*.

Remark 2. To this last remark I must add a corollary, lest it should be taken to imply the existence of a third *i*-suffix, *-ī- -i̯ē-*, in Indo-Germanic (*-i-* in all cases whose case-suffix began with a consonant, *-i̯ē-* where it began with a sonant) in addition to *-i-* (*ei̯-*) and *-ī-* (*-i̯ē-*). There would be just as much and just as little reason for supposing a parallel suffix *-ū- -u̯ē-* on the strength of such forms as Skr. *śvaśrū́-ṣ śvaśrúv-am* O.C.Sl. *svekry svekrŭv-e* Gr. *νέκῡ-ς νέκυ-ος*. As a matter of fact it seems to me very probable that all these polysyllabic *-ī-* : *i̯ē-*stems and *-ū-* : *-u̯ē-* stems have simply abandoned their original inflexion in order to conform to the type of such monosyllabic stems as Skr. *bhī-* Gr. *κῑ-*, Skr. *bhrū-* Gr. *ὀφρῡ-*, in which *-ī-* and *-ū-* are part of the 'root' (cp. § 8 Rem. 1 and 2 p. 20 f.). This change of inflexion will call for further notice when we come to the formation of the cases.

§ 110. Differentiation (Motion or Feminine-formation) of *u*-stems (§ 103 ff.). Originally the no doubt nom. sing. was *-eu̯-ī* gen. sing. *-u̯-i̯ēs* (yet notice also Avest. *vaŋhu-yå*), loc. pl. *-u̯-ī-su*. Skr. *svādv-ī* Gr. *ἡδεῖα* for **σϝᾱδεϝ-i̯α* Lat. *suāv-i-s*, beside masc. Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. *ἡδύ-ς* 'sweet'. Skr. *gurv-ī* Gr. *βαρεῖα* 'gravis'. Skr. *pṛthv-ī* Avest. *pərəθw-ī-* Gr. *πλατεῖα* 'broad, wide'. Skr. *tanv-ī* Lat. *tenu-i-s*. In Germanic and Baltic post-consonantal *u̯* was dropped before *-i̯ē-* (*-i̯ā-*): Goth. *kaúr-jō-* 'gravis' (acc. sing. *kaúrja* nom. pl. *kaúrjōs*) for **kuru̯-i̯ō-* (cp. O.Icel. *ylg-r* I § 444 p. 329); Lith. *saldžiō-* (gen. sing. *saldžiōs*) for **saldu̯-i̯ō-*, on the analogy of which was formed the nom. *saldì* instead of **saldv-ì*; Goth. *hard-jō-* 'hard' Lith. *karcziō-*

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'bitter' (nom. *kartŭ*) from masc. *hard-u-s kart-ù-s*. In this class of adjectives, the unextended form, without *-ī-*, could also be used for the feminine; e. g. Skr. *tanú-š*, Gr. *ἡδύ-ς θῆλυ-ς* (in Homer and elsewhere), Goth. *kaúru-s* (only *-u-s* is ever found in the nom. sing.). The nom. in *-ī* is found in Gothic in the subst. *magi* 'girl' for **magu-ī*, beside the masc. *magu-s*; the analogy of the cases with this form of the stem, **ma(ʒ)u-ī-* gave rise to the gen. *máujōs* instead of **magjōs*.

Differentiation of *n*-stems (§ 112 ff.). Skr. *tak-šṇ-ī* Gr. *τέκταινα* (for **τεκταν-ϳα*): Skr. *tákšan-* Gr. *τέκτων* 'worker in wood, carpenter'. Skr. *rájñ-ī* from *rájan-* 'king' O.Ir. *rīgain* 'queen', whose ground-form was **rēĝn-í*. Skr. *yūn-ī* from *yúvan-* 'young, young man' Lat. *jūn-ī-x*. We may probably infer from Skr. *pátnī* Gr. *πότνια* 'lady' and Gr. *δέσποινα* 'mistress' for **-ποτνϳα* (I § 488 p. 360), as compared with the masc. Skr. *páti-š* Gr. *πόσι-ς*, that *-n-ī-* could be used as an independent suffix even in the proethnic period.

Skr. *šun-í* from *šván- šún-* 'dog'. *pañca-dāmn-ī* from *pañca--dāman-*. *maghón-ī* from *maghávan- maghón-* 'giving bountifully, dispenser'. Avest. *ašaon-ī* from *ašavan- ašaon-* 'pure' (Skr. *ṛtávan-* 'holy, pious'). With Skr. *pát-nī* we should no doubt compare Skr. *pálik-nī hárik-ṇī*, beside *palitá-* 'gray, hoary' *hárita-* 'tawny' (as to *k* for *t*, see the Author, Morph. Unt. II 198), *páruš-ṇī* beside *paruš-á-* 'knotty'.

Gr. *γείταινα* from *γείτων* 'neighbour'. *θεράπαινα*, beside *θεράπ-ν-η*, both from *θεράπων* 'servant', *λέαινα* from *λέων* 'lion' (these masculines were originally *n*-stems; see § 114, under Greek). *-αινα* was taken into general use as an independent suffix, denoting female creatures: *λύκαινα, κάπραινα, ἡμι-θέαινα*, etc. Notice further *φάγαινα* 'voracity, ravenousness' beside *φαγών* 'devourer'. *ἄγκοινα* (Att.) beside *ἀγκών* 'bend of the arm'; we should no doubt compare Hom. *ἐπ-ηγκεν-ίδ-ες* 'side-planks of a ship'.

Lat. *jūn-ī-x*, see above. *corn-ī-x* beside Gr. *κορών-η* 'crow', cp. also Umbr. *curn-ac-o* 'cornicem'.

O.Ir. *rīgain* 'queen': see above.

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In Germanic we have *-un-ī- -in-ī-* (Idg. *-u̯n-ī- -en-ī-*) and *-n-ī-*. *-un-ī-* is contained in Goth. *lauh-mun-i* 'flash', O.H.G. *wirtun* (beside *wirtin*) 'hostess', O.Icel. *apynja* from *ape* O.H.G. *affo* 'ape', and, without any masc. *n*-stem, *ās-ynja* 'goddess' (masc. *ās-s*) and other forms. *-in-ī-* appears in Goth. *Saúr-ini-* 'Syrian woman' (m. *Saúr*); it is frequent in West-Germanic, as O.H.G. *herzohin* from *herizogo* 'duke'; hence came new formations like *chuning-in* from *chuning* 'king', *esil-in* from *esil* 'ass'. *-n-ī-* in O.H.G. *birn* (*Hrod-birn* etc.) from masc. *bero* 'bear', Mod.H.G. *ricke* 'roe' (female) for **rik-nī* (I § 214 p. 181, § 530 p. 388) beside O.H.G. *rēh* n. 'roe' (male and female) pr. Germ. **rai̯χ-a-*.

The Slavonic feminines in *-ynji* no doubt belong originally to this class (*j* has come in from the other cases, as acc. *-ynją*): *bogynji* 'goddess' *blagynji* 'kindness'. They appear to have arisen through an analogical extension of the use of *-n-ī-* (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 200).

The original inflexion of these feminines was perhaps nom. sing. *-en-ī*, gen. sing. *-n-i̯es* and *-u̯-i̯ēs* loc. pl. *-n-ī-su*.

Differentiation of *r*-stems (§ 119 ff.). The original endings were doubtless nom. sing. *-er-ī*, gen. sing. *-r-i̯ēs*, loc. pl. *-r-ī-su*. Skr. *dā-tr-ī́* Gr. *δό-τειρα* for **δο-τερ-μα* Lat. *da-tr-ī-x*, beside Skr. *dā-tár-* Gr. *δο-τήρ δώ-τωρ* Lat. *da-tor* 'giver'. Skr. *jáni-tr-ī* Gr. *γενέ-τειρα* Lat. *gene-tr-ī-x* 'mother'. Skr. *bhar-tr-ī́* Avest. *bar^{e}ǰr-ī- ber^{e}ǰr-ī* 'supporter, mother'. Skr. *s-tr-ī́* Avest. *s-tr-ī-* 'wife, woman'. Skr. *nī-tr-ī́* 'she who guides', *dī́ṣ-ṭr-ī* 'she who shows', *cōdayi-tr-ī́* 'she who drives on'; *dhō-tár-ī* f. 'shaking'. Gr. *εὐνή-τειρα* and *εὐνή-τρ-ια* 'wife', *σώ-τειρα* 'saviour lady', *ψάλ-τρ-ια* 'guitar girl'; we also have *-ίς -ίδ-ος*, as *λῃστρ-ίς* 'female robber', *ἀλε-τρ-ίς* 'female miller', *αὐλη-τρ-ίς* (beside *αὐλή-τρ-ια*) 'flute-girl'. Lat. *obstē-tr-ī-x*, *mere-tr-ī-x*, *imperā-tr-ī-x*, cp. also the Osc. Fuu-tr-eí 'Creatrici, Genetrici'. It is still doubtful whether this Indo-Germanic formation in *-tr-ī-* can be directly connected with the West-Germanic feminines like A.S. *baecestre* 'baker-woman', O.Sax. *agastria* 'magpie' O.H.G. *wagastria* 'lance', Goth. *hvilf-tri* f. 'coffin' and Lithuanian feminines like *áuklė* 'children's attendant' (i. e. **áuk-klė*, from *áugu* 'I grow up')

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perē-klē 'brood-hen' (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 24 and J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 29). They can also be explained as extensions of stems with the suffix *-tro- -tlo-* (§ 62 p. 118 ff.).

Differentiation of *nt*-stems (§ 125 ff.). It is certain that the feminine participles of non-thematic tenses which end in a consonant had *-n̥t-* in all their cases, e. g. **s-n̥t-ī* f. 'being'; similarly the feminines of *-uent*-stems had *-un̥t-ī-*. On the other hand, we find *-nt-* throughout the paradigm in forms like Gr. *ἄεισα γνοῦσα* (from *ἄημι* 'I blow' *ἔγνων* 'I perceived') ground-forms **u̯ē-nt-ī *ǵnō-nt-ī* (for Skr. *vātī*, which seems to contradict this, see below). It is not clear how far there was any variation of ablaut in the elements immediately preceding the *-ī*-suffix in the *-o-nt-* participles; but it is certain that *-n̥t-* sometimes appeared even here.

Skr. *sat-ī́* Avest. *hait-ī-* Gr. Dor. *ἔασσα* Att. *οὖσα* O.C.Sl. *sąšti*, beside masc. Skr. *s-ánt-* etc. 'being', indic. 3. sing. Skr. *ás-ti* 'is'. Skr. *bŗhat-ī́* Avest. *berᵉzaitī-*, O.Ir. *Brigit* (O.Celt. *Brigantiae* dat. sing. with Latinised ending), from masc. Skr. *bŗh-ánt-* 'being great, exalted'. Skr. *vánt-ī* (*vāt-ī́* Avest. *vāitī-* is no doubt a re-formation following the analogy of *sat-ī́* : *sánt-am*; see V. Henry, Revue Crit., 1887, p. 100), Gr. *ἄεισα*, beside masc. Skr. *vā-nt-* Gr. *ἄημι ἄεντ-* 'blowing'. Skr. *tu-dá-nt-ī* and *tudat-ī́* beside *tudá-nt-* 'tundens', Gr. *ἰδοῦσα* beside *ἰδών ἰδό-ντ-* 'beholding'. Skr. *bhára-nt-ī* Avest. *bare-nt-ī* Gr. *φέρουσα* O.C.Sl. *berąšti*, beside *bhára-nt-* Gr. *φέρων φέρο-ντ-* O.C.Sl. *bery* 'ferens'. Goth. *hulund-i* 'cave' ('covering, hiding'), *frijōnd-i* 'female friend'; the participles which were in actual use as such had passed over to the *īn*-declension, as *bairandei* gen. *bairandeins*. Lith. *sukant-ì* gen. *sukanczìõs* from masc. *sukãs* 'turning'. O.C.Sl. *berąsti*, instead of **berąti*, where *š* has forced its way in from the other cases, as gen. *berąštę*; in these *-št-* came regularly from *-ti̯-* (I § 147 p. 132 f.).

-un̥t-ī. Skr. *ápa-vatī* from *ápa-vant-* 'rich in water', Gr. *ὀπό-εσσα* from *ὀπό-εις ὀπό-εντ-* 'rich in sap'; in Greek *-ϝετ-* appears

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for *ϝαι-*, see § 127. Skr. *sáras-vat-ī* 'rich in water' f. Avest. *haraxwaitī-* O.Pers. *harauvatī-*.

Differentiation of *s*-stems (§ 131 ff.).

-es-ī. Sk. *rṓdas-ī* from *rṓdas-* 'world', *šavas-ī* f. 'the strong one' from *šávas-* 'strength'. Gr. Att. *ἀναίδεια* 'shamelessness' *ἀλήθεια* 'truth' from *ἀν-αιδής ἀληθής*. Lat. *temper-iē-s* from *tempus*.

The original forms of the part. perf. act. were doubtless nom. sing. *-u̯es-ī* gen. sing. *-us-i̯ēs* loc. pl. *-us-i̯-su*. Skr. *vid-úṣ-ī* Avest. *vīd-uš-ī-* Gr. *ἰδ-υῖα*, beside masc. Skr. *vid-ván* Avest. *vīd-vå* Gr. *ἰδ-ώς* 'knowing'. Similarly Lith. *viĩk-us-i* O.C.Sl. *vlŭk-ŭši* 'having drawn'. A feminine of this kind is implied in Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' (those who have borne): on the model of the feminine (**-usi -usjōs*) was formed a masculine with *-ja-*. It is natural to infer a nom. sing. *-u̯es-ī* from the Gr. (Dor. Att.) by-forms in *-(ϝ)εια*, as *γεγον-εῖα*, *ἐρρηγ-εῖα*: *γεγονεῖα *γεγοννιᾶς* was levelled on the hand to *γεγονεῖα -είᾱς*, on the other to *γεγοννῖα γεγοννίᾱς* (cp. § 136 Rem. 2).

Similarly in primary comparative forms: *-i̯es-ī -i̯ō-i̯ēs -i̯s-ī-su*. Skr. *jyā́-yas-ī* from *jyā́-yān* 'mightier'. Avest. *frā-yah-ī-* from *frā-yå* 'more'; an isolated *-iṣī* is perhaps contained in Skr. *máhiṣī mahiṣí* beside *máh-īyas-ī*; see J Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 386. Goth. *jūh-iz-ei* 'younger' (cp. *baírandei* p. 337). O.C.Sl. *boljĭši* beside neut. *bolje* 'greater': nom. *boljĭši* gen. *boljĭšę* instead of **bolješi *bolišę* (cp. § 135 Rem. 1).

Differentiation of *o*-stems (§ 59 ff.). *-ī-* was in use as well as *-ā-* in proethnic Indo-Germanic. Skr. *vṛ́k-ī* O.Icel. *ylg-r* O.H.G. *wulpa* 'she-wolf' (pr. Germ. **u̯ul-ō-ī *u̯ulz(u̯)i̯ōs*, I § 444 p. 329), beside Skr. *vṛ́ka-s* Goth. *vulf-s* 'wolf'; cp. also A.S. *wylf* f. beside *wulf*. Skr. *dēv-ī* 'goddess' Avest. *daēv-ī-* 'witch' Gr. *δῖα* 'divine lady' for **δι̯F-ι̯α* Lith. *deiv-ė̃* 'ghost' *dėv-ė̃* 'goddess', beside Skr. *dēv-á-s* Lith. *dẽv-a-s* 'god'. Skr. *pīvar-ī* Gr. *πῖαρα*, beside *pī-varā́-s* Gr. *πῑερό-ς* 'fat' (cp. § 74 p. 182, § 76 Rem. 1 p. 201). Skr. *dūt-ī* 'female messenger' from *dūtá-s* 'messenger', *yam-ī* from *yamá-s* 'akin'. Gr. *ἑταίρᾱ* 'female companion' instead of **ἕταρα*, beside *ἑταρο-ς* 'companion' (Wheeler,

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Nominal acc. 59). Goth. *þir-i*, gen. *þiu-jōs*, 'female servant', beside *þiu-s*, gen. *þivis*, 'servant', O.Icel. *mer-r* 'mare' beside *mar-r* 'horse'.

Sporadic examples. Sanskrit. *nap-tī* 'female descendant' O.H.G. *nift* (Goth. **nift-i*) 'neptis, privigna', beside Skr. *nápāt-* 'offspring'. Skr. *-ghn-ī* beside *-han-* 'killing'. Greek. *μυῖα* for **μυσ-ι̯α* Lith. *mus-ē* 'fly', beside Lat. *mus-ca*. *θῆσσα* 'female labourer' for **θῆτ-ι̯α*, beside masc. *θής*, gen. *θη-τ-ός*. *πέζ̣α* (for **πεδ-ι̯α*) 'foot, lowest part', beside *πούς* 'foot' (cp. § 160, 1). *πίσσα* Att. *πίττα* 'pitch' (for **πικ-ι̯α*), beside Lat. *pix*. *κίσσα* Att. *κίττα* 'jay' (for **κικ-ι̯α*), beside Skr. *kiki-ś* 'jay'. *φάσσα* (for **φακ-ι̯α*), 'wild pigeon', beside *φάψ* (gen. *φαβ-ός*) the same, cp. I § 486 Rem. p. 359, § 495 Rem. 364. *μία*, gen. *μιᾶς*, 'una' for **σμι-ī-*, beside *ἑν-* (nom. *ἓν-ς sĭ̄ς*) 'unus' for **sem-* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 1). Latin. *pauper-iē-s* beside *pauper*, like *barbar-iē-s* beside *barbaru-s*. O.Ir. *s-ī* 'ea' Goth. *s-i* 'ea': cp. Skr. *s-yá*. *sētig* 'female companion, wife' for **sentic-ī*. Gothic. *vas-t-i* 'garment', *hvōf-t-uli* 'fame'; A.S. *hunticze* 'huntress' beside *hunta* 'hunter' and the like, see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 22. Lithuanian. *žẽm-ė* O.C.Sl. *zem(l)-ja* 'earth', beside Skr. *kṣ́ám-jm-* Av. *z*^{e}*m-* Gr. *χθών* (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 2). Lith. *szĕ̀* O.C.Sl. *si* 'haec' beside *sžĕ̀-s sĭ* 'hic' (gen. *sziõ*, *sego* instead of **šego*). Lith. *patì*, gen. *paczių̃s*, 'lady, ipsa', beside masc. *patì-s (pàts)* gen. *patẽs*. Lith. *martì*, gen. *marczių̃s* 'bride'. O.C.Sl. *ladiji (aldiji)* 'ship', and with masculine gender (which is not original) *baliji* 'physician' *sądiji* 'judge' (cp. the Slavonic masculines in *-a*, § 59 p. 109); *-i̯ī-* like *-i̯i-* (Lith. *mō-ji-s*) p. 122 footnote 2 and *-i̯in-* § 115 (under Aryan).

§ 111. Of the words in which *-ī-* appears to be a primary suffix, none show it in more than one language simultaneously. Examples are: Skr. *śám-ī* 'work'. *śác-ī* 'strength'.

Gr. *φύζα* 'flight' for **φυγ-ι̯α*. *σχίζα* 'wood split small, billet' for **σχιδ-ι̯α*.

Lat. *ac-iēs*. *scab-iē-s*. *spec-iē-s*. *prō-geniēs*. *dī-luviē-s*.

Lith. *žĩnė* 'knowledge'. *srov-ẽ* 'stream'. *rẽk-ẽ* 'slice of bread'. *dùb-ẽ* 'hollow, pit'.

Many examples are doubtful, as Gr. *ὄσσα* 'rumour, prophecy'

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(beside ὄψ 'voice, speech'), μοῖρα 'appropriate share, fate' (beside μόρο-ς 'lot, fate'), Goth. *bandi* 'bond, chain' (beside O.H.G. O.Sax. *band* n. 'bond').

V. Suffixes in -*n*[1]).

§ 112. The parent language had four suffixes ending in a nasal: *-en-*, *-i̯en-*, *-u̯en-*, *-men-*[2]). They have a good deal in common with *-o-*, *-i̯o-* *-i-* *-ī-*, *-u̯o-* *-u-*, *-mo-*, and it is not improbable that the forms *-i̯ĕn-*, *-u̯en-* and *-men-*—were formed in the proethnic period merely by the addition of *-(e)n-* to such older suffixes.

This process of extension can be seen at work in the separate languages as well; and we must there regard it as a continuation, or renewal, of a tendency which first appeared in proethnic times. Compare, for instance, the developement of the *n*-declension in Germanic.

The oldest point of contact between the four *n*-suffixes and the corresponding *o*-suffixes is found in the representation of *n*-stems by *o*-stems in compound words, which began in the proethnic period; e. g. Gr. *αἱμο-βαφής* and *ἄν-αιμο-ς* beside *αἷ-μα* (*ἀν-αίμων*); further examples are given in § 12 p. 26 f. This shews that there were even then many parallel stems in *-n-* and *-o-* with no difference of meaning; for some reason or other the *o*-form of these words was preferred in composition, and by degrees this established a general rule for compounds

1) H. Ebel, Suffix *-ion* and *-tion* [in Old Italic]. Kuhn's Ztschr. V p. 420 f. R. Fisch, Substantiva personalia auf *ō*, *ōnis* [in Latin], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. und Gramm. V 56 ff. W. Meyer, Das lat. Suffix *ō*, *onis*, ibid. 223 ff. H. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjectivums (Forschungen im Gebiete der idg. nominalen Stammbildung II) 1876. Idem, Zur Frage des Ursprungs der german. *n*-Declination, Paul-Braune's Beitr. III 1 ff. The Author, Die schwache Form der Nominalstämme auf *-n* in suffixalen Weiterbildungen und Zusammensetzungen. Morph. Unt. II 148 ff.

2) One form with *m* is quite unique: **ǧhi̯em-* **ǧhi̯em-* (Avest. *zyå* Lat. *hiem-s*), which, having due regard to Skr. *hémaṇ* Gr. *χεῖ-μα*, we ought apparently to divide **ǧhi̯-em-* **ǧhi̯-em-*. I have attempted to explain this rare word in § 160, 2.

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of -n-stems. Another principle of formation, exemplified in most of the languages in forms like Skr. *aśm-ī́ya-s* beside *áś-man-*, Gr. *χειμ-ίη* beside *χεῖ-μα χει-μών*, seems to have arisen in the proethnic period. Further in almost all the languages, in some of them very frequently, we find parallel forms in *-n-* and *-o-* each of which is completely declined, some of them indeed having a slight difference of meaning (to this point we shall return later on); e. g. Skr. *vák-van-* and *vák-va-* 'turning, rolling' (intr.), *dhár-man-* and *dhár-ma-* 'law, ordinance', Gr. *στραβ-ων* 'squinter' and *στραβ-ό-ς* 'squinting', *οὐραν-ίων* 'heavenly being' and *οὐράν-ιο-ς* 'heavenly', *ἐθελή-μων* and *ἐθελη-μό-ς* 'willing', Lat. *in-cub-ō* and *in-cub-u-s*, *lan-iō* and *lan-iu-s*, *alluvi-ō* and *alluv-iu-m*, Goth. *sa ráuda* 'the red one' and *ráuþ-s* 'red', *in-gard-ja* 'member of a household' and *in-gard-ja-* 'in a house' (adj.), O.Fris. *ēth-ma* beside O.S. *āthom* 'breath', O.C.Sl. *ra-mę* beside *ra-mo* 'shoulder'. And it often happens that the two forms do not appear in the same branches of the Indo-Germanic family; e. g. Goth. *ga-juk-a* 'companion' beside Lat. *con-jug-u-s*, Skr. *áy-un-* 'life, time of life' Gr. *αἰ-(ϝ)ών* 'space of time, eternity' and Lat. *ae-vo-m*, Gr. *πνθ-μήν* 'ground, earth' and O.H.G. *bodam* 'ground'.

In Aryan, single cases of the *-o- -ā- -i- -u- -ī-* and *-r-* stems were transferred into the inflexion of the *n*-declension; e. g. Skr. nom. acc. neut. *yugâni* (from sing. *yugá-m* 'yoke', on the analogy of *námān-i*), gen. pl. Skr. *dēvánām* Avest. *daęvanąm* (Skr. *dēvá-s* 'god'). See J. Hanusz, Über das allmähliche Umsichgreifen der *n*-Declination im Altindischen (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss. CX.), 1885. Similarly in West Germanic we have O.H.G. gen. pl. *gebōno* (from nom. sing. *geba* f. 'gift').

The words formed with these suffixes are generally masculine or neuter, as Skr. *tákṣ-an-* m. 'carpenter' *yak-án-* n. liver'.

A large group of feminines appears in Italic, Keltic, and Germanic consisting of abstract substantives formed with *-i̯en-* (*-i̯ōn-*); as Lat. *cap-iō men-tiō*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour', Goth. *ga-run-jō* 'flood of water' *ra-þjō* 'ratio'. It may be assumed that these *n*-stems, which represent a comparatively modern stratum of

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formation, owe their feminine gender to their character of abstract nouns. And all the other feminine *n*-stems which appear in Germanic, are as such undoubtedly modern; they are due to a connexion which grew up between the Indo-Germanic suffixes *-ōn- -i̯ōn- -īn-* and the Germanic feminine forms in *-ō- -i̯ō-* (= Idg. *-ā- -i̯ā-*) and *-ī-*, through the analogy of the relation between Germ. *-an- -i̯an-* on the one hand and Germ. *-a-* on the other. In many words, where the languages vary between masculine and feminine, the masculine is clearly the older; this is true of Skr. *sī-mán-* 'boundary' (cp. § 117), Gr. *κίων* 'pillar', Lat. *margō*. In Skr. *yóṣan-* f. 'virgin' (beside *yóṣā yóṣaṇā*) the gender was determined by the sex. In Skr. *vŕṣaṇą trácam* acc. 'streaming, raining cloud', Gr. *ἀρηγὼν θεά* 'adiutrix dea' *τρήρων πέλεια* 'timid dove', as in the case of Skr. *tanū-ṣ* Gr. *ἡδύ-ς*, we see the masculine form used unaltered in connexion with feminine words (§ 110 p. 335). And in other examples there are similar reasons for regarding the feminine gender as a modern developement so that we may fairly assume that nouns formed with *n*-suffixes were originally only masculine and neuter. For the feminine there was the special form with *-ī-*, as Skr. *takṣ-n-í* Gr. *τέκτ-αινα*, § 110 p. 335.

§ 113. From the earliest times the *n*-suffixes show a very complex variation of Ablaut. What are called the strong cases had *-en- -on- -ēn- -ōn-*, *-i̯en- -i̯on- -i̯ēn- -i̯ōn-* (*-ii̯en- -ii̯on-* etc.) and so forth; the weak cases *-n- -ṇ-*, *-in-* (*-īn-*) *-i̯ṇ-* (*-ii̯ṇ-*), *-un-* (*-ūn-*) *-u̯ṇ-* (*-uu̯ṇ-*), *-mn- -mṇ-*.

In the weak cases, the form of the suffix ending in a consonant preceded the case-endings beginning with a sonant, e. g. Skr. gen. sing. *tákṣ-n-as* 'of the carpenter' *nā́-mn-as* 'of the name'; and conversely the form ending in a sonant preceded the case-endings beginning with a consonant, e. g. loc. pl. *táks-a-su nā́-ma-su* (*-a- -ma-* for *-ṇ- -mṇ-*). Originally also the weak form of the suffix was regular in all extensions of the stem, e. g. *takṣ-n-í* fem. of *tákṣan-* (§ 110 p. 335), *yuva-śá-s* 'youthful' from *yúv-an-* 'young' (§ 83 p. 251), *śrṓ-ma-ta-m* 'hearing' beside Avest. *srao-man-* 'hearing' (§ 82 p. 249). This deserves especial

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notice, because in several languages the weak forms of the suffix were banished from the actual declension by levelling and other kinds of re-formation, so that it is only in derivatives that we have any evidence to shew that such forms ever existed in the paradigm. Thus we have e. g. Gr. *γειτ-ν-ίᾱ* 'neighbourhood' beside *γείτ-ων -ον-ος*, *πί-(ϝ)αίνω* 'I make fat' for **-u̯n̥-i̯ō-* beside *πί-(ϝ)ων -(ϝ)ον-ος*, *ποί-μν-η ποί-μν-ιο-ν* 'herd' *ποι-μαίνω* 'I pasture' beside *ποι-μήν -μέν-ος*, Lat. *jū-n-ī-x* beside *juv-en-* (*juv-en-is juv-en-um* etc.), *colu-mn-a* beside *colu-men -min-is*, O.H.G. *-birn* 'she-bear' beside *ber-o -in* 'bear', *hliu-mun-t* 'call' beside Goth. *hliu-ma -min-s* 'hearing', Lith. *él-n-i-s* 'stag, elk' beside O.C.Sl. *jelen-* (gen. sing. *jelen-e*) 'stag'.

It is more difficult to determine how the strong forms of the suffix were originally distributed. The following points may be regarded as certain.

1. The nom. sing. masc. (fem.) ended sometimes in *-ō(n)*, and sometimes in *-ē(n)*, cp. Armen. *šun* Gr. *κύ-ων πί-(ϝ)ων ἄκ-μων*, Lat. *ed-ō men-tiō ter-mō* O.Ir. *cū er-mi-tiu brithe-m* Gall. *casa-mo*, O.H.G. *ezz-o skī-mo*, Lith. *szů* for **szu̯ů ak-mů* O.C.Sl. *ka-my* and Gr. *αὐχ-ήν ποι-μήν*, Lat. *li-en*, O.Icel. *ox-e ux-e* (Skr. *ukṣ-ā́*) *skī-me*.

2. The nom. acc. neut. had *-ō(n)* and *-ē(n)* beside *-n̥ -n̥̄*, cp. Goth. *vat-ō na-mō haírt-ōn-a*, Lith. *vand-ů* (originally neut.) and O.C.Sl. *i-mę* (cp. Avest. *nā-mąn* Skr. *nā́-mān-i*).

3. A certain number of masculine stems had in the acc. sing. and nom. du. pl. *-en-*, cp. Gr. *αὐχ-έν-α ποι-μέν-α*, Lith. *pẽ-men-į* O.C.Sl. *ka-men-ĭ* (compare the exceptional forms *ukš-áṇ-am arya-máṇ-am* in Sanskrit.

4. There were locatives singular in *-en -en-i*, cp. Gr. *αὐχ-έν-ι αἰ-(ϝ)έν ποι-μέν-ι δό-μεν*, Goth. *aúhs-in* (cp. Skr. *ukṣ-áṇ-i nā́-man-i*).

Further the following assumptions seem to me probable.

1. A certain proportion of the masculine stems had *-on-* in acc. sing. and nom. du. pl., cp. Gr. *τέκτ-ον-α πί-(ϝ)ον-α ἄκ-μον-α*, Gall. *Ling-ŏn-es* (nom. pl.), Goth. *ah-an ah-man*, Skr. *tákṣ-āṇ-am áś-mān-am*. The variation between *e* and *o* in these

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cases, like that between *ē* and *ō* in the nom. sing., depended upon the different position of the accent in the word; we have e. g. nom. pl. *-én-es* and *-on-es* like nom. sing. *-ḗ(n)* and *-ō(n)*, cp. Gr. *φρέν-ες φρήν* as contrasted with *ἄ-φρ-ον-ες ἄ-φρ-ων*. Cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.

2. The loc. sing. always ended in *-en* or *-en-i*, even where the strong cases had *-on-*. Notice especially the Goth. loc. *ah-in ah-min* contrasted with acc. *ah-an ah-man*, as Skr. *rájan-i* : *rāj-ān-am*. Compare also Gr. *αἰ(ϝ)έν αἰ(ϝ)ών*.

In certain instances, the *ō* (and *ē*?), which appear in the European languages in other cases than the nom. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. sing. and pl. neut., had perhaps encroached upon the province of the other forms of ablaut before the end of the proethnic period (should we regard this as a dialectic variation in the parent language?); cp. e. g. acc. sing. Gr. *οὐρᾰν-ίον-α*, Lat. *libell-iōn-em rat-iōn-em*, Goth. *ga-run-jōn ra-þjōn*, O.C.Sl. nom. pl. *graždan-e* for **gord-jān-e(s)*. Yet this form of the stem cannot have spread through the whole case-system, as we see from such forms as Umbr. abl. *tribris-in-e* na-tin-e, O.Ir. dat. *er-mit-in*.

We should compare with this the ablaut of the *-er-* and *-ter*-stems, which is on the whole parallel; see § 120.

Remark. For different views as to the strong forms see Collitz, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 1 ff., and the authorities there cited. It is perhaps not superfluous to insist here that even if Collitz should be right in supposing the existence of Indo-Germanic locatives in *-on(-i)* (cp. Gr. *ἄξον*), this would not be an argument against the hypothesis that in open syllables Idg. *o* became *ā* in Aryan. For the *n*-stems had originally locatives without *i*, and e. g. Skr. loc. *kar-man* can be derived as regularly from original **-mon* as from original **-men*.

§ 114. The Suffix *-en-*. This was used from the earliest period to form primary *nomina agentis*, as Skr. *tákṣ-an-* Gr. *τέκτ-ων* 'carpenter, worker in wood, architect'. The root-syllable is usually in the weak grade, but the accent varies between the suffix and the root; cp. Skr. *ukṣ-án-* beside *vṛṣ-an-*, Gr. *-ϝρ-ήν* (*πολύ-ρρην*) gen. *ἀρ-ν-ός* and *φαγ-ών* 'jawbone' beside *ἴρσ-ην* and *στράβ-ων*, Germ. **tuz-én-* beside **túχ-en-* (O.H.G.

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heri-zogo and *heri-zoho*), **rŭb-én-* (O.Icel. *eið-rofe*) beside **rís--en-* (O.H.G. *hetti-riso*). Cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 544. The *-en*-stems were substantives when there were adjectives in *-o-* parallel to them, and hence in some groups of languages, particularly in Germanic, this suffix acquired the function of forming substantives from any given adjective: it had the effect of specialising the idea conveyed by the adjective, by applying it to some one person or thing that possessed the particular quality in an exceptional degree. Hence it is often found in personal names, whether they were formed from a noun consisting of a single stem, or obtained by abbreviation from a compound consisting of two stems (cp. § 18 p. 34 and Osthoff, Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstammbildung, II 50 f.). Thus Gr. *στραβ-ό-ς* 'squinting': *στραβ-ων* 'squinter', *Στράβ-ων* proper name, Lat. *multi-bib-u-s*: *bibō*, *rūf--u-s*: *Rūf-ō*, Goth. *rāuþ-s* 'red': *ráud-a* 'the red one', Lith. *rùd-a-s* 'reddish brown': *rud-ů̃* m. 'autumn'. Thus *-en-* came to be used as a secondary suffix, as Avest. *mar*-t-an-* 'mortal' (subst.) beside *mar*-ta-* 'mortal', Gr. *τρή-ρ-ων πέλεια* beside *τρη-ρό-ς* 'timorous, shy', Lat. *Ca-t-ō* beside *ca-tu-s*. Cp. further Lat. *hom-ō* Goth. *gum-a* O.Lith. *žm-ů̃* 'human being, man', properly 'the earthly one', beside Skr. *kšám- jm-* Avest. *z*m-* Gr. *χθών* Lat. *hum-u-s*, Gr. *γάστρ-ων* 'glutton' from *γαστήρ* 'belly', Lat. *cachinn-ō* from *cachinnu-s*, *capit-ō Capit-ō* from *caput*. Goth. *vaúrstv-a* 'worker' from *vaúrstv* 'work'.

Almost all the neuter forms containing *-en-* denoted some part of the body (cp. § 57 p. 105). In some of them, as we shall see *-en-* was a secondary suffix.

Indo-Germanic. Masculine. Skr. *tákṣ-an- (-aṇ-am)* Gr. *τέκτ-ων (ον-ος)*, beside Skr. *tákṣ-a-ti* 'does carpenter's work'. Skr. *ukṣ-án- (-aṇ-am)* Mod.Cymr. *ych* (pl. *ychen*), Goth. *aúhs-a* 'ox', orig. 'the impregnator', beside Skr. *ukṣ-á-ti* 'emanat, emicat'. Avest. *arš-an- (-ān-em)* 'male, man', Skr. *ŕṣa-bhá-s* 'bull', for **ŕs-ṇ-bho-s*. Armen. gen. *arn* 'of the man' (nom. *air*), Gr. *ἄρσ-ην ἄρρ-ην* Ion *ἔρσ-ην (-εν-ος)* 'male', orig. 'making fruitful', beside Skr. *árṣ-a-ti* 'flows, streams'; cp. Skr. *vŕṣ-an (-aṇ-am)* 'man, bull', beside *varš-a-ti*

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makes to stream, rains'. **ḳu̯-en- *ḳuu̯-en- (*ḳu-n- *ḳu-u̯- *ḳuu̯-u̯-)* 'dog' (according to Benfey 'that which produces young often and in great numbers' compared with Gr. *κύ-ος* 'fetus' Skr. *śi-śu-ś* 'young creature'): Skr. *śv-án- śuv-án-* (acc. sing. *śv-án-am* gen. sing. *śú-n-as* loc. pl. *śv-á-su*), Armen. *šun* gen. *šan* (I § 405 p. 301), Gr. *κύ-ων* (voc. *κῦ-ον* gen. *κυ-ν-ός*), O.Ir. *cū* (gen. *con*), Lith. *szů̃* (gen. *szu-ñ-s*). Avest. *spas-an-* 'watchman' O.H.G. *speho* 'spy', √*spek-*. Lat. *ed-ō (-ōn-is)*, O.H.G. *ezz-o* 'devourer', √*ed-*. Lat. *as-sedō cōn-sedō (-ōn-is)*, O.H.G. *ana-sezzo* 'assessor' O.Icel. *drōtt-sete* 'lord high steward', √*sed-*.

Denominatives. *hom-ō (-ōn-is -in-is)* Goth. *gum-a* O.Lith. *žm-ů̃* [1]) 'human being, man', see above. Gr. *ζυγ-ων-εῦ* (= Att. **ζυγ-ων-ες*). *βόες ἐργάται. Λάκωνες* Hesych., Goth. *ga-juka* 'comparison', beside *ζυγό-ν juk* 'yoke'.

In some Indo-Germanic words in which *-en-* is primary there is no trace of any original use as *nomen agentis*. **i̯uu̯-en- *i̯ū-n- *i̯uu̯-u̯-* 'young, young man': Skr. *yúv-an-* (acc. sing. *yúv-ān-am* gen. sing. *yú-n-as* loc. pl. *yúv-a-su*), Lat. *juv-en- (-en-is)*, cp. also the form **i̯uu̯-u̯-ḱó-s* which is more widely used, § 83 p. 251; the word is no doubt connected with Lith. *jaũ* O.C.Sl. *ju* 'already' see § 66 ad fin. p. 149 [2]). Skr. *áś-an-* 'stone, sling-stone', Gr. *ἄκ-ων* (*-οντ-ος*, by a change of declension, see p. 350) 'javelin', cp. also Gr. *ἀκ-όν-η* 'whetstone' and *ἄκ-αινα* 'point, thorn'. Skr. *mūrdh-án-* m. A.S. *mold-a* m. 'head' (ground-form **mḷdh-en- *mḷdh-en-*, cp. also I § 306 p. 243). Skr. *plīh-án- plīh-an- plīh-an-* Lat. *li-en (-ēnis)* 'spleen' are among the neuter words which denote parts of the body.

Neuter. Skr. *ud-án-*, Goth. *vat-ō*, Lith. *vand-ů̃* and *und-ů̃* (which have become masc.), Gr. *ὕδ-α-τ-ο-* with *α* = *u̯* (nom. *ὕδ-ωρ*), 'water'. Skr. *údh-an-* (nom. *údh-ar*) Gr. *οὖθ-α-τ-ο-* (nom. *οὖθ-αρ*) 'udder'. Skr. *yak-án-* Gr. *ἦπ-α-τ-ο-* (nom. *ἧπ-αρ*) Lat. *jec-in-* (in

1) *žm-uni̯à* 'wife' and *žm-ónės* 'human beings' are not parallel to this but contain the suffix of the Latin *hūm-ānus-s* (cp. § 160).

2) I see little probability in Danielsson's assumption (Gramm. and etymol. Stud. I 49) that the word is merely an ablaut-variant of Gr. *αἰ(ϝ)ών* Skr. *áyan-*.

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jecin-or-is etc., the *-or-* having forced its way in from the nom. *jec-ur*, cp. also I § 431 *c*. p. 321) Lith. *jekn-os* f. pl. 'liver'. *-en-* was secondary in the word for head: Skr. *śīrś-an-* n. Gr. *κάρᾱ* n. for **καρᾱσ-α* (*-α* = *-n̥*), *ἀμφί-κρᾱνο-ς* 'two-headed' for **κρᾱσ-ν-ο-*, *κάρᾱνο-ν* 'head' for **καρᾱσ-ν-ο-ν* (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 173 f. 227 ff., Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 69, Danielsson, Gramm. und etymolog. Stud. I, 1888, p. 40 ff.) Lat. *cernuo-s* for **cers-n-uo-s*, O.Icel. *hjars-e* m. 'head'; the words contain a neuter stem **k̑er-es-* (**k̑r̥r-es-* **k̑r-es-*), cp. Skr. *śíras-* Av. *sar-ah-* 'head' Lat. *cerebru-m* for **ceres-ro-* (I § 570 p. 428) and below § 134. In like manner, Gr. *οὔατο-* n. for **ou̯s-u̯-to-* Goth. *áus-ō* n. 'ear' no doubt implies a neuter *-es*-stem, which appears in Greek in the nom. *οὖς* Dor. *ὦς*, if this represents **ou̯-os* and not **ou̯s-os* (O.C.Sl. *uch-o*) (J. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 141, Solmsen ibid. 92). Skr. *akš-án-* Armen. *ak-n* Goth. *áug-ō* (cp. I § 444 Rem. 3, p. 331) 'eye', O.C.Sl. *ok-n-o* n. 'window' [1]). For the use of *-i*-stems to supplement these neuters in *-en-* as Skr. *áskṣ-i* gen. *akṣ-ṇ-ás*, see § 93 p. 279. For the nominatives in *r*, like Skr. *ā́dh-ar*, see § 118.

If the Greek infinitives in *-ειν-* (Dor. Lesb. *ην*), like *φέρειν* 'to bear, are to be derived from **-εσεν* (which is more in accordance with known phonetic laws than to assume they came from **-ε-ϝεν*), we may infer an Indo-Germanic inf. in **-s-en* **-s-en-i*, which was loc. sing. Compare the Skr. inf. in *-s-an-i*, as *nē-ṣ-áṇ-i* from *nī-* 'lead', *gr̥-ṇī-ṣ-áṇ-i* beside *gar-* (pres. *gr̥-ṇā́-mi*) 'praise'.

Aryan. Masculines (and the few Feminines that occur) are rare in Aryan as compared with the classical languages. Celtic and Germanic. Skr. *tákṣ-an-* 'carpenter' Avest. *taš-an-*

1) The *ṣ* of Skr. *akṣán-* presents certain difficulties. It has been assumed that this is also an extension of an *-es*-stem (cp. O.C.Sl. *oko* gen. *očes-e*); but this theory is not supported by Avest. *aši-* = Skr. *akṣi-* (cp. I § 401 with Rem. 1 p. 296 f., § 556, 1 p. 411: it must be admitted however that *š* is sometimes written for *-xš*, see Bartholomae, Handbuch § 100 Rem. 2 p. 43) nor by Gr. Boeot. *ὀκταλλο-ς* 'eye' (cp. I § 554 p. 408). Compare also I § 427 Rem. 2 p. 314.

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'sculptor', see above p. 345. Skr. *ukṣ-an-* Avest. *uxš-an-* 'ox', see above p. 345. Skr. *śv-án-* Avest. *sp-an-* 'dog' see above p. 346. Skr. *yúv-an-* Avest. *yv-an-* (read *yuvan-*, Bartholomae's Hdb. § 91 *a* p. 40) 'young, young man'; see above, p. 346. Skr. *áś-an-* Avest. *as-an-* 'stone'; see above, p. 346. Skr. *rāj-an-* 'king' beside *rāj-án-* 'government': cp. O.Ir. *rīgain* § 110 p. 335; cp. also Lat. *rēgnu-m* § 65 Rem. p. 139. Skr. *mūrdh-án-* *(-án-am)* 'head': A.S. *mold-a*, see above p. 346. Skr. *vi-bhv-án-* *vi-bhv-an-* 'excellent' beside *vi-bhū-* and *vi-bhv-a-*, words of similar meaning. Avest. *arš-an-* 'male, man' O.Pers. *xšayāršan-* 'Xerxes' (for *xšaya-* 'ruler' + *aršan-*); see above, p. 345.

In Avestic there are a few examples of *-en-* in secondary use: *marᵉt-an-* beside *marᵉ-ta-* 'mortalis'. *puθr-an-* 'father of a family' beside *pu-θra-* 'son'. *vīs-an-* 'member of a clan' beside *vīs-* 'clan'. *hazaŋh-an-* 'robber' beside *hazah-* 'deed of violence'. Forms like these originally existed in Sanskrit[1]), but they were driven out by the forms in *-in-*, see § 115.

Remark 1. In Sanskrit, the nom. sing. in *-ā* sometimes led to a transference to the *ā*-declension; e. g. *plīh-ā-* f. beside *plīh-an-*. Cp. *-mā* § 117 Rem. 2, *-tā* § 122 Rem. 1, and Gr.Ion. *κάρη*, which in the oldest period was neuter (see p. 347 above), but appears later as feminine (gen. *κάρης* etc.).

Neuters. Skr. *ud-án-* *údh-an-* and other words; see above, p. 346. Skr. *mah-án-* 'size': compare no doubt Gr. *μέγ-α* 'magnum', which must be a substantive used adjectivally (*μέγας* *μέγαν* are later forms). *dadh-án-* 'sour milk' (nom. *dádhi*): cp. Pruss. *dadan* 'milk' (an *a*-stem?). *asth-án-* 'bone' *(ásthi)*, *sakth-án-* 'thigh' *(sákthi)*, *ās-án-* 'mouth', *dōṣ-án-* 'fore-arm', *cákṣan-* 'eye' (cp. *akṣ-án-*). *áh-an-* 'day' (nom. *áhar*), *gámbh-an-* 'depth'. Avest. *ay-an-* 'day' (beside *ay-arᵉ*), *nāŋh-an-* 'nose'.

For the Sanskrit infinitives in *-s-an-i*, see p. 347 above.

Armenian. *aṙn* 'of the man' (Avest. *arš-nō*), see p. 345 above. *šun*, gen. *šan*, 'dog', see p. 346 above. *akn*, gen. *akan*,

1) The assumption of a nom. sing. *krāṇā* in Vedic (stem *krāṇ-an-*), from *krāṇá-* 'working, active', is based upon a wrong view of the particular passages where the word occurs.

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'eye', see p. 347 above. *garn*, gen. *garin*, 'Lamb' for **ĝr-en-*: Skr. *ûr-aṇ-a-s* 'ram' (transferred to the *o*-declension), Gr. *-ϝρ-ην* in *πολύ-ρρην* 'rich in sheep' nom. *ἀρήν* gen. *ἀρ-ν-ός* etc. 'ram' (I § 290 p. 232, § 291 p. 233). *eln*, gen. *elin*, 'stag': O.C.Sl. *jel-en-* (gen. *jelen-e*) 'stag'; it is also found in the extended forms Gr. *ἔλ-α-φο-ς* 'stag' *ἐλλό-ς* 'young stag' for **ἔλ-ν-ο-ς* (I § 204 p. 170 f., II § 78 p. 216), Mod.Cymr. *elain* 'hind', Lith. *él-n-i-s*, gen. *élnio*, 'stag, elk'.

Greek. The masculine (rarely feminine) *-en*-stems are numerous. Through the generalisation of certain forms of the suffix five types of inflexion arose: *ἀρ-ν-* 'ram' (acc. *ἄρ-ν-α* gen. *ἀρ-ν-ός*) [1]); *ἀδ-ήν-* 'gland' *ἄρσ-εν-* 'male' (*ἀδ-ήν-α -ήν-ος*, *ἄρσ-εν-α -εν-ος*); *ἀηδ-όν-* 'nightingale' *τέκτ-ον-* 'carpenter' (*ἀηδ-όν-α -όν-ος*, *τέκτ-ον-α -ον-ος*); *πευθ-ῆν-* 'inquirer' (*πευθ-ῆν-α -ῆν-ος*); *ἀγ-ῶν-* 'struggle' *κλύδ-ων-* 'wave' (*ἀγ-ῶν-α -ῶν-ος*, *κλύδ-ων-α -ων-ος*). No difference of function however was attached to these different forms of the suffix.

Nomina agentis. *τέκτ-ων*, *ἄρσ-ην*, *κύ-ων*, see above p. 345 f. *ἀρηγ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'helping, helper'. *ψυθ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'liar, slanderer'. *φαγ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'jawbone' (*φαγ-εῖν* 'to eat'). *τρυγ-ών* (*-όν-*) f. 'turtle-dove' (*τρύζειν* 'to coo'). *κραγγ-ών* (*-όν-*) f. 'jay' (*κράζω* 'I cry'). *αἴθ-ων* (*-ον-* and *-ων-*) 'burning'. *στραβ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'squinter'. *γνίφ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'niggard'. *σκίπ-ων* or *σκίμπ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'staff' (*σκίμπ-τω* 'I support'). *κραυγ-ών* (*-ῶν-*) 'cryer, wood-pecker'. *πευθ-ήν* (*-ῆν-*) 'inquirer'. Often it is used as a denominative suffix, denoting one who stands in some special relation to what is denoted by the original word. *τρήρων* (*-ων-*) epithet of the dove, 'little trembler' beside *τρη-ρό-ς* 'timorous'. *πόρδ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'pēditor', beside *πορδή* 'pēditum'. *κίβδ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'workman who purifies metals from the dross', beside *κίβδη* 'dross'. *δρόμ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'runner', term applied to a light kind of ship and a kind of lobster, beside *δρόμο-ς* 'course'. *γάστρ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'glutton', beside *γαστήρ* 'paunch'. *γνάθ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'thick-cheek, puff-cheek', beside

1) The nom. *ἀρήν* occurs in an Att. inscr. earlier than 450 B. C., C.I.A. I 4, 22.

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γνάθ-ος 'cheek'. *φύσκ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'fat-paunch, pot-belly', beside *φύσκη* 'stomach, great-gut'. We should add a number of personal names, such as *Στράβ-ων* (*στράβων, στραβό-ς*), *Χρέμ-ων* (cp. O.H.G. *Grimmo*), *Ἀγάθ-ων* (*ἀγαθό-ς*), *Φίλ-ων* (*φίλο-ς*), *Δρόμ-ων* (*δρόμων, δρόμο-ς*), *Λύκ-ων* (cp. O.H.G. *Wolfo*).

Other *-en-*stems are more isolated, and it is not clear how they are to be connected with the different uses of the suffix which we can trace in the parent language. Acc. *πύκ-ν-α* gen. *πυκ-ν-ός* (nom. *πνύξ* is a new formation) a place of public assembly in Athens (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 169). *τέρ-ην* (*-εν-*) 'tender'. *αὐχ-ήν* (*-ένος*) 'neck'. *εἰκ-ών* (*-όν-*) 'image'. *σταγ-ών* (*-όν-*) f. 'drop'. *πυγ-ών* (*όν-*) f. 'length of an ell'. *ἀγ-ών* (*-ῶν-*) 'contest'. *κλύδ-ων* (*-ων-*) 'wave, billow'. *λειχ-ήν* (*-ῆν-*) 'scab, eruption'.

In consequence of the similar termination of the nom. *-ων*, stems of this kind sometimes followed the inflexion of stems in *-οντ-*. *ἄκ-ων*, see above, p. 346. *θεράπ-ων* (*-οντ-*) 'servant beside *θεράπ-ν-η θεράπ-αινα* 'maid-servant'. *λέων* (*-οντ-*) 'lion' beside *λεό-παρδο-ς* 'leopard' (like *αἱμο-βαφής ἀκμό-θετο-ν* § 112 p. 340), *λέαινα* 'lioness' and Lat. *leō* (*-ōn-*). Cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 168 f. 197.

The neuters were associated with the neuter stems in *-μεν-* and *-men-* and all alike underwent a change of inflexion due originally to their extension by the suffix *-to-*. See § 82 p. 250. *κάρᾱ* 'head' for **καρᾱσ-α* gen. *κρᾱ-τός, κρή-δεμνο-ν* 'head-band'; *ὕδ-α-τος*, nom. *ὕδ-ωρ* 'water'; *οὖθ-α-τος*, nom. *οὖθ-αρ* udder'; *ἧπ-α-τος*, nom. *ἧπ-αρ* 'liver'; *οὖ-α-τος ὠ-τός*, nom. *οὖς* 'ear'; see p. 347 above. *ἄλειφ-α* (also *ἄλειφ-αρ*), gen. *-α-τος*, 'oil for anointing', like Lat. *ungu-en*.

Infinitives in *-ειν* for *-ε-εν-*; for these forms see above, p. 347. It is possible, but it can hardly be proved, that the Doric infinitives like *φέρεν* are the locatives of an abstract root-noun in *-en-* (*ἄγ-εν* for instance, beside *ἀγ-ών*, as *αἰ-(ϝ)έν* beside *αἰ-(ϝ)ών*, § 116).

Italic. Masculine (rarely feminine) *-en-* stems are numerous. Lat *car-ō car-n-is* f., Umbr. kar-u 'pars' kar-n-e 'carne

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carni' Osc. *car-n-eis* 'partis', beside Umbr. kar-tu 'dividito, distribuito': O.Ir. *car-n-a* 'flesh'. Lat. *hom-ō -ōn-is* and *-in-is*, Umbr. *hom-on-us* (ō) 'hominibus' Osc. humuns (ū) nom. 'homines': Goth. *guma* etc., see p. 346. Umbr. abr-un-u (ū) 'aprum' (like Lat. *burdō* beside *burdu-s* and the like); cp. Lat. *aprun-culu-s*. Osc. sverrun-éi (ū) dat. sing. the title of a magistrate.

If we except *carō*[1]), the different forms of the suffix were levelled in Latin in such a way that all the cases but the nom. sing. had either *-en- -in-* or *-ōn-*. *-en-* is found only in *juven-*, but there it is not phonetically regular, see I § 65 Rem. 3 p. 53. We cannot determine how far Lat. *-in-* represents Idg. *-en-* or Idg. *-on-* respectively.

In Latin it forms primary *nomina agentis*, all with *-ōn-*. *ed-ō ed-ōn-is*, *as-sedō*, see p. 346 above. *in-cub-ō*: O.H.G. *hūf-o* 'heap'. *ger-ō. vol-ō. bib-ō. rap-ō. mand-ō. err-ō.* *-ōn-* is also found in denominatives, some of which are also *nomina agentis*, while some denote persons or things which stand in some other special relation to the thing denoted by the original word; such formations were suggested by groups of words like *cachinn-ō* beside *cachinnāre cachinnu-s*, *fābul-ō* beside *fābulārī fābula* and others. Examples are: *gerr-ō* from *gerrae. simpul-ō* from *simpulu-m. mer-ō* from *meru-m. linte-ō* from *linteu-m. nebul-ō* from *nebula. bucc-ō* from *bucca. cox-ō* from *coxa. petr-ō* from *petra. strig-ō* from *striga*. The same *-ōn-* forms many personal names, as *Capit-ō* from *caput*, *Nās-ō* from *nāsu-s*, *Cat-ō* from *catu-s*, *Rūf-ō* from *rūfu-s*. The following nouns denoting inanimate objects are nearly related to these appellatives: *pīsō* (*-ōn-* in oblique cases and so in all these words) 'mortar' *(pī(n)sere)*, *runc-ō* 'hoe' *(runcāre)*, *sabul-ō* 'coarse sand' from *sabulu-m*, *pēr-ō* 'a boot rather too loose at the top' from *pēra* (cp. O.H.G. *gēro* from *gēr* and the like p. 354); and no doubt *pont-ō* 'pontoon' from *pōns*. — In *hom-ō -ōn-* gave way to *-in-*, when the consciousness of its original meaning (see p. 346) had died out.

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1) Cp. also *cor-n-* in *cor-n-ix* beside Umbr. *cur-n-ac-o* 'cornicem' Gr. *κορ-ώνη* 'crow'.

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Other *-en*-stems are more isolated in point of meaning. *juv-en-* (nom. *juven-i-s*, see § 93 p. 281), cp. *juven-cu-s* Umbr. *ivengar* pl. 'iuvencae' § 83 p. 251, *juven-tu* § 80 p. 239, *jūn-ē-x* § 110 p. 335: Skr. *yúv-an-* etc., see p. 346. *pect-en (-in-)*, *li-en (-ēn-)* (Skr. *plīh-án-*, p. 346), perhaps the Idg. nom. ended in **-ēn*; cp. also *sanguen*, the older nom. of *sangu-in-is* etc., afterwards replaced by **sanguin-s*, whence *sanguīs*. *turb-ō (-in-)*. *ōrd-ō (-in-)*. Some few were feminine, as *aspergō (-in-)*, *compāgō (-in-)*, *grandō* (*-in-*, also m.), *margo* (*-in-*, also m.), *virgō (-in-)*. Lastly, there are some masculines formed with *-ōn-*, which may or may not be connected with the class of *-ōn-* forms just discussed, as *cūdō*, *carbō*, *truō*.

Neuters. *ungu-en (-in-)* Umbr. um-en 'unguen' (umen is otherwise explained by Pauli, Altital. Stud. V 102 f.): O.Ir. *imb imm*, gen. *imme* (stem *imb-en-*) n., O.H.G. *anch-o* m. (no doubt originally neuter) 'butter'. *ingu-en (-in-)*: Gr. *ἀδ-ήν* gen. *ἀδ-ένο-ς* 'gland', common ground-form **ŋ̥g-en-*, cp. also O.Icel. *økk-r* 'swelling'. *pollen (-in-)*, originally **pol-en *pol-n-is*; see I § 208 p. 175. *jecur *jecin-is* produced the form *jecin-or-is*; see above, p. 346 f.

Old Irish. The masculines (and the rarer feminines) have partly *-on-* (Gall. *Lingon-es*, *Senon-es* and the like), partly *-ōn-*. We do not find any thing like a large group of *nomina agentis*.

The following have pr. Celt. *-on-*, nom. sing. in *-ō* (cp. *-tiu* for *-tiō*, § 115). *cū* (pl. *coin*) Mod.Cymr. *ci* (pl. *cŵn*) 'dog': Skr. *śvá* etc., see p. 346 above. *esc-ung* 'eel' ('bog-snake'): cp. Lat. *angu-en* n. beside *angui-s*. *deruce* (gen. *derc-on*) 'acorn'. *Miliuc* (gen. *Milc-on*), *Glaisiuc*, proper names. Cp. also *triath*, gen. *trethan*, 'sea' = Gr. *Τρῖτ-ων*.

The following have pr. Celt. *-ōn-*, nom. sing. in **-ōn-s* (cp. Osc. -iuf -if, § 115 Rem. p. 360). *ār-u* (pl. *ārain*) 'kidney' is no doubt to be compared with Lat. Praenest. *nefrōn-ēs* Lanuv. *nebr-un-din-ēs*, O.H.G. *nior-o* (pr. Germ. **ne(ʒ)ur-en-*) 'kidney', even though the form of the root-syllable in Celtic (Mod.Cymr. *eirin*) is difficult to explain. *lecc-o* 'cheek'. *id-u* 'pangs of travail'.

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fiad-u 'witness'. *lach-u* 'duck'. *Ān-u* 'mater deorum Hibernensium'. Many of the substantives of this group were feminine; but I do not know how far the gender has been ascertained in particular instances.

It is not probable that *ing-e* 'nail' (gen. *ingan*) is a formation of the same sort as *men-me* 'mens' (gen. *menman*) for **-men-s* (§ 117).

Remark 2. "It can scarcely be maintained that the word for 'nail' in O.Ir. was an *n*-stem. In any case Stokes' paradigm [Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 92] does not agree with the facts in Old Irish. The following is much more likely; — Insular Celt. **enguīnī* Cymr. *ewin* f., O.Ir. nom. *ingen*, a gloss to 'ungula' (hitherto taken as gen. sing.), dat. *ingin*, dat. pl. *ingnib* for **inginaib*. In Mid.Ir. the word was declined, though not entirely, as an *n*-stem. The nom. sing. was *inga inge* just as *persa* = O.Ir. *persan* (persona). For the nom. pl. we still have *ingne*, which is regularly developed from **ingina*, but cannot be satisfactorily explained as any [illegible] of the *n*-inflexion". Thurneysen.

Neut. *imb* 'butter': Lat. *ungu-en* etc., see above p. 352.

Germanic. Here the *-en*-suffix attained its widest use in a mass of new formations. Its fertility is especially remarkable in the class of *nomina agentis* and the nouns connected with them, in which *-en-* appears as a secondary suffix with what may be called an 'individualising' function, i. e. that of converting adjectives into substantives. Any adjective could be so converted by adding *-en-* to its stem. These derived forms were brought into close syntactical connexion with the definite article (demonstrative-stem **to-*), and so arose what is known as the 'weak' declension of adjectives. Further Idg. and Germ. *-ōn-* was associated with Germ. *-ō-* (Idg. *-ā-*) on the analogy of the relation between Germ. *-an-* and *-a-*, and so a weak declension was developed for the adjectival *ā*-stems parallel to that of the *o*-stems.

Masculine. *Nomina agentis.* Goth. *áuhs-a* O.H.G. *ohs-o* O.Icel. *ox-e ux-e* 'ox': Skr. *ukṣ-án-* etc., see p. 345 above. O.H.G. *speh-o ezz-o -sezz-o* see p. 346 above. Goth. *skul-a* O.H.G. *scol-o* 'debtor'. Goth. *un-vita* 'ignorant one, fool' O.H.G. *wizz-o* 'knower, sage'. Goth. *nuta* 'fisher'. O.H.G. *heri-zogo* O.Icel.

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her-toge 'duke' pr. Germ. **tuz-én-* and O.H.G. *heri-zoho* pr. Germ. **tuχ-en-*. O.H.G. *bot-o* O.Icel. *boð-e* 'messenger'. O.H.G. *geb-o* O.Icel. *-gjaf-e* 'giver'. O.H.G. *wār-queto* 'veridicus' O.Icel. *hrōðr--kveðe* 'praedicator laudis' pr. Germ. **kuеð-én-*. Mid.H.G. *schad-e* O.Icel. *skað-e* 'damager' pr. Germ. **skáþ-en-*. Goth. *han-a* O.H.G. *han-o* 'cock', beside Lat. *can-ĕre*. O.H.G. *sceid-o* 'sequester'. Further we find denominative forms, some of them also *nomina agentis*, and some denoting persons or things which stand in some other special relation to the idea of the original word (including many epithetised compounds with *ga-*). Goth. *gum-a* O.H.G. *gomo* O.Icel. *gum-e* 'human being, man': Lat. *hom-ō* etc.; see above, p. 346. Goth. *vaúrstv-a* 'worker' from *vaúrstv* n. 'work'. Goth. *spill-a* 'announcer' from *spill* n. 'tale'. Goth. *ga-razna* 'neighbour' from *razn* 'house'. O.H.G. *stiur-o* O.Icel. *stjōr-e* 'steersman' from *stiura* f. 'rudder'. O.H.G. *urteil-o* 'judge' from *urteil* 'sentence'. O.H.G. *hīw-o* 'spouse' O.Icel. *hȳ-e* 'attendant' beside Goth. *heiva-* 'house'. O.H.G. *heim-o* 'cricket on the hearth' from *heim* 'house, home', O.H.G. *gi-lanto* 'fellow-countryman' from *lant* 'country'. Further we have names of peoples, such as *Teutŏn-es*, O.H.G. *Sahso*, *Franko*, and names of persons, such as O.H.G. *Wolfo*, *Harto*, *Berhto*. The following have a close connexion with the *nomina agentis*: A.S. *drop-a* 'drop' ('dripper'), O.H.G. *chleb-o* 'sticker, glue' and the like.

The following are substantives formed from adjectives: Goth. *liuta* 'hypocrite' from *liut-s* 'hypocritical', *veiha* 'priest' from *veih-s* 'holy', O.H.G. *wīzago* 'soothsayer' from *wīzag* 'marking, surmising', and others.

Through the popularity of the *-n*-declension substantival *o*-stems denoting persons were sometimes made into *-en*-stems without any alteration of meaning, e. g. Goth. *svaíhra* beside O.H.G. *swehur* Skr. *śváśura-s* Gr. *ἑκυρό-ς* 'father-in-law'.

We find another class of denominatives, akin to those already discussed, denoting objects of the same shape or form as the thing described by the original substantive (cp. Lat. *sabulō*, *pērō* p. 351). O.H.G. *gēr-o* O.Icel. *geir-e* 'wedge-shaped piece, instrument, or territory', from *gēr* 'spear'. A.S. *mūð-a*

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O.Icel. *munn-e* 'orifice', beside *mund* 'mouth'. Mid.H.G. *kamb-e kamm-e* 'comb-like instrument', from *kam* 'comb'. O.Icel. *nagl-e* 'nail', from *nagl* 'finger-nail'. O.Icel. *odd-e* m. 'triangle', from *odd-r* 'spear-point'. Add certain words in *-ōn-* (f.), as O.H.G. *bart-a* 'axe, broad-axe' beside *bart* 'beard'. Cp. Kluge, Nomin. Stammbildungslehre § 79 p. 37.

The most numerous of the remaining substantives are the abstract nouns and the names for parts of the body. Abstract nouns: Goth. *ah-a* 'thought, understanding', *ga-taiþa* 'cleft', O.H.G. *scad-o* O.Icel. *skað-e* 'harm', O.H.G. *smerz-o* 'pain', *gi-feho* 'joy'; add also some words in *-ōn-* (f.), as Goth. *lub-ō* 'love', *brinn-ō* 'fever', O.Icel. *tak-a* 'taking in, assumption'. One or two of the names for parts of the body are proethnic: A.S. *mold-a* 'head' see p. 346, O.Icel. *hjars-e* 'head' see p. 347, O.H.G. *nior-o* (O.Icel. *nȳr-a* n.) 'kidney'; see p. 352. With these, others were associated: Goth. *lōf-a* 'flat of the hand', O.H.G. *nabol-o* O.Icel. *nafl-e* 'navel', O.H.G. *dūm-o* (cp. § 72 p. 171). Also feminine forms in *-ōn-* as O.H.G. *gall-a* 'gall' (on the other hand A.S. *ȝealla* is m.), Goth. *tugg-ō* O.H.G. *zung-a* O.Icel. *tung-a* 'tongue', O.H.G. *zēh-a* 'toe'.

Feminine. The original stems in *-ōn-* were associated in Germanic with those in *-ā-*, not so intimately indeed as were the *-i̯ōn-*stems, but closely enough to be attracted into the feminine gender, though we must observe that some of the abstract nouns in *-ōn-*, like those in *-i̯ōn-*, may have been feminine before they passed into Germanic. On their analogy feminines in *-ōn-* were formed at will from the masculine *-en-*stems which denoted living beings. O.H.G. *maga-zoha* 'nutrix' from *-zoho -zogo*. O.Icel. *kveld-riða* 'noctivaga, strix' from *-riðe*. Goth. *ga-raznō* 'neighbour (f.)' from *ga-razna*. O.H.G. *gi-mahha* 'wife' from *gi-mahho*. O.H.G. *hūwa* 'wife' from *hūwo*. O.H.G. *wīzaga* 'soothsayer (f.)' from *wīzago*. Goth. *swaihrō* 'mother-in-law' from *swaihra*. Goth. *qinō* O.Icel. *kona* 'woman' contrasted with Gr. *γυνή*, Goth. *viduvō* 'widow' contrasted with Lat. *vidua*. As an example of the weak adjectives we may take Goth. *blind-ō* beside masc. *blind-a* 'caecus'.

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Neuters, in the genitive and other cases always with *-en-*. Goth. *vat-ō* 'water', Goth. *áus-ō* O.H.G. *ōr-a* 'ear', Goth. *áug-ō* O.H.G. *oug-a* 'eye', see above p. 347. Goth. *haírt-ō* O.H.G. *herz-a* 'heart'. O.H.G. *wang-a* 'cheek'. O.Icel. *nȳr-a* 'kidney' beside O.H.G. m. *nior-o* (on the other hand O.Icel. *hjars-e* m. beside Skr. n. *śirś-án-*, cp. also O.H.G. *anch-o* m. 'butter' beside Lat. *ungu-en* n. O.Ir. *imb* n.). Along with these names for parts of the body we find a few other substantives, as Goth. *þaírk-ō* 'hole', *áuga-daúrō* 'window' and *kaúrnō* 'corn' (a derivative of *kaúrn*, parallel to masculines like O.H.G. *gēr-o* and to feminines like O.H.G. *bart-a* p. 354 f.). In the weak adjectives: Goth. *blind-ō* beside masc. *blind-a*.

Balto-Slavonic. Here the *-en*-stems are rare; a large part of them have fallen out of the *n*-declension through various processes of re-formation. Generally the suffix appears in the form *-en-* in all cases except the nom. sing.

Lith. *el-n-* in *éln-i-s* 'stag, elk' O.C.Sl. *jelen-* m. (nom. *jelen-ĭ*) 'stag': Armen. *eλn* etc., see p. 349 above. Lith. *szirsz-ů̃* m. O.C.Sl. *srĭš-en-ĭ* m. 'horse-fly, hornet', common ground-form **k̑r̥s-en-*: cp. O.H.G. *hornaȝ* 'hornet' pr. Germ. **χurz-n-ata-z* (I § 303 p. 240). From an original **dei̯-en-* (**dii̯-en-* **di̯-en-*) **di-n-* (**dei̯-n-*) 'day' were developed Lith. f. *dë-n-à* Pruss. acc. *dei-n-a-n* O.C.Sl. gen. *dĭ-n-e* (nom. *dĭ-nĭ* m.): cp. Skr. *dín-a-m* Lat. *nūn-dinae* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 23).

Lith. *szů̃* (aus **szu̯-ů̃*, I § 184 p. 160), gen. *szu-ñ-s* acc. *szù-n-i̯*, m. 'dog', also *szun-i-s* m.: Skr. *śv-á* etc., see p. 346 above. *rud-ů̃* m. 'autumn' beside *rùd-a-s* 'reddish-brown': cp. Lat. *Rūf-ō* Goth. *ráud-a*, see p. 345 above. We have an old neuter in *vand-ů̃* m. 'water' (Lett. *úd-e'n-s*): Skr. *ud-án-* etc., see above p. 346.

O.C.Sl. *step-en-* m. 'step', *kor-en-* m. 'root', nom. *stepen-ĭ* *koren-ĭ*. *vod-a* f. 'water' (inflected as an *ā*-stem) perhaps comes from an Indo-Germanic nominative in *-ō*.

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§ 115. **The Suffix -i̯en-**[1]. This Suffix, which appears in the forms *-i̯en- -i̯on- -i̯ēn- -i̯ōn-, -iu̯en- -iu̯on- -iu̯ēn- -iu̯ōn-* and *-in- -īn- (-i̯n̥- -iu̯n̥-)* arose in derivatives from the stems in *-i̯o- -i-* and *-ī-*. We must distinguish two strata in this class of nasal stems.

1. Forms corresponding to denominatives like Lat. *hom-ō* Lith. *rud-ů̃* Av. *marᵊt-an-* (§ 114), as Skr. *abhimātín-* 'plotting' (*abhí-māti-ṣ* 'plot'), *οὐρανίων* 'the heavenly one' (cp. *οὐράνιο-ς*), Lat. *vulpiō (vulpēs)*, Goth. *arbja* 'heir' (*arbi* n. 'heritage').

2. Abstract Substantives like those mentioned on p. 341 f. e. g. *cap-iō*, which, if we may judge from *δωτίν-η* and other examples, once existed in Greek as well as elsewhere.

The custom of extending all kinds of stems by an *-n-*suffix remained in full force through most of the stages in the history of the separate languages, and hence the class of stems which we are now considering was continually enlarged. But we are justified in referring all such nouns as Goth. *arbja* to the suffix *-i̯en-* rather than to *-en-* (§ 114) — although *a priori* the word might he analysed either *arbj-an-* or *arbja-n* quite-as naturally as *arb-jan-* (cp. e. g. *vaúrstv-an-* or *vaúrst va-n-*) — simply because they created no new variety of suffix, that is, none which was not in existence in the proethnic period, but merely reproduced the original *-i̯en-* type in one or other of its forms.

On the other hand it must be admitted that this suffix had only just begun to be used independently before the separation of the languages. Indeed there appear to be no examples of particular words that contain it which are certainly proethnic; notice however such parallels as Skr. *praśn-ín-* 'questioner' A.S. *friczea* 'herald' and abstract nouns like Lat. *ratiōn-* = Goth. *raþjōn-*, Let. *mentiō* = O.Ir. *er-mitiu*, which are mostly derived from Indo-Germanic stems in *-ti-*, see § 100 p. 294.

Aryan. Here we find only denominatives with the suffix

1) Cp. Leo Meyer's treatise quoted p. 294 footnote.

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in the form *-in-*[1]), which spread through all the cases in the proethnic period of Aryan; e. g. nom. pl. *-in-as* instead of **-ɟĕn-as*, loc. sing. *-in-i* istead of **-ɟan-i*. During the same period *-i-* replaced *-ɟa-* (= *-ɟŋ-*) in the 'middle' cases (e. g. Skr. *arci-bhyas* Avest. *kaini-bjō*) and *-ī* replaced *-ɟū* in the nom. sing. (Skr. *arcī* Avest. *kainī*) on the analogy of the *-en*-stems (Skr. dat. abl. pl. *-a-bhyas*, nom. sing. *-ā*).

Skr. *arcin-* 'beaming from *arci-ṣ* 'beam', *cittin-* 'intelligent' from *citti-ṣ* 'understanding', *ūrmin-* 'billowy' from *ūrmi-ṣ* 'billow', *atithin-* 'wandering' from *átithi-ṣ* 'guest'. Avest. *kainin-* f. 'girl' from *kanyā-* Skr. *kanyā* 'girl'. Gr. *καινό-ς* 'new' (**καν-ɟο-ς*); for the meaning of the suffix compare Lat. *pūs-iō* 'little boy'. But we find that the use of *-in-* as a derivative suffix has spread by analogy to other than *-o*-stems, almost exclusively however to those in *-o-* (cp. Gr. *μαλαχ-ίων* from *μαλαχό-ς*, Lat. *libell-ōi* from *libellu-s*, Goth. *vaúrstv-ja* from *vaúrstv*); it ousted *-an-*, which remained only in Avestic (see § 114 p. 348). Skr. *parṇ-in-* Avest. *per^{e}n-in-* 'winged', beside Skr. *parṇá-m* 'wing'. Skr. *yav-in-* 'rich in corn'. Avest. *yęv-in-* m. 'fields', beside Skr. *yáva-s* 'corn'. Skr. *śvan-in-* 'leading dogs', from *śvan-* 'dog'. O.Pers. *vīṗ-in-* 'belonging to a clan' (Avestic shows the older form *vīs-an-*), from *vīṗ-* 'clan'. Skr. *-yin-* after vowels, e. g. *svadhā-yin-* 'he to whom the svadhā belongs' is like *-ɟi-* (Lith. *mõ-ji-s*) p. 122 footnote 2, and *-ɟĭ-* § 110 p. 336.

In Sanskrit forms like *mad-in-* 'intoxicating, rejoicing' (from *máda-s* 'intoxication, joyous excitement') were referred to kindred verbs *(máda-ti)*, and hence *-in-* acquired the character of a primary suffix. See Whitney, Skr. Gram. § 1183.

-min-, and *-vin-* were no doubt special formations in Sanskrit; examples are *ɣg-mín-* 'singing, jubilating' (beside *ɣg-míya-* 'worthyof praise'), *namas-vín-* 'paying reverence.' Cp. below Gr. *στα-μίν-*.

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1) Prof. W. Streitberg was the first scholar who clearly recognised that Ar. *-in-* was derived from the original *-ɟen-*. I have followed him also in regarding *-i-* as the weak form of *-ɟo-*, in § 116.

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Greek. -ιον- -ιων- appear beside -ιο-, as in οὐρανίων (-ιων-) 'the heavenly one, dweller in heaven' beside οὐράνιος 'heavenly', Κρονίων (-ιον- and ῐων-) 'the descendant of Kronos' beside Κρόνιος 'belonging to Kronos'. Generally however -ιων- is an independent suffix. Ἀτρεΐων 'son of Atreus', from Ἀτρεύς. μαλακίων 'weakling', from μαλακός 'weak'. δειλακρίων 'wretch, miserable creature', from δείλακρος 'very wretched'.

-ῑν- appears in Ἀδρηστίνη 'daughter of Adrestos' Εὐηνίνη daughter of Euenos' beside Ἀκρισιώνη 'daughter of Akrisios'. Further, in δωτίνη 'gift' beside δῶτις 'gift', cp. Lat. *datiō* beside *dōs*. This form justifies us in classing here the words δελφῖν- m. 'belly-fish, dolphin' (cp. Skr. *garbhin-* 'pregnant'), ἀκτῖν- f. 'beam, of light', πηρῖν- f. 'scrotum', ὠδῖν- f. 'travail', γλωχῖν- f. 'point, end' (cp. γλῶσσα for *γλωχ-μα). The weak form of the suffix was adopted in all the cases, as -*in*- in Aryan. Closely parallel to these are words in -μῖν-: στα-μῖν- and στα-μίν- m. 'wood that stands upright', ῥῆγ-μῖν- f. 'surge, breaker' (beside ῥῆγ-μα 'a breaking'), ὑσμῖν- f. and ὑσμίνη 'flight' (for the -σ- cp. § 72 p. 173.). The nom. sing. ends in -*īs* for *-*īv-s*-, for which -*īv* was substituted in later Greek.

Italic. -*iōn*- in the masculine is seen in Lat. *vulpiō* from *vulpēs*, *pelliō* from *pelli-s*, *restiō* from *resti-s*, *cūriō* 'head of a curia', from *cūria*, *centuriō* from *centuria*, *laniō* from *lanio-s*; and it is common as an independent suffix, e. g. *libell-iō* from *libellu-s*, *cūr-iō* 'one wasted by sorrow' from *cūra*, *tenebr-iō* from *tenebrae*, *mīr-iō* from *mīru-s*, and the substantives formed from the numerals, *ūn-iō bīn-iō tern-iō* and so forth. Some of these masculines had a diminutival sense, as *homunc-iō senec-iō pūs-iō pūmil-iō*, cp. Avest. *kainin-* p. 358. The Umbr. Vuf-iun-e *Vof-ion-e* should be mentioned here.

Secondly we have the feminine abstract nouns in -*iōn*-, and -*in*- (-*īn*-?) in Umbro-Samnite; this establishes a variation in the form of the suffix in different cases for the proethnic Italic period. Lat. *com-mūniō* beside *com-mūni-s*; Goth. *ga-máinei* 'community' beside *ga-máini-* 'communis'; *al-luv-iō* beside *al-luv-iu-m*, *al-luv-iē-s*, *con-tāg-iō* beside *con-tāg-iu-m ob-*

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-sid-iō beside *ob-sid-iu-m*, cp. Goth. *ga-riud-jō* beside *ga-riud-i*. The following examples show *-i̯ōn-* in independent use, so that it appears as a primary suffix: Lat. *leg-iō re-ligio* Osc. leg-in-ei 'legioni, cohorti' leg-in-um 'legionem, cohortem', Lat. *cōn-spic-iō, reg-iō, cap-iō ūsū-capiō, opīn-iō*; Umbr. *fer-in-e* perhaps 'feretro', tribřišu 'ternio' abl. *tribris-in-e*, Osc. *tang-in-om* 'sententiam' gen. *tang-in-eis*, tŕbarakk-iuf 'aedificatio'.

The form *-tiōn- -tin-* (*-tīn-*?) is especially frequent and largely superseded Idg. *-ti-*: Lat. *men-tiō* (O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honour'), *ra-tiō* (Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'), *da-tiō* (cp. Gr. *δω-τίν-η* 'gift'), *jūnc-tiō, occupā-tiō, tribū-tiō*; Umbr. na-tin-e 'natione, gente', Osc. *medica-tin-om* 'indicationem', úít-tiuf 'usio, usus', frukta-tiuf 'usus, fructus', statíf 'statio, statua'. Cp. § 100 p. 300. With Lat. *exerci-tiō* compare *exerci-tiu-m*, with *dic-tiō* the Osc. *med-dixud* 'iuris dictione', which no doubt comes from **med-dihti̯o-* as *Bansae* from **Banti̯ā-* (I § 502 p. 368 f.); see § 163 under Italic.

Remark. The Umbrian nominative termination -iu stands for pr. Ital. and pr. Idg *-i̯ō*. On the other hand. Osc. -iuf and -íf stand for **i̯ōns *-ins* (**-īns*?). The latter were later dialectic formations (cp. Lat. *sanguīs* Gr. *ἁλφίς* and other similar forms, and see § 114 p. 352, § 117 under Old Irish). The late origin of the ending *-ns* explains the special treatment of this group of sounds in these words see I § 209 p. 177, § 655 p. 506.

In the Sabine dialect we find also the form *-i̯ēn- ner-iēn-em* 'fortitudinem', nom. *ner-io*, gen. also *Νηρίν-ης* (Lydus de mens. IV 42), parallel to *ner-ō* 'brave' *Nerō* (cp. Gr. *Ἄνδρ-ων*) from Idg. **ner-* 'man'. *An-io* gen. *-iēn-is* (amongst the Romans declined after the Latin fashion, *-iōn-is*). Should such forms be regarded as derivatives from words with the suffix *-i̯ē-* (§ 109) (cp. *Ner-ia*), which would explain the *ē*?

Old Irish. Besides *Eriu* 'Ireland' (gen. *Erenn*; for the *nn* cp. § 117 Rem. 3) the only certain examples are the forms which correspond to the Latin feminine abstract nouns in *-tiō*: *air-itiu* f. 'accipere': Lat. *ēmptiō*, *aig-thiu* f. 'fear' and others. All the cases, except the nom. sing., have *-tin-*; there is only the dat. (loc.) sing. with its by-form in *-te* to vouch for **-tion* in early Irish. See § 100 p. 301.

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In Gallic -i̯ōn- is common: we have names of towns like *Brigantiv* (compared with the participial stem *brigant-* 'projecting', O.Ir. *Brigit* = Skr. *bṛhat-ī* § 110 p. 337), *Divio*, *Cabellio*; names of tribes like *Suessiōn-es*, *Κουριων-ες*.

Germanic. Masc. *-jan-* (like *-an-*). Goth. *arbja* O.H.G. *arpeo* 'heir, beside Goth. *arb-i* n. 'heritage'. Goth. *bandja* 'prisoner', beside *band-i* f. 'chain'. Goth. *vái-dēdja* 'evildoer' Mid.H.G. *übel-tæte* A.S. *yfel-dǣda* 'evildoer', beside Goth. *ga--dēdi-* f. 'deed'. Goth. *ga-máinja* 'partaker', beside *ga-máini-* 'communis'. The suffix is more frequently independent. Goth. *mana-maúrþrja* O.H.G. *murdr-eo* 'murderer', from Germ. **murþra-* 'murder'; Goth. *timr-ja* 'carpenter', beside O.H.G. *zimbar* 'timber'; *fisk-ja* 'fisher', beside *fiska-* 'fish'; *vaúrstv-ja* 'worker', beside *vaúrstv* 'work'; O.H.G. *scirn-o* 'buffoon', beside *scern* 'jest'; *scar-io scaro* 'head of a troop' beside *scara* 'troop'. It has the character of a primary suffix in e. g. Goth. *arbi-num-ja* 'inheritor, heir', O.H.G. *nōt-num-eo* 'raptor', O.H.G. *sceph-eo scaffo* 'conditor', *fer-io fero* 'sailor'. Feminines (cp. O.H.G. *maga-zoha* etc. § 114 p. 355): Goth. *arbjō* 'heiress', O.H.G. *ge-betta* O.Icel. *beðja* 'bedfellow (f.), wife'.

The form -i̯ōn- became incapable of denoting male persons (notice that masculines like Gr. *νεᾱνίᾱ-ς* Lat. *agricola* O.C.Sl. *sluga* are foreign to Germanic). It was preserved on the other hand in names of things which in form are parallel to Goth. *arbja* etc. (also in a few names of animals), which then became feminine. Goth. *snōrjō* 'basket woven out of string', beside O.H.G. *snuori-* f. 'string'. O.H.G. *bulga* 'leathern sack', beside *balgi-* m. 'bag'. O.H.G. *hārra* 'hair garment', beside *hār* 'hair'. Goth. *ga-timrjō* O.H.G. *zimbirra* 'building', beside O.H.G. *zimbar* 'timber'. O.Icel. *birkja* 'birch-sap', beside *bjǫrk* 'birch'. O.Icel. *gedda* 'pike', beside *gadd-r* 'thorn, spine' (cp. Lat. *stelliō* m. 'star-lizard, newt' from *stella*).

Feminine abstract-nouns in -i̯ōn-, whose gender dates from the pre-Germanic period. Goth. *gariudjō* 'modesty', side by side with *ga-riud-i* n. (same meaning) (cp. Lat. *alluviō* and *alluviu-m*), beside *ga-riuþ-s* 'modest, decent'. O.Icel. *vitra* 'sagacity' beside

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vit-r 'sagacious'; *sāla* 'luck', beside *sæll* 'lucky'. The suffix has the character of a primary suffix in Goth. *ga-runjō* 'inundation', *sakjō* strife', A.S. *āsce* 'question', O.Icel. *þykkja* 'love'. We also find *-tiu̯ōn-*, but this was not fertile in Germanic, which contrasts with its history in Italic and Irish: Goth. *ra-þjō* 'reckoning' (Lat. *ra-tiō*), O.Icel. *þrætta* 'strife'. Parallel to *raþjō* is O.H.G. *redia*, a strong feminine, cp. Lat. *exercitiu-m* beside *exercitiō*. Side by side with *-iu̯ōn-* is the form *-īn-*, found in abstract denominatives, especially in those derived from adjectival stems: Goth. *agláitei* 'rudeness' side by side with *agláiti* n. (the same), *magaþei* 'maidenhood' beside *magaþi-* 'maiden', Goth. *gamáinei* O.H.G. *gimeinī* 'community' beside Goth. *ga-máini-* 'communis' (Lat. *commūniō* f. beside *com-mūni-s*), Goth. *gōdlei* O.H.G. *guotī* 'goodness, excellence' beside Goth. *gōþ-s* 'good', Goth. *managei* O.H.G. *menigī* 'crowd' beside Goth. *manag-s* 'many, much'. We have seen reason for believing that the same *-īn-* is contained in the suffix *-iə-ga-*, as in O.H.G. *Berhting*, § 88 Rem. 3 p. 267.

Slavonic. We find *-iu̯ōn-* in the plural of denominative names of inhabitants and classes, as *zemljan-e* 'countrymen' from *zemlja* 'land', *gražđan-e* 'citizens' for **gord-iu̯an-e* from *gradŭ* 'city', *seljan-e* 'country folk' from *selo* 'cultivated land', *mir-jan-e* 'laici' from *mirŭ* 'world'. See I § 585, 3 p. 440.

§ 116. The Suffix *-u̯en-*. This appears in the forms *-u̯en- -u̯on- (-u̯ēn-) -u̯ōn-* and *-un- -u̯n-*, and appears to be derived from the *u-* and *u̯o*-stems, just as *-ien-* from those in *-i-* and *-io-*.

The meaning of the suffix cannot be reduced to any general definition. Amongst the substantives it forms are *nomina actionis*, which were used as infinitives in Aryan and Greek.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *áy-un-* (e. g. instr. *áyun-ā*) n. 'life', Gr. *αἰ-(ϝ)ών* (*-ων-*) m. 'space of time, eternity' *αἰ-(ϝ)έν* (loc. sing.) 'always', common ground-form **āi̯-u̯en-* (cp. I § 611 p. 461): compare Lat. *ae-vo-m*, Goth. *ai-v-s* m. 'time, eternity' ground-form **āi̯-u̯o-* (cp. I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464). Skr. *pī́-van-* Gr. *πί-(ϝ)ων* (*-ον-*) 'fat': compare **pī-u̯e-ro-* Skr. *pīva-rá-s* Gr. *πῖε-ρό-ς* 'fat' Skr. *pī́-vas-* n. Gr. *πῖό-της* etc., see § 74 p. 182.

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Skr. *pár-van-* n. 'knob, joint, pause, break', Gr. *ἀ-πείρων* (*-ον-*) 'boundless' for **περ-ϝων*, *πειραίνω* 'I bring to an end' for **περ-ϝαν-μω*, Skr. *párvata-s* Gr. *πέρρατα πείρατα* (see § 82 p. 249): beside these we have Gr. *ἄ-πειρο-ς*. Skr. *agrādvan-* 'eating first'. Gr. Hom. *ἔδ-ϝατ-* or *ἔδδατ-* n. 'food' (*ἔδατ-* is a wrong spelling, cp. I § 166 p. 147 on *δείδιμεν*). Skr. *grā-van-* m. 'soma-stone' O.Ir. *broo brō*, gen. *broon brōn*, 'millstone'.

Datives in *-μεν-aį* are used as infinitives (this appears to have been a modification of the original *-μη-aį -un-aį* introduced in the proethnic period on the analogy of the loc. in *-μεν(-i)*; cp. *-men-aį* § 117). Skr. *dā-ván-e* 'to give', Gr. Cypr. *δο-ϝεν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι*. Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know', Gr. *εἰδέναι* for **ϝειδ-ϝεν-αι* (cp. § 136 Remark 1).

Aryan. The original relations of ablaut are preserved most nearly in Skr. sing. nom. *maghá-vā* ('generous') acc. *-vān-am* loc. *-van-i* instr. *maghón-ā*, Avest. sing. nom. *aša-va* ('pure') acc. *-van-em* gen. *ašaon-ō*. In Sanskrit, levelling took place in two different directions. On the one hand the form with *-van-* spread into the weakest cases: e. g. *áthar-vā -vāṇ-am -vaṇ-i* produced *-vaṇ-ā -vaṇ-as* instead of **uṇ-ā* etc. (cp. the form *apaurun-ē* dat. preserved in Avestic), a change which was supported by the parallelism of the *man*-stems (*áś-man-ā* etc.). And the *v* of forms like *ɣtá-vn-ā* (we should expect **ɣtāun-ā*) came from the other forms with *-van- -vān-* (cp. I § 160 p. 144), while such a form as *pī-vn-*, and (here also) the type of the *-man-* stems *(arya-mṇ-á)* may have influenced the re-formation. On the other hand, in some neuter words (e. g. *áy-un-*) a new paradigm was formed by a confusion with *u*-stems which were parallel to them, (from which came e. g. the nom. acc. *áyu*, cp. Goth. *aju-ka-* in *ajuk-dūp-s* 'eternity'). An interesting survival of *-un-* on Indian ground appears also in *mith-un-á-* 'paired' beside Avest. *miθ-wan-* n. 'pair'. Cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 187 ff.

Skr. *ták-van-* beside *tak-vá- ták-u-* 'shooting on, quick'. *ɣbh-van-* beside *ɣbh-va- ɣbh-ú-* 'capable, aristic'. *ɣk-van-* beside *ɣk-vá-* 'singing, praising'. *pád-van-* m. beside *pád-va-* m. 'way' *ár-van-* 'runner' beside Avest. *aurva* 'quick' A.S. *ar-u* 'prompt.

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ready'. *dhán-van* n. beside *dhán-u-* f. 'dune, sandy land'. Avest. *er°ā-wan-* 'raiser, helper' beside *er°ā-wa-* 'uplifted, raised up'.

Skr. *ádh-van-* m. Avest. *aδ-wan-* m. 'way'. Skr. *yá-van-* 'going, traveller' Avest. *yaon-a-* m. 'path, way'. Skr. *pát-van-* 'flying', *śák-van-* 'able', *rá-van-* 'bestowing'. Avest. *is-van-* 'able', *der°z-van-* m. 'fetter'. Skr. *snáv-an-* n. 'bond, sinew', *túg-van-* n. 'rapid stream', Avest. *karš-van-* n. (nom. acc. *karš-var°*) name of the seven divisions of the earth.

-t-van-: Skr. *kŕ-t-van-* 'effecting' Avest. *ker°-p-wan-* 'one who brings about', Skr. *sú-t-van-* 'pressing', *sa-jí-t-van* 'victorious'. These are based on *t*-stems like *-k-ŕ-t-* 'effecting', see § 123.

Skr. *ŗtá-van-* 'holy, pious' Avest. *aša-van-* 'pure', Skr. *átharvan-* Avest. *āθra-van- (aθaur-un-)* 'fire-priest', Skr. *dhitá-van-* 'rich in gifts', *amatī-ván-* 'suffering want', *samád-van-* 'eager for the fray'.

Infinitives. Skr. *dā-ván-ē* 'to give', Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know', see above p. 363.

Armenian. *siun*, gen. *sean*, 'pillar' for early Armen. **sī-van-* or **sē-van-*: Gr. *κίων* m. f. (*-ον-*) 'pillar' for **κῑ-ϝων*. *n*-cases were no doubt originally formed from *albeur*, gen. *alber*, 'spring' (I § 263 p. 214): cp. Gr. *φρέᾱρ φρέᾰτος* (p. 365).

Greek. *αἰ-(ϝ)ών αἰ-(ϝ)ένι, πί-(ϝ)ων, ἀπείρων* for **-περ-ϝων*, see p. 362 f.

κενε-(ϝ)ών (*-ων-*) m. 'hollow space' from *κενε-ϝό-ς* 'empty' (§ 64 p. 135), with which we must certainly class the masculine names of places as *οἰνεών οἰνών* 'wine-bin', *παρθενεών παρθενών* 'maidens' apartment', *ἀνδρών* 'man's apartment', *ἱππών* 'horse stall', *λασιών* 'place with thick bushes' (*τὰ λάσια* 'thicket').

The form *-un-* is no doubt to be seen in *εὐθῦνα* f. 'legal procedure, punishment' for **εὐθυν-ϳα, εὐθύνω* 'I guide straight for **-νν-ϳω*; cp. Avest. *ašaon-i* fem. of *aša-van-*. Cp. also Hom. *ἰθύν-τατα* 'in the straightest, truest way' beside *ἰθύ-ς*. See Osthoff, Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstammbildung II 24 ff., and the Author, Morph. Unt. II 190. 201 ff. 205 f.

The neuters show the same course of developement as those belonging to the *-men-* and *-en*-stems (like *οὖθ-αρ -ατος* § 114

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p. 350); but there appears to be no nom. acc. sing. in *-ϝα* = *-μᾱ*. *πείρα-τα* for **περ-ϝα-τα* (: Skr. *pár-va-ta-s*) and *ἔδ-ϝα-τα* (*ἔδ-ϝαρ*), see above p. 363. *φρέᾱρ φρέᾱτος* 'well' with *-εᾱ-* for *-ηα-* (I § 611 p. 462) Hom. *φρήατα* (wrongly written *φρεῖατα*) for **φρη-ϝα-τα*: cp. Armen. *albeur*, see above p. 364. *στέᾱρ στέᾱτος* 'congealed fat', poet. *στεῖαρ* i. e. *στῆ-αρ*: Skr. *sthā-varás* 'standing, immovable'. Other examples of the kind are given by the Author, Morph. Unt. II 225, G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.[2] p. 325.

Infinitives. *δο-ϝεν-αι δοῦναι, εἰδ-έν-αι*; see above, p. 363. This formation was very fertile in Ionic, Attic and Arcadian. *θεῖναι* 'to place' for **θε-ϝεν-αι. ἰ-έναι* 'to go'. *δε-δι-έναι* 'to fear'. *ἀῆναι* 'to blow' for **ἀϝη-ϝεναι, γνῶναι* 'to recognise' for **γνω-ϝεναι*. From the contracted forms was taken a termination *-ναι*, which usurped the place of *-μεν -μεναι*: thus *δῦναι, εἶναι* (*εἶ-μεν* for **ἐσ-μεν*), *φάναι, διδόναι, δεικνύναι*. Many scholars refer *φέρειν* to **φερε-ϝεν*, see § 114 p. 347.

Old Irish. *broo brō* 'millstone': Skr. *grā-van-*, see above p. 347.

Germanic. Goth. *spar-va* A.S. *spearwa* O.H.G. *sparo* m. 'sparrow', √ *sper-* 'flutter to and fro'.

§ 117. The suffix *-men-*. This was used from the in the proethnic and later periods to form *nomina actionis*, which often varied between the meaning of the thing and the action (as Gr. *ῥεῦμα* 'a streaming' and 'that which streams'); more rarely to form *nomina agentis*. The *nomina actionis* were used in Aryan and Greek as infinitives. The gender varied between neuter and masculine; sometimes even in the same word, as Gr. *χεῖ-μα* : *χει-μών*.

The root-syllable had generally the strong grade (the *e*-form in the *e*-series). Originally, no doubt, both this and the weak grade stood side by side in each paradigm (cp. Gr. *λει-μών* : *λι-μήν, ἄετ-μα* : *ἀυτ-μήν*, O.Icel. *ljō-me*: Goth. *laúh-mun-i*), but a process of levelling ensued, generally in favour of the strong form.

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There is difficulty in ascertaining what was the weak form of the suffix in the ground-forms of certain cases of the noun, as Skr. *várt-man-ā várt-man-as* (beside *nā́-mn-ā arya-mn-á*).

Remark 1. From the analogy of Skr. *arc-ín-ā* (*-ien-*) and Avest. *apaur-un-ē* (*-uen-*) — see § 115, 116 we should expect **uert-ṃn-*, and therefore St. **vart-an-ā*. This is supported by Goth. *vund-ufn-i* f. 'wound' *vit-ubn-i* n. 'knowledge' (*-fn- -bn-* for *-mn-*, I § 215 p. 182) beside *laúh-mun-i* f. 'flash'. The original paradigm of the latter would have been nom. **laúh-ufn-i* gen. *laúh-mun-jōs*, as in Skr. **vart-an-ā* (*-ṃn-*) *várt-ma-bhiṣ* (*-mn-*). See the Author, Morph. Unt. II 201. 209. 217 ff. We might therefore suppose that *várt-man-ā* was a re-formation in Aryan due to the analogy of the other cases, *várt-man-i várt-ma-bhiṣ* etc. But although it must be allowed that the weak stem had both these forms in derivatives, yet even in the proethnic period the post-consonantal form *-ṃn-* may have been displaced by *-men-*. There is at least a very strong probability that some such levelling process had taken place in proethnic Indo-Germanic in such infinitives as Skr. *vid-mán-ē* Gr. *ἰδ-μεν-αι* (cp. also Lat. imper. *legi-min-ī* below). The form of the stem represented by Skr. *várt-man-ā* would then be *uért-men-*. I should give my judgement with greater confidence, if there were a satisfactory explanation, of the absence of *n* in Skr. *bhūnā́ prēṇā́* and the like (Lanman, Noun-Inflection p. 533).

Indo-Germanic. **kleu-men-* from √ *kleu-* 'hear': Avest. *srao-man-* n. Goth. *hliu-ma* m. 'hearing', cp. also Skr. *śrṓ-ma-ta-m* O.H.G. *hliu-mun-t* § 82 p. 249. Skr. *hṓ-man-* n. Gr. *χεῦ-μα χῦ-μα χύ-μα* n. 'gush'. Gr. *ῥεῦ-μα ῥύ-μα* n. O.Ir. *sruaim* n. 'stream' common ground-form **sreu-men-*. Skr. *bhú-man-* n. 'existence, earth' *bhū-mán-* m. 'crowd, fulness', Gr. *φῦ-μα* n. 'growth', Lith. *bu-men-ė* (no doubt with *ū*) f. 'the present'. Skr. *hḗ-man* loc. 'in winter', Armen. *jiun*, gen. *jean* 'snow', Gr. *χεῖ-μα* 'storm' *χει-μών* (*-μων-*) m. 'stormy weather, winter'. Skr. *bhár-man-* n. 'support, fostering, care', Gr. *φέρ-μα* n. 'fruit of the womb', O.C.Sl. *brě-mę* n. 'burden'. Skr. *tár-man-* n. 'top of the sacrificial post', Gr. *τέρ-μα* n. 'goal, end' *τέρ-μων* (*-ον-*) m. 'boundary', Lat. *ter-men ter-mō* (*-mōn-*). Skr. *várt-man-* n. 'road', O.C.Sl. *vrě-mę* n. 'time' for **vert-mę*. **men-men-* 'mind, spirit, thought': Skr. *mán-man-* n., Gr. *θρασυ-μέμνων Ἀγα-μέμνων* for **-μεν-μον-* (De Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. IV 432). Skr. *vás-man-* n. 'covering' Gr. *εἶ-μα* n. 'garment, covering' *εὐ-είμων* 'well clothed'. Skr. *ád-man* n. 'food', Gr. *ἔδ-μεν-αι* dat. inf. 'to eat', Lith. pl. *ėd-men-ys* (stem *ėd-men-i-*) m. 'mouth, chaps'. Skr.

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dhá-man- n. 'statute, action, seat, dwelling', Gr. *ἀνά-θημα* n. 'erection, something set up, offering' *εὐ-θήμων* 'keeping something in good order' *θη-μών* (*-μων-*) m. 'heap' *θέ-μα* 'something set up, deposit, pledge', √ *dhē-*. Skr. *dā-man-* n. 'gift' *dā-mán-* m. 'gift, giver', Gr. *δό-μα* n. 'gift' inf. *δό-μεναι*, √ *dō-*. Skr. *sthā-man-* n. 'standing-place, strength', Gr. *ἐπί-στημα* n. 'what is set up upon something else' *στή-μων* (*-μον-*) 'warp in the upright loom', Lat. *stā-men* n., Goth. *stō-ma* m. 'constituent part, element', Lith. *stō-mů* m. 'stature, height of body', √ *stā-*. Skr. *áś-man-* m. 'stone, heaven' Gr. *ἄκ-μων* 'anvil, thunderbolt'. Skr. *áj-man-* n. 'road, train', Lat. *āgmen* n. for **ag-men* (the vowel owes its length to the following *-gm-*) and *ex-āmen* n. for **-āg-men* (I § 506 p. 371[1]). Skr. *ój-man-* m. 'strength', Lat. *aug-men* n., Lith. *aug-mů* m. 'excrescence upon bodies or trees'. Skr. *sī-mán-* m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary, mark' (as to the fem. gender see Rem. 2 below), O.Sax *sī-mo* m. 'bond, cord, rope', cp. also Gr. *ἱ-μαν-τ-* (*ῐ*) 'strap' *ἱ-μον-ία* 'well-rope' (§ 82 Rem. p. 249 f.); Gr. *αἱμασιᾱ* 'enclosing wall, hedge' seems to be derived from a stem **saį̄-men-*. Skr. *syú-man-* n. 'bond, stripe, row' Gr. *ὑ-μήν* (*-εν-*) m. 'hide, sinew', *κασσύματα* n. pl. 'patchwork, soles; plots' (prep. *κάτ*), Lat. *as-sūmen-tu-m* 'patch sewn on'. Skr. *nā-ma* n. Armen. *anun* Gr. *ὄνο-μα* n. Lat. *nō-men* n. O.Ir. *ain-m* n. Goth. *na-mō* n. Pruss. *e-mn-a-* O.C.Sl. *i-mę* n. (I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187 f.) 'name'. Gr. *γνω̃-μα* n. 'token' *γνώ-μων* (*-μον-*) 'one who knows or shows, sundial, measuring-rod', Lat. *āgnōmen* n. for **ad-gnō-men* (connected by popular etymology with *nōmen*), O.C.Sl. *zna-mę* n. 'token'.

Skr. *jáni-man-* n. 'birth' Lat. *geni-men* (late) beside Skr. *ján-man-*. Of the same sort are Gr. *τελα-μών* 'shoulder-belt', O.Ir. *men-me* 'mind' and other examples. See I § 110 p. 104.

Datives in *-men-aį̄* used as infinitives (cp. *-μεν-αι* § 116 p. 363). Skr. *vid-mánē* 'to learn, experience' (side by side with

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1) In the English translation, l. 6. of this paragraph, instead of '*before* originally long vowels', read '*after* etc..

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which we also find other cases of *vid-mán-*), Gr. *ἴδ-μεναι* 'to know'. Skr. *dā-manē* 'to give' (cp. p. 367), Gr. *δό-μεναι* 'to give'. Lat. imper. *legimin-ī*, in form identical with Gr. *λεγέμεν-αι* (see below).

-men- seems further to have been used even in the parent language as a secondary suffix: Skr. *arya-mán-* m. 'comrade, friend', Mid.Ir. *Airem*, gen. *Areman Eremon*, beside Skr. *aryá-* 'devoted, attached' O.Ir. *aire* (gen. *airech*) 'princeps, primus'.

-men- and *-mo-*, are often interchanged from the proethnic period onwards (see § 112 p. 340 f.); and this led to a certain confusion, which can be sometimes traced in the separate languages, between the *-men-* forms and the substantives in *-mo-* which have the *o*-grade in the root-syllable (see § 72 p. 170). Gr. *οἶ-μα* n. 'assault' instead of **ἐἶ-μα* (Skr. *é-man-* n. 'course') through the influence of *οἶ-μο-ς οἴ-μη*. O.H.G. *lei-mo* m. 'loam' instead of **lī-mo* (Gr. *λει-μών*) through the influence of the form *lei-m* m.

In all the Indo-Germanic languages *-men-* was a fertile suffix, most of all in Aryan, Greek, and Latin.

Aryan. Skr. *tók-man-* 'young blade of corn' Avest. *taox-man-* n. 'bud, family, offspring'. Skr. *hē-mán-* m. 'impulse' Avest. *zaẹ-man-* n. 'zeal'. Skr. *dhá-man-* n. 'statute, action, seat, dwelling' Avest. *dą-man-* i. e. *dā̆-man-* n. 'creation, creature' (I § 200 p. 168): Gr. *ἀνά-θημα* etc., see above p. 367. Skr. *áś-man-* Avest. O.Pers. *as-mąn-* m. 'stone, heaven': Gr. *ἄκ-μων* 'anvil, thunderbolt'. Skr. *nā́-man-* n. Avest. *nąman-* (*ā*) n. O.Pers. *nā-man-* n. 'name': Armen. *anun* etc., see above p. 367.

In secondary use: Skr. *arya-mán-* m. 'comrade, friend' Avest. *airya-man-* 'obedient' beside Skr. *aryá-*, see above.

Sanskrit. *dhár-man-* n. 'support' *dhar-mán* m. 'bearer', *bráh-man-* n. 'devotion' *brah-mán-* m. 'one who prays', *svā́d-man-* n. *svād-mán-* m. 'sweetness, loveliness'; *vári-man* n. *vari-mán-* m. 'extent'. *ṓd-man-* n. 'undulation', *é-man-* n. 'course', *várṣ-man-* n. 'height, surface', *sád-man-* n. 'seat, abode', *sá-man-* n. 'hymn', *trá-man-* n. 'protection', *yá-man-* n. 'course'; *jáni-man-* n. 'birth', *bhárī-man-* n. 'a carrying'. *hávī-man-* n. 'a calling upon'. *ūṣ-*

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-mán- *uš-man-* m. 'heat', *ō-mán-* m. 'favour, help', *jē-máṇ-* m. 'superiority'; *prathi-mán-* m. 'breadth'. *dā-mán-* m. 'giver', *sō-mán-* m. 'presser, preparer of the soma'. Forms like *prathi-mán-* were popularly connected with the parallel adjectives such as *pṛthú- práthīyas-*, and hence *-i-man-* became a secondary suffix, as in *draḍh-imán-* m. 'firmness' from *dṛḍhá-* 'firm' compar. *dráḍh-īyas-*, *dhūmr-imán-* m. 'dark colour, gloom' from *dhūmrá-* 'dark'.

Avestic. *a-pišman-* 'without art, without skill'. *maęs-man-* n. 'urine', *daę-man-* n. 'eye', *paę-man-* n. 'milk, mother's milk', *dūn-man-* n. 'cloud, vapour' no doubt = *dūṇ-man-* (cp. *dāṇ-man* above), beside Skr. *dhū-má-s* 'smoke', *stao-man-* n. 'song of praise, laudation', *bar'ś-man-* n. 'bundle of consecrated twigs for offering', *caš-man-* n. 'eye'. *ras-man-* m. 'army in line, line of battle': Gr. ὄρεγ-μα n. 'a stretching out, stretch'. *urvās-man-* 'one who makes others glad, joy-giver'.

Infinitival datives. Skr. *vid-mánē*, *dá-manē*, see p. 367 f. above. Skr. *dhár-maṇē* 'to support', *trá-maṇē* 'to protect'. Avest. *stao-mainẹ* 'to praise', *xšnū-mainẹ* 'to content'. In Avestic the locative also appears as an infinitive, e. g. *caš-maṇ caš-mēŋg* 'to behold' beside dat. *caš-mainẹ*.

Remark 2. The nominative termination *-mā* (m. and n.) appears sometimes to have led to a transference to the feminine *ā*-declension; this process may have been aided by the close connexion between the *-men-* and *-mo*-stems, which dates from before the Aryan period. Thus e. g. Skr. *sī-mā-* = *sī-mán-* 'boundary' (*sī-mā-* in its turn influenced *sī-mán-* so far as to give it the fem. gender), *dā-mā-* beside *dā-man-* n. 'bond' (also f., according to the grammarians; the change of gender came about in the same way as in *sī-mán-* f.), O.Pers. *tau-mā-* 'family' = Avest. *tuxr-man-*. Cp. § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348, § 122 Rem. p. 383.

Armenian. *jiun* 'snow', *anun* 'name', see above, p. 366 f.; for the phonetic changes see I § 202 p. 169. *yeł-mn*, gen. *yeł-man*, 'wool, fleece': to be compared either with Skr. *vár-man-* 'defensive armour' Gr. ἔρ-ιο-ν 'wool' (√ *ṷer-*) or with Lat. *vellus*, Goth. *vulla* 'wool' (√ *ṷel-*). *marmin* (*-min-* for *-men-*, I § 63 p. 50), gen. *mar-mn-o-y*, 'body, flesh' (which is extended by the suffix *-o-*): Skr. *már-man-* n. 'membrum, joint, open part of the body which is especially exposed to mortal wounds'.

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Greek. The history of the neuter forms is the same as in the case of the -*en*- and -*u̯en*-stems; see § 114 p. 350.

χεῦ-μα χῦ-μα χυ-μα, χεῖ-μα χει-μών, φέρ-μα, τέρ-μα τέρ-μων and others; see above, p. 366 f.

πνεῦ-μα n. 'breath', *πνεύ-μων* (-*μον*-) m. 'lung'. *ἄετ-μα* n. (*φλόξ*, beside *ἀετμό-ν* '*πνεῦμα*' Hesych.), *αὐτ-μήν* (-*μεν*-) m. 'breath, exhalation, vapour' (*ἄε-τ-μα*? cp. p. 372). *ἧ-μα* n. 'missile', *ἥ-μων* (-*μον*-) m. 'thrower, slinger': Lat. *sē-men* n. O.H.G. *sā-mo* m. O.C.Sl. *sě-mę* n. 'seed', √*sē*-. *μνῆ-μα* n. 'memorial', *μνή-μων* (-*μον*-) 'mindful'. *νόη-μα* n. 'thought', *νοή-μων* (-*μον*-) 'thoughtful'.

ζεῦγ-μα n. 'bond, bridge of boats': Lat. *jūmentu-m* for **jūg-men-to*-, common ground-form **jeu̯g-men*-. *δεῖ-μα* 'fear'. *λεῖμμα* for **λειπ-μα* 'remnant'. *κλῖ-μα κλί-μα* 'inclination'. *μῖγ-μα* 'mixture'. *δέρ-μα* 'skin torn off, hide': Skr. *dar-mán*- m. 'shatterer'. *ἕρ-μα* 'ear-ring'. *στρῶ-μα* 'something strown, bed, covering': Lat. *strā-men* n., common ground-form **str̥̄-men*; cp. Skr. *stárī-man*- n. 'a spreading out, strewing abroad' *stari-mán*- m. 'bed'. *πέλ-μα* 'sole of the foot': cp. A.S. *fil-men* 'membrana' O.Fris. *fil-men-e* f. 'skin'. *φλέγ-μα* 'brand'. *γέννα* f. 'race, family' probably was neuter originally, and stands for **γεν-μα*: Skr. *ján-man*- n. *πεῖσμα* 'cable, rope' for **πενσμα* from √*bhendh*- 'bind'; as to *σ* for *ϑ* see p. 372: cp. Lat. *of-fendi-mentu-m*. *βῆ-μα* 'step, grade, platform': Skr. *ví-gāman*- n. 'step', common ground-form **gm̥̄-men*-, √*gem*-. *πέμμα* 'pastry' for **πεπ-μα*. *ὑπό-δημα* 'something fastened beneath sole' *δέ-μα δέ-σμα* 'bond': Skr. *dā́-man*- n. 'bond'. *αἷ-μα* 'blood', beside O.H.G. *sei-m* m. 'virgin honey'. *οἶδ-μα* 'swell of the sea'. *ὄμμα* 'eye, visage' for **ὀπ-μα*. *νᾶ-μα* (Dor. form) 'stream', √*snā*-. *βλῆ-μα* 'missile, shot'. *ῥῆ-μα* 'utterance' for **ϝρῆ-μα*. *σᾶ-μα σῆ-μα* 'token', to be compared no doubt with Skr. *dhyā-man*- m. 'measure' n. 'thought', beside *dhyā*- 'think of' *dhi*- 'appear, resemble, observe, think'. Dor. *πᾶ-μα* 'that of which one has the disposal, over which one has power, possession', for **ku̯ā-men*-, compared with El. *ἐμ-πάω* 'bring to effect. accom-

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plish' and with *κῦ-ρος* (cp. *πάμωχος· ὁ κύριος* Hesych.)[1]). *σχῆ-μα* 'demeanour, form'. *ὅρᾱ-μα* 'sight'. *ὅρμη-μα* 'solicitude'. *μίσθω-μα* 'stipulated payment'.

The nom. acc. sing. neut. of one or two -*men*-stems ends in *ρ*, as in some of the neuter stems in -*en*- and -*μεν*-: *ἦμαρ*, gen. *ἤματος*, 'day', *μῦμαρ μῶμαρ* 'blame', *λῦμαρ* beside *λῦμα* 'pollution', *τέκμωρ* and *τέκμαρ* 'proof (-*μωρ* for -*mṝ*, cp. *ὕδωρ* I § 306 p. 243). Cp. § 118.

κευθ-μών (-*μον-*) m. 'hiding-place'. *πυθ-μήν* (-*μεν-*) m. 'depth, ground'. *λει-μών* (-*μον-*) m. 'damp place' and *λι-μήν* (-*μεν-*) m. 'harbour'. *ἰδ-μων* (-*μον-*) 'having knowledge of' (*ἰδμο-σύνη*). *ἐπι-λήσμων* (-*μον-*) 'forgetful' (σ instead of *θ*, p. 372). *ποι-μήν* (-*μνε-*) m. 'herdsman': Lith. *pë-mů* m. 'herd-boy'. *τλή-μων* (-*μον-*) 'stead fast, enduring'. *ἀλή-μων* (-*μον-*) 'wandering about' (*ἀλᾶσθαι*). *ἐλεή-μων* (-*μον-*) 'pitiful'. *τελα-μών* (-*μων-*) m. 'shoulder-belt, baldrick' properly 'bearer', √*tel-*. *τερά-μων* (-*μον-*) 'that becomes soft by boiling'. *ἡγε-μών* (-*μον-*) m. 'guide'. *κηδε-μών* (-*μον-*) m. 'one who cares for' a person. -*μών* acquired the character of a secondary suffix, just as Skr. -*i-mán-*: *ἀκρε-μών* (-*μον-*) m. 'end fo a branch, top' from *ἄκρο-ς*, *δαιτυ-μων* (-*μον-*) m. 'he who sits at meat, guest' from *δαιτύ-ς*.

The dative, in -*μεν-αι*, and the locative, in -*μεν*, served as infinitives. -*μεναι* occurs in Ionic (epic) and Lesbian. *ἴδ-μεναι*, *δό-μεναι*; see above, p. 367 f. *ἔδ-μεν-αι* 'to eat' (Skr. *ád-man-*, p. 366), *θέ-μεναι* 'to place' (-*θημα θέ-μα*, p. 367), *ἀή-μεναι* 'to blow', *βή-μεναι* 'to go' (*βῆ-μα*, p. 370), *δύ-μεναι* 'to press in, enter' (*ἔκ-δῡμα* 'garment taken off'), *βλή-μεναι* 'to strike' (*βλῆ-μα*, p. 370), *δαή-μεναι* 'to be versed' (*δαή-μων* 'versed'). On the model of these were formed: *φανή-μεναι τετλά-μεναι*, *ζευγνύ-μεναι*, *ἀειδέ-μεναι*, *εἰπέ-μεναι ἀξέ-μεναι*. -*μεν* is found in Ionic (epic), Doric, N.W.Greek, Elean, Thessalian, and Boeotian. *ἴδ-μεν*, *δό-μεν*, *θέ-μεν*, *ἴ-μεν*, *ἔμ-μεν* (*εἶμεν ἦμεν*), *τετλά-μεν*, *ὀρνύ-μεν*, *φερέ-μεν*, *εἰπέ-μεν*, *ἀξέ-μεν*.

1) The nearest cognates of *πᾶμα* are collected by J. Baunack in his Stud. I 73 f.

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Corresponding to *-τ-μο -ϑ-μο- -σ-μο-* (§ 72, 3 p. 173) we find *-τ-μεν- -ϑ-μεν- -σμεν-*. *-τ-μεν-* occurs in *λαῖ-τμα* 'gulf of the sea', no doubt to be compared with *λα-μό-ς* 'throat, gullet', and perhaps in *ἄετμα ἀὐτμήν*. *-ϑ-μεν-*: *ἴ-ϑμα* 'course'. *-σμεν-*: *πλάσμα* 'image, figure' from *πλάσσω*, *κλῶσμα* 'something spun' from *κλώϑω*, *πεῖσμα* 'cable' for **πενϑ-μα* (σ had not displaced ϑ in the earliest period of Greek, see I § 204 Rem. 2 p. 171), *ἐπι-λήσμων* 'forgetful' from *λήϑω*, *ἔρεισμα* 'support' from *ἐρείδω*, *σχίσμα* 'split' from *σχίζω*, and the neuter forms in *-ισμα* and *-ασμα* compared with derivative verbs in *-ίζω -άζω*, as *νόμισμα* 'usage, institution, from *νομίζω*, *ἄσπασμα* 'caress' from *ἀσπάζομαι*; also *ἅρμοσμα* 'joined work' from *ἁρμόζω*.

Italic. The neuter forms were often extended by *-to-*; see § 82 p. 249 ff.

Lat. *nō-men* n., Umbr. *nome* n. 'nomen' *nomner* 'nominis': Skr. *nā́-man-* n. etc.; see p. 367 above. Lat. *prae-dicāmentu-m*, Umbr. tikamne 'dicatione, invocatione'. Lat. *testā-mentu-m*, Osc. trístaamentud abl. 'testamento'. Lat. *Sē-mō (-mōn-)* 'seed-god', fem. *Sē-mōn-ia*, Pelign. *Semunu* 'Semonum', beside Lat. *sē-men* n. Umbr. ařmune dat. 'alimoni'.

Lat. *nū-men*, n.: Gr. *νεῦ-μα* 'nod'; *lū-men* for **lūc-men*, later **lūgmen* (I § 500 p. 367, § 506 p. 371[1]), or for **lūc-s-men* (cp. *illūstri-s* and *lūna* I § 503 p. 369): Goth. *lauh-mun-i* f. 'flash' O.Sax. *lio-mo* O.Icel. *ljō-me* m. 'brightness, light, gleam': the *ū* in *nū-men lū-men* may be either Idg. *ū* or Idg. *eu*. *crī-men*: Gr. *κρῖ-μα κρί-μα* 'decision, sentence'. *ger-men*. *sarmen* for **sarp-men*, *sar-mentu-m*. *cul-men*. *sēg-men* for **sec-men*, *sēg-mentu-m*. *tēgmen tēgmentu-m*. *ūgmen*: Skr. *áj-man-* etc., see above, p. 367. *caementu-m* for **caed-mentu-m*. *nē-men*: Gr. *νῆ-μα* 'something spun, yarn', √ *snē-*. *com-plēmentu-m*: cp. Gr. *πλῆσμα* 'filling, what fills'. *flā-men flā-mentu-m*. *certā-men*. *mōlī-men mōlī-mentu-m*. *volū-men*, *statū-men*, hence were formed *leg-ūmen leg-ūmentu-m*, *alb-ūmen* and other similar derivatives.

1) See footnote to p. 367 above.

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, egi-men regimentu-m. tegi-men beside *tēgmen. of-fendi-mentu-m. monu-mentu-m: colu-men (columna)* beside *cul-men.*

Masculine forms are rarer. *ter-mō (-mōn-)* beside *ter-men* n.: Gr. *τέρ-μων* etc., see above p. 366. *ser-mō (-mōn-). pul-mō (-mōn-).*

The dat. sing. in *-min-ī* was used in Latin as the 2. pl. imp. med.-pass., e. g. *legiminī* (= Gr. *λεγέμεναι*), *sequiminī*. The restriction to the plural, and to the medio-passive meaning was caused by the indicative *legiminī* = Gr. *λεγόμενοι* and = *λεγόμεναι*. See § 71 p. 165.

Old Irish. Neuters. *sruaim, ainm*; see above, p. 366 f. *deilm* 'noise'. *cuirm* 'beer'. *gairm* 'call, cry'. *druim* 'back' for **dros-men*, compared with Lat. *dorsu-m. cēimm cēim* 'stepping, step', beside *cingim* 'I step', *lēimm lēim-* 'spring' beside *lingim* 'I spring', *grēimm grēim* 'progressus' beside *in-grennim* 'I pursue' (*grend-*), see I § 523 p. 380. *bēim* 'striking, blow' beside *benim* 'I strike': did this come regularly from **ben-men-* or was it influenced by the form of these other nouns? With *-ə-men-*: *feid-m* 'strain', *fo-naidm* 'bond, compact'.

Remark 3. The origin of *mm* in forms like nom. pl. *an-mann*, dat. pl. *an-mannaib*, is still quite obscure. The latest discussion of this difficult question is by Stokes (Bezzenberger's Beitr. XI 93) and Windisch (Über die Verbalformen mit dem Character R p. 40 f.).

men-me m. (gen. *men-man*) 'mens' for **men-ə-men-* (cp. Skr. *mán-man-* n. 'mind, thought'). The nom. in **-men-s* was a re-formation like Lat. *sanguīs* Gr. *δελφίς*, for **δελφῖνς*, cp. also O.Ir. *āru*, § 114 p. 352, § 115 p. 360.

Masculine and Feminine forms with pr. Celt. **-mō* in the nom. sing. (cp. Gall. *casa-mo, Sego-mo*), gen. Ir. *-mon -man* dat. *-main*. The masculine forms appear to be all denominatives: *Aire-m*: Skr. *arya-mán-* m., see above p. 368, *orbe-m* 'heir' from *orbe* n. (which represents a ground-form **orbh-i̯-o-m*) 'inheritance', *flaithe-m* 'ruler' from *flaith* 'rule', *dūle-m* 'creator' from *dūil* 'element', *brithe-m* 'judge' from *breth* 'sentence', *olla-m*, gen. *olla-man*, 'princeps poetarum' no doubt connected with *oll* 'great, mighty'. *tala-m* (gen. *talman*), f. 'earth' no doubt for **tl̥-mō*, √ *tel-*.

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anim f. 'soul' (dat. *an-min*) may have been originally a *-mā-*stem (cp. Lat. *animā-*) and have been transferred to this declension through the influence of *menme*.

Germanic. The old variation between neuter and masculine was almost entirely obliterated in favour of the masculine. The neuter survives only in Gothic and Norse in a few examples: Goth. *na-mō* n. 'name' (O.Icel. *na-fn* n. by a transference to the *o*-declension, O.H.G. *na-mo* m.): Skr. *nā́-man-* n. etc., see p. 367 above; O.Icel. *sī-ma* beside *sī-me* m. 'rope' (O.Sax. *sī-mo* m.): Skr. *sī-mán-* etc., see p. 367 above.

Masculine. Goth. *hliu-ma* 'hearing' O.H.G. *hliu-mun-t* 'call', Goth. *stō-ma* 'constituent part', see p. 366 above. O.H.G. *sā-mo* 'seed', see p. 370 above. O.Sax. *lio-mo* 'brightness', see p. 372 above. Goth. *hiuh-ma* 'heap'. Goth. *skei-ma* 'light', O.H.G. *scī-mo* 'brightness, sheen'. O.H.G. *kī-mo* 'the bursting bud'. O.H.G. *glizemo* 'brightness', Goth. *glit-mun-jan* 'to gleam'. Goth. *milh-ma* 'cloud'. Goth. *ah-ma* 'spirit'. Goth. *blō-ma* O.H.G. *bluo-mo* 'bloom'. This masculine suffix was fertile only in Old Frisian and there only to a limited extent; it became denominative as in Sanskrit etc., e. g. *werth-ma* 'taxation' from *werth* 'value'.

-s-men-, like *-s-tro- -s-lo-* etc. (see § 61 p. 117). O.H.G. *rosamo* 'acrugo' for **rots-mō* beside O.Sax. *rotōn* 'to rust', cp. O.H.G. *rotamo* 'redness'. O.H.G. *dīhsamo* 'prosperity' *fram-dehsmo* 'increasing prosperity', beside *dīhan* 'to wax great'. O.Sax. *blicsmo* 'flash' beside *blīcan* to 'gleam'. The *s* came from forms like O.H.G. *wahs-amo was-mo* 'growth' (*wahs-an* 'to wax') and O.Sax. *brōsmo* 'soft part of bread, crumb' (A.S. *brȳs-an* 'to break in pieces').

-t-men-, like *-t-mo-* § 72 p. 175 f. O.H.G. *wi-damo* 'price of the bride, dowry' from *u̯ī-* 'bind'; A.S. *blōstma* 'bloom', cp. Mid.H.G. *bluos-t* beside *bluo-t* 'bloom'.

The feminine *-mōn-* is rare and certainly a late formation: e. g. O.H.G. *bluo-ma* beside the masc. *bluo-mo*.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *ak-mů̃* m. O.C.Sl. *ka-my* m. 'stone'. Lith. *szel-mů̃* m. 'gable' O.C.Sl. *slě-mę* n. 'beam': cp. Lith. *szal-ma*

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'long beam'. Lith. *sĕ-men-s* pl. m. 'seed', especially linseed, O.C.Sl. *sĕ-mę* n. 'seed': Gr. *ἡ-μα* etc., see p. 370 above.

In Lithuanian only masculines appear (nom. *-mů̃* gen. *-meñ-s* etc.); the neuter has died out in the same way as in other classes of stems. *sto-mů̃* 'stature, tallness', *aug-mů̃* 'excrescence', see p. 367 above. *pē-mů̃* 'herd-boy', see p. 371 above. *rau-mů̃* 'flesh of the muscles', no doubt to be compared with O.H.G. *rio-mo* 'strap, band', common ground-form **reu̯-men-* (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 142). *rē-mů̃* 'heart-burn'. *lē-mů̃* 'trunk, stature'. *szeī̃-men-s* pl. 'funeral meal' (no doubt from *szér-ti* 'to feed'). *žel-mů̃* 'sprout, plant'. *tesz-mů̃* 'udder'. *ãsz-men-s* pl. 'cutting edge'.

O.C.Sl. *brĕ-mę* n. 'burden', *vrĕ-mę* 'time', *i-mę* 'name', *zna-mę* 'token'; see above, p. . *pis-mę* 'letter', √*peiḱ-*. *plemę*, 'stem, family' no doubt for **pled-mę*, compare *plodŭ* 'fruit'. *ra-mę* beside *ra-mo* 'shoulder' (cp. I § 306 p. 241). *vymę* 'udder' for **vyd-mę* (I § 547 p. 400 f., § 666 p. 526). *cismę* 'number' for **čīt-smę*, cp. *čislo* § 76 p. 211.

plamy m. 'flame' for **pol-my*, beside *pol-ĕti* 'to burn, uri' *pla-nąti sę* 'to blaze out'. In a few other examples the only form of the nom. sing. which occurs is one which shows a transference to the *i*-declension; e. g. *pra-men-ĭ* 'thread' (gen. *pramen-e*, like *plamen-e*); in others we have both forms, *plamen-ĭ* beside *plamy*, *kamen-ĭ* beside *kamy*.

Remark 4. The original weak form of this suffix perhaps appears in such examples as *kamĭnĭja kamni*, which Leskien has collected in his Handb.[2] § 43 p. 58.

VI. Suffixes in -r.

§ 118. Nom. acc. neut. in -r (-ȳ -ī̄). We may fairly class among the elements from which noun stems were formed the *-r* of neuter words like Skr. *údhar* Gr. *οὖθαϱ* Lat. *über* (O.H.G. *ūtar* m., but there can be no doubt that it was originally neuter) 'udder' — for further examples see § 114 pp. 347, 350, § 116 p. 364, § 117 p. 371; etymologically it must be connected in most cases with the suffix *-ro-*, in some words perhaps with *-er-* and the comparative suffix *-ero-*. See

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§ 74 p. 180. How these forms in *-r* came to be included in the paradigm of *n*-stems (e. g. Skr. *údhar* gen. abl. *údh-n-as* loc. *údh-an-i*) is a question we cannot answer. The difference in meaning, which (to judge from the variation of the stem) must once have existed between the nom. acc. and the other cases, had probably disappeared before the dissolution of the proethnic community. With this we may naturally compare the loss of the distinction in meaning, which once existed over and above the difference in gender, between the stems of the masc. Skr. *pí-van-* Gr. *πῑ̄-(F)ον-* and the fem. Skr. *pí-va-r-ī* Gr. *πῑ̄-(F)ειρα* f. 'fat'.

In Aryan this nom. acc. form was also used for the pl., just as (e. g.) Skr. *náma* 'ὄνομα' and *purú* 'πολύ' were plural as well as singular; it also served as loc. sing., cp. loc. *kárman*. This plurality of function may be regarded as proethnic. In Avestic however we have a still freer use; the forms in *-ar°* appear indifferently for cases of the most widely different meaning; e. g. *karšvar°* 'division of the earth' is used for the gen. sing., *dasvar°* 'strength, health' for the dat. sing., as well as for the nominative.

In several branches of language the form in *-r* was made the basis of a new paradigm, though the change never affected any very large number of words. Thus in Avestic we have dat. sing. *zafr-ę̄* nom. pl. *zafr-a* gen. pl. *-zafr-ąm* from *zafar°* 'throat, mouth' beside gen. sing. *zafan-ō*; instr. pl. *baęvar°-biš* from *baęvar°* 'myriad', Gr. ἔαρ 'blood' gen. ἔαρ-ος beside Skr. *asán-* n. 'blood'; Lat. *ūber* gen. *ūber-is* beside Skr. *údhan-*; *femur* gen. *femor-is* beside *femin-is*, *jecur* gen. *jecor-is* and *jecin-or-is* beside Skr. *yak-án*; O.H.G. *wazzar* gen. *wazzares* beside Goth. *vatō* gen. *vatins* 'water'.

§ 119. The Suffixes *-er-* and *-ter-*[1]). The two forms of the suffix are found side by side without difference of meaning

1) The Author, Die Nomina auf *-ar-* und *-tar-*, Curtius' Studien IX 361 ff., D'Ooge, On the use of the suffixes *-τερ -τορ -τηρ -τα* in Homer Leipzig 1873. E. Schäffer, Über den Gebrauch der Derivativa auf *to* und *trix*, Prenzlau 1859. 1860.

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like the comparative suffixes *-ero-* and *-tero-* (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). It is probable that the form *-ter-* arose through the addition of *-er* to a stem formed with a *t*-suffix.

The nouns in which these suffixes occur are, with comparatively few exceptions, *nomina agentis* or names of kindred. The former class has *-ter-* throughout, e. g. **jeuq-ter-* 'harnesser', the latter both *-er-* and *-ter-*, e. g. **daiu̯-er-* 'levir' and **pə-ter-* 'father'. *-er-* is also found in a few substantives which belong to neither of the two groups, as **n-er-* 'man' and **us-er-* 'dawn'.

The *nomina agentis* are masculine, and even in the proethnic period feminines were formed for them by means of *-ī- -i̯ē-*, e. g. Skr. *jáni-tr-ī* Gr. *γενέ-τειρα* Lat. *gene-tr-ī-x* 'she that produces, mother', see § 110 p. 336. The names of kindred were masculine or feminine according to the sex they denoted, as **pə-te-r* 'father', **mā-ter-* 'mother'. It was not till later periods that special grammatical signs were added to mark this, and then only in a few words; e. g. Lat. *jani-tr-ī-c-ēs* beside Skr. *yā-tar-* 'husband's brother's wife' Gr. *εἰνά-τερ-ες* 'women married to brothers'.

§ 120. The forms assumed by the suffix *-(t)er-* in its different grades were very numerous both in the proethnic and later periods. The so-called strong cases had *-(t)er- -(t)or- -(t)ēr- -(t)ōr-*, the weak cases *-(t)r- -(t)ṛ-*.

First as regards the weak cases: *-(t)r-* appears before the case endings which begin in a sonant, e. g. Skr. dat. sing. *pi-tr-é dā-tr-ē*, *(t)ṛ-* before those which begin in a consonant, e. g. loc. pl. *pi-tṛ-ṣu dā-tṛ-ṣu*. The same forms of the suffix were originally regular in derivatives; e. g. Skr. *dātr-ī-ṣu* loc. pl. fem. beside *dā-tar- dā-tár-* 'dator', *bhrātṛ-tvá-m* 'brotherhood' beside *bhrā-tar-* 'brother'. In several languages the weak forms of the suffix were soon driven out by the strong in the declension of the *-(t)er-* stems, especially in *nomina agentis*; and all that remain to show that weak forms had ever existed in the case-system are derivatives which contain the weak stem. Compare e. g. Gr. *λῃσ-τρ-ίς* 'female robber' *λῃσ-τρ-ικό-ς* 'inclined to robbery' beside *λῃίσ-τωρ* (*-τορ-*) and *λῃίσ-τηρ* (*-τηρ-*) 'robber'; Lat. *dā-tr-ī-x*

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beside *da-tor* (*-tōr-*), *mole-tr-īna* beside *moli-tor* (*-tōr-*), Umbr. uh-tr-etie 'auctoritate' beside uh-tur 'auctor', Lith. *dukr-ēlė* 'little daughter', *pó-dukr-a pó-dukr-ė* 'step-daughter' (Pruss. *po-ducr-e*) beside *duk-tē̃* (*-ter-*) 'daughter', Pruss. *swestr-o* O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* beside Lith. *ses-ů̃* (*-er-*) 'sister'.

With regard to the original distribution of the strong forms of the suffix the following points may be considered certain.

1. The nom. sing. ended sometimes in *-(t)ē(r)*, sometimes in *-(t)ō(r)*, cp. on the one hand Gr. *πα-τήρ δο-τήρ* Lat. *pa-ter* (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. *a-thir* (I § 657, 6 p. 509), O.Icel. *fa-ðer fa-ðir*, Lith. *duk-tē̃* O.C.Sl. *dŭšti* (Skr. *pi-tā́ dā-tā́*) and on the other Gr. *φρά-τωρ μητρο-πάτωρ δώ-τωρ*, Lat. *sor-or da-tor* (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. *siur* for *sues-ōr* (I § 657, 6 p. 509), Lith. *ses-ů̃* (Skr. *bhrā́-tā dā́-tā*).

2. A certain number of these stems had in the acc. sing. and nom. du. pl. *-(t)er-*, cp. Gr. *πα-τέρ-α*, O.H.G. *fa-ter*, Lith. *dùk-ter-į* (Skr. *pi-tár-am*).

3. There was a loc. sing. in *(-er) -eri*, cp. Gr. *πα-τέρ-ι* (Skr. *pi-tár-i dā-tár-i*).

Further conclusions which I think probable are as follows. All the *-(t)er-*stems had originally the same inflexion; the difference between *-é-* : *-ē-* and *'-o-* : *'-ō-* was caused solely by difference of accent. Gr. *πατήρ πατέρα* : *μητρο-πάτωρ-, πάτορα, ἀνήρ* : *ἀνέρα* : *ἀγ-ήνωρ -ήνορα* and so forth, just as *φρήν φρένα* : *ἄ-φρων ἄ-φρονα*. Moreover the same variation appears where the words are uncompounded; Gr. *δω-τήρ δο-τήρ* beside *δώ-τωρ, ῥη-τήρ* beside *ῥή-τωρ* and the like, and Skr. nom. *dā-tā́* beside *dā́-tā, pātā* beside *pā́-tā*, Avest. acc. *bar°-tār-em* = Skr. *bhartár-am* beside *bāšār-em* = Skr. *bhártār-am* (I § 260 p. 212 f.). In Greek there is no trace of a difference in meaning between these latter pairs of forms; in Sanskrit, on the other hand, the *nomen agentis* as a rule has the character of a participle when the root-syllable bears the accent (the governed nouns being usually in the acc., *vásūni dā́tā* 'bona dans'), whereas, when the suffix is accented, it is a noun pure and simple (usually governing the gen., *vásūnā dātā́* 'bonorum dator'). This distinction may be original, and

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at one time have prevailed in Greek; indeed, the Lat. *da-tūr-u-s* vouches for the fact that these *nomina agentis* had a participial character in the parent language, as they actually have in Iranian. It follows that the difference of accent in this class of words may been originally based on a difference of accent in the sentence. Hence it is probable that

1. The acc. sing. nom. acc. du. had *-(t)or-* under some conditions, parallel to *-(t)er-* under others; cp. Gr. *δώ-τορ-α φρᾱ́-τορ-α ἔορ-ες* (§ 122), Mid.Ir. *siair*, Goth. *brō-þar svist-ar* O.H.G. *bruo-dar*, Skr. *dā́-tār-am svás-ār-am.*

2. The loc. sing. always ended in *-(t)-er-i*, even where *-(t)or-* occurred in the strong cases of the same paradigm, cp. Skr. *dā́-tar-i* (with *-ă-* as much as *dā-tár-i*). *svás-ar-i* beside *dā́-tār-am svás-ār-am*; cp. Goth. loc. *áh-min*: acc. *ah-man*. Similarly in all the feminine derivatives in *-ī-* *-i̯ē-* (§ 110 p. 336 f.) *-ter-ī* was no doubt the original form in the nom. sing.; cp. Gr. *εὐ-πάτειρα παμ-μήτειρα* (from *εὐ-πάτωρ παμ-μήτωρ*) as well as *δμῄ-τειρα* (beside *δμη-τήρ*).

Remark. The assumption that all *-ter*-stems had originally the same inflexion is further supported by the Gr. voc. *σῶ-τερ* from *σω-τήρ* (just as *πά-τερ* from *πα-τήρ*).

Considerable readjustment took place in Aryan and Greek in the inflexion of *nomina agentis* which accentuated the suffix. In Sanskrit we have *dā-tā́r-am* instead of **dā-tár-am* through the influence of *dā́-tār-am*; similarly in the other strong cases. In Greek, the form *-τήρ* of the nom. sing. spread through all the cases: *δο-τῆρ-α* instead of **δο-τέρ-α*, *δο-τῆρ-ος* instead of **δο-τρ-ός* and so forth; only a few vocatives singular are excepted, as *σῶ-τερ* above. On the other hand, the *-tér-* of the *nomina agentis* is preserved in the Slavonic *-tel-* (§ 122): nom. pl. *žę-tel-e* 'cutters, reapers' = Idg. **ghn̥-tére-s.*

Amongst the names of kindred, **bhrā́-tor-* (Gr. *φρᾱ́-τορ-α*, Goth. *brō-þar*) seems to have been associated even in the parent language with forms that had *-tér-*, such as **pə-tér-*; e. g. an acc. **bhrā́-ter-m* was formed beside **bhrā́-tor-m*. Hence in Greek we find the by-forms *φρᾱ́-τηρ φρᾱ́-τερ-ες*, in Sanskrit *bhrā́-tar-am*, in Latin *frā-ter*; hence perhaps O.H.G. acc. *bruo-der* as well as *bruo-dar*. Yet while **bhrā́-ter-m* arose by the side of **bhrā́-tor-m*, no such form as **su̯éser-m* came into use beside **su̯ésor-m* (Skr. *svásār-am*, Lat. *sor-or*), the reason perhaps being that the absence of *t* in the word prevented its association with forms like **pə-tér-* **mā-tér-*. But Avestic, West-Germanic and Lithuanian ultimately brought the word 'sister'

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into close connexion with the other names of kindred; thus acc. Avest. *xvanhar-em*, O.H.G. *swester*, Lith. *sēser-į* (see below).

In Latin the nominative termination *-(t)ōr* spread through all the cases: *da-tōr-em da-tōr-is* etc., *sor-ōr-em sor-ōr-is* etc.

In Greek *-τωρ-* is only found in the nom. sing. except in an isolated example: Hom. *μήτ-τωρ-α μήτ-τωρ-ες*.

In Gothic *fadar* (contrast *πατέρ-α*) was formed in imitation of *brōþar* (*φράτορ-α*) *svistar* (cp. *ἔορ-ες*); in Old High German the forms with *e*, such as *fater muoter*, had prevailed over *bruodur* etc. before the date of the earliest monuments of the language.

In Lithuanian we have *sesů*, but acc. *sēser-į* gen. *sesẽr-s* and so forth with *-er-*: here the analogy of *dùk-ter-į* (*θυγα-τέρ-α*) *dukterį̃-s* etc. has influenced the forms, aided perhaps by the original loc. sing. in **-er-i* (Skr. *svásar-i*).

Compare the relations of Ablaut in the *n*-stems, which are on the whole similar, § 113 p. 342 ff. and what is said in the Remark there.

§ 121. Ablaut within the root-syllable varied *pari passu* with the variation in the suffix. **pə-tér-* 'father' Skr. *duhitár-* etc. 'daughter' have the weak-grade-vocalism; on the other hand **mā-tér-* 'mother' has that of the strong grade. Cp. I § 670 p. 535. Skr. *uš-ár-* 'dawn' beside Gr. *ἦρι* loc. 'early' for **āṷ(σ)-ερ-* and *ἄριστο-ν* for **ἄṷ(σ)-ερ-* (see § 122 p. 381).

In *nomina agentis*, the strong form of the root generally prevailed in Aryan, and that with either accentuation (*dā-tar-* and *dā-tár-*); a few variations from this type seem to have survived from the period before varying forms were levelled; as Skr. *savyē-ṣṭhar-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer' (*-sthar-* = **-st-tor-*) beside *sthā-tár- sthā-tar-*, Avest. *ā-frītar-* 'magician' beside Skr. *prē-tár-* 'benefactor, lover', Avest. *yūx-tar-* beside Skr. *yōk-tár-* 'yoker', Avest. *ker^{e}-tar-* beside Skr. *kar-tár-* 'doer'. In Greek we have *δο-τήρ* : *δώ-τωρ*, *βο-τήρ* : *βώ-τωρ*, cp. also *πο-τήρ -δετήρ βα-τήρ* and *ἀφ-ήτωρ*; but we also find *δω-τήρ ξενκ-τήρ* and *ἴσ-τωρ* (*ἵσ-τωρ*) with exactly the converse accentuation. In Latin, where *-tēr* was displaced by *-tōr* (*-tor*), we have *sta-tor* and *stā-tor*, *da-tor*, *sa-tor*, *condi-tor* and *pō-tor*, Umbr. fertur (Skr. *bhár-tar- bhar-tár-*). In the case of *in-ventor cēnsor* and the like it is impossible to say whether we have the weak or the strong grade. The Latin participles

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da-tūru-s etc. follow the perf. part. (*da-tu-s*). In Slavonic we find both the strong (*da-telĭ, sŭ-dĕtelĭ, bljus-telĭ*) and the weak grade (*žrĭ-telĭ*).

§ 122. Indo-Germanic. **daiu̯ér- *daiu̯r-* and no doubt also **daiu̯r-* (I § 155 Rem. p. 140[1]) 'husband's brother, brother-in-law': Skr. *dēvár-*, Armen. *taigr* gen. *taiger* (*g* for *u̯*, I § 162 p. 145), Gr. δᾱήρ for **δαϝήρ* (I § 96 p. 90), Lat. *lēvir* (gen. *lēvirī*) for **lēver* through popular association with *vir* (cp. also I § 369 p. 279 f.), A.S. *tācor* O.H.G. *zeihhur* (for the *c* and *hh* see Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 575), Lith. gen. sing. *dĕveř-s* (nom. sing. *dĕver-ì-s* whence the by-form of the gen. *dĕver-ẽs*; the word is also declined as an *i̯o*-stem; the true nom. **dĕvẽ* = Skr. *dēvá* Gr. δᾱήρ no doubt dropped out of use owing to its gender and to avoid confusion with *dĕvẽ* 'goddess') O.C.Sl. *dĕver-ĭ*. Skr. *n-ár-*, Gr. *ἀν-ήρ*, gen. *ἀνδρ-ός*, 'man', *δρ-ώψ* 'human being' (Hesych.) for **νρ-* (I § 204 p. 170), Umbr. *ner-f* acc. 'proceres' *ner-us* 'proceribus'. Skr. *uš-ár-* 'early light, dawn' Gr. *ἦρι* adv. loc. 'early' for **ἠερ-ι *āu̯s-er-i* (*ἠέρ-ιο-ς* 'early'), beside which we have *ἄρι-στο-ν* doubtless for **au̯s-er-* (I § 312 p. 249 f.), cp. also *ἄγχ-ανρο-ς* 'close on morning' *αὔρ-ιο-ν* 'morrow, morning' (for **au̯s-* or **āu̯s-*) and Lith. *auszrà* 'red of the morning' (§ 74 p. 180). **su̯ésor- *su̯esr- *su̯esr-* 'sister' (cp. p. 9 footnote, and § 120 Rem. p. 379 f.): Skr. *svásar-* Armen. *k'oir* gen. *k'eŕ* (I § 560. 561 p. 416 f.), Lat. *sor-or* and *sobr-īnu-s* (ī § 570 p. 428), O.Ir. *siur* Cymr. *chwaer* (for **chwear-*), Goth. *svistar* instead of **svisar* through the influence of *svistr-s* etc. (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. *sesų̃* gen. *seserš*, O.C.Sl. *sestr-a* (I § 585 p. 439); we must no doubt class here Gr. ἔορ (vocat.)· *θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός* and ἔορ-ες· *προσήκοντες, συγγενεῖς* Hesych. (ἐ- for ἑ- I § 564 p. 421), where the meaning has changed.

**pə-tér-* 'father': Skr. *pitár-*, Armen. *hair* gen. *haur*, Gr. *πα-τήρ* (note its form in compounds, e. g. *μητρο-πάτωρ*), Lat. *pater*, O.Ir. *athir*, Goth. *fadar*. **mā-tér-* 'mother': Skr. *mātár-*,

1) In this Remark a full stop should be inserted after the word 'formation'; and in the preceding paragraph (§ 155) l. 4 read 'prim. Ar. **atharun-* ('fire-priest') not **atharu̯n-*', instead of 'for *atharu̯n-*'.

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Armen. *mair* gen. *mawr*, Gr. *μήτηρ* gen. *μητρ-ός* (the accent of *μήτηρ* no doubt follows that of the voc. *μῆτερ*) (*προ-μήτωρ*), Lat. *māter*, O.Ir. *māthir*, Goth. *muoter*, Lith. *motẽ* and *mótė* ('woman, wife') O.C.Sl. *mati*. Skr. *duhi-tár-* Gr. *θυγά-τηρ* (like Skr. *dami-tár-* Gr. *παν-δαμά-τωρ*, p. 383) Armen. *dustr* (the *st* is obscure) Goth. *dauh-tar* (early Norse nom. pl. *doh-tr-iʀ* like Gr. Hom. *θύγα-τρ-ες*) Lith. *duk-tė̃* O.C.Sl. *dŭšti* 'daughter'.

**bhrā-tor-* and later **bhrā-ter-* 'brother' (cp. § 120 Rem. p. 379): Skr. *bhrátar-*, Armen. *elbair* gen. *elbaur*, Gr. *φρᾱ́τωρ φρᾱ́τηρ* ('member of a *φρᾱτρίᾱ*'), Lat. *frāter*, O.Ir. *brāthir*, Goth. *brōþar*, Lith. *broter-ėli-s* ('little brother'), O.C.Sl. *bratr-ŭ* (from which came *bratŭ* by dissimilation, as *prostŭ* from **pro-strŭ*, Miklosich, Etym. Wtb. p. 321) like *sestr-a*.

Nomina agentis (in Sanskrit the acc. always has *-tār-*, in Gr. *-τορ-* excepting *μήστωρ-*, and *-τῆρ-*, in Lat. all cases have *-tōr-*). Skr. *pura-ētár-* 'he who precedes, guide', Lat. *praetor*, √ *eḭ-*. Skr. *vēttar-* 'knower', Gr. *ἴστωρ ἵστωρ* 'knower, witness', Lat. *vīsor in-vīsor*, O.C.Sl. *sŭ-vĕstelĭ* 'conscius, witness' (*ĕ* in place of Idg. *oḭ* is not original), √ *u̯eḭd-*. Skr. *yōk-tár-* Avest. *yūxtar-* 'yoker', Gr. *ζευκ-τήρ* 'yoke-strap' *ζεύκ-τειρα* 'binder (f.)', Lat. *jūnc-tor*, √ *jeu̯g-*. Skr. *bōddhar-* 'he who knows, or understands something', Gr. *πευστήρ-ιο-ς* 'questioning, inquiring', O.C.Sl. *bljustel-ĭ* 'watchman', √ *bheu̯dh-*. Skr. *bhar-tár- bhár-tar-* 'bearer, supporter, nourisher', Lat. *īn-fertor* Umb. *aŕ-fertur* 'infertor, flamen'. Skr. *gán-tar-* 'he who goes, comes', Gr. *βα-τήρ· βαίνων, βαδιστικός* (Hesych.), *ἐπι-βήτωρ* 'mounter, coverer', Lat. *in-ventor*, √ *gem-*. Skr. *han-tár-* 'he who strikes, kills, murderer', O.C.Sl. *žę-tel-ĭ* 'cutter', √ *ghen-*. Skr. *śáṣ-tar-* 'he who recites', Osc. *cens-tur* 'censor', √ *ḱens-*. Skr. *pak-tár-*, 'he who cooks, broils, bakes', Gr. *πέπ-τρ-ια* 'cook (f.)' (late), Lat. *coc-tor*, √ *peq-*. Skr. *sáttar-* 'he who sits', Lat. *ad-sessor*, √ *sed-*. Skr. *dhā-tár- dhá-tar-* 'he who places, creator', Gr. *θε-τήρ* 'placer' (late), Lat. *con-ditor*, O.C.Sl. *sŭ-dĕtel-ĭ* 'conditor', √ *dhē-*. Skr. *sthā-tár-* 'standing, not moving' *sthá-tar-* 'charioteer' *savyē-ṣṭhar- savya-ṣṭhár-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer' i. e. **-st* + *tar-* (cp. Germ. **fir-sti-* § 100 p. 297), Gr. *στα-τήρ* a

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weight and a coin *ἀπο-στατήρ* 'apostate', Lat. *Juppiter Stā-tor, sta-tor ob-stetr-ī-x*, √*stā-*. Skr. *pā-tár- pá-tar-* 'drinker', Gr. *πο-τήρ* 'drinking vessel, goblet' *οἰνο-ποτήρ* 'wine-drinker', Lat. *pō-tor*. Gr. *ἄκ-τωρ* 'leader' *ἐπ-ακτήρ* 'he who goes out for prey, hunter', Lat. *āc-tor āc-tr-ī-x*, √*aǧ-*. Avest. *zbā-tar-* 'panegyrist' O.C.Sl. *zva-tel-ĭ*. Skr. *jñā-tár-* 'knower, acquaintance', Gr. *γνωστήρ* 'witness for the truth of a statement' (*-σ-* is an analogical insertion as in *γνωστό-ς* beside *γνω-τό-ς*), Lat. *nō-tor*, O.C.Sl. *zna-tel-ĭ* 'knower'.

Skr. *dami-tár-* 'tamer', Gr. *παν-δαμά-τωρ* 'vanquisher of all', Lat. *domi-tor*. Skr. *jani-tár-* Gr. *γενε-τήρ γενέ-τωρ* Lat. *geni-tor* 'begetter', Lat. *gene-tr-ī-x*.

Aryan. Skr. *dēv-ár-*, Skr. *n̥-ár-*. Avest. *n-ar-* 'man', Skr. *uṣ-ár-*, Skr. *svás-ar-* Avest. *xvaŋh-ar-* 'sister' (§ 120 p. 379); see above, p. 381. Skr. *nánānd-ar-* 'husband's sister' is an analogical formation, cp. *nand-inī-* the same. Here should perhaps be classed Avest. *ātar-* (acc. *ātar-em*, nom. (a re-formation) *ātarš*) m. 'fire'; *t* is in place of pr. Ar. *th*, as is shewn by Skr. *átharvan-* and Avest. *āθravan-*.

Skr. *pi-tár-* Avest. *pi-tar- p-tar* (I § 473, 2 p. 349) O.Pers. *pi-tar-* (gen. *piša*, I § 261 p. 261 p. 213) 'father', Skr. *mā-tár-* Avest. O.Pers. *mā-tar-* 'mother', Skr. *duhi-tár-* Avest. *dug°dar- duγðar-* 'daughter', Skr. *bhrā́-tar-* Avest. O.Pers. *brā-tar-* 'brother', see p. 382 above. Skr. *jā́mātar-* Avest. *zāmātar-* son-in-law'.

In proethnic Aryan *napāt- napt-* 'offspring, descendant' (§ 123) was associated with the names of kindred, first in the weak cases: Skr. *náptar-* Avest. *naptr-* (cp. Czech *neti* below); yet the acc. sing. is Skr. *náptāram* Avest. *naptārem*, like *svásāram*. Skr. gen. *pátyur* 'mariti' like *pitúr* (see Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 290).

Remark. In § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348 and § 117 Rem. 2 p. 369 mention was made of the transference of nominatives in *-ā* and *-mā* to the *ā*-declension; we see the same thing in Prākrit, where *duhidā* 'daughter' and *mādā* 'mother' were inflected like *ā*-stems. Similarly, in Lithuanian *in-tė* 'brother's wife', and in some dialects also *sēsė* 'sister', which is found side by side with *sesů*, were declined as *ė*-stems.

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The class of *nomina agentis* was very fertile. Skr. *upa-kṣētár-* 'adherent', Avest. *xšaẹ-tar-* 'ruler'. Skr. *jḗ-tar-* 'conqueror'. Avest. *vī-dāẹtar-* 'one who looks around, spy'. Skr. *śrṓ-tar-* 'hearer', Avest. *srao-þr-ī-* f. 'hearer (f.)'. Skr. *hṓ-tar-* Avest. *zao-tar-* 'high priest'. Skr. *stō-tár-* Avest. *stao-tar-* 'one who sings praises'. Skr. *jṓṣ-ṭár- jṓṣ-ṭar-* 'lover. protector' O.Pers. *dauš-tar-* 'friend': cp. Gr. *γευσ-τήρ-ιο-ν* 'vessel for tasting, goblet', √ *ǧeụs-*. Skr. *vṓḍhar-* 'carrier, draught-horse' Avest. *vaš-tar-* 'draught animal' (I § 482 p. 356): Lat. *vec-tor-*, √ *ụeǧh-*. Skr. *han-tár-* 'he who strikes, kills, murderer', Avest. *jan-tar-* 'killer, slayer' O.Pers. *jatar-* (read *jantar-*) 'slayer, foe': O.C.Sl. *žę-tel-ĭ*, see above p. 382. Skr. *bhar-tár- bhár-tar-* Avest. *baraẹ-tar- bāšar- beraẹ-tar-* 'bearer, supporter (cp. § 120 p. 378): Lat. *īnfertor*; see above, p. 382. Skr. *dhar-tár-* 'bearer, supporter', Avest. *deraẹ-tar-* 'holder'. Skr. *kar-tár- kár-tar-* Avest. *keraẹ-tar-* 'doer'. Skr. *draš-tár-* 'he who sees', √ *derk-*. Avest. *haraẹ-tar-* 'guardian, protector'. Skr. *sáttar-* 'sitter', Avest. *aiwi-šastar-* 'he who sits': Lat. *ad-sessor*; see above, p. 382. Skr. *dágdhar-* 'incendiary' √ *dhegh-*. Skr. *dhā-tár- dhā́-tar-* Avest. *dā-tar-* 'he who placcs, creator': Gr. *θε-τήρ* etc., see p. 382 above. Skr. *mā́-tar-* 'measurer', O.Pers. *fra-mātar-* 'master', √ *mē-*. Skr. *dā-tár- dā́-tar-* Avest. *dā-tar-* 'giver': Gr. *δο-τήρ δω-τήρ δώ-τωρ* Lat. *da-tor* (*da-tr-ī-x*) O.C. Sl. *da-tel-ĭ* 'giver', √ *dō-*. Skr. *sthā-tár-* 'standing' *sthā́-tar-* 'charioteer, driver' *savyē-ṣṭhar- savya-ṣṭár-* 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer', Avest. *raþaẹ-štar-* 'the warrior who stands in the chariot': Gr. *στα-τήρ* etc., see p. 382 f. Skr. *pā-tár- pā́-tar-* Avest. *pā-tar-* 'protector, guardian'. Skr. *yaṣ-ṭár-* Avest. *yaš-tar-* 'offerer', √ *ịaǧ-*. Skr. *vi-bhaktár-* Avest. *bax-tar-* 'divider', √ *bhag-*. O.Pers. *a-yastar-* 'possessor' from Ar. *yat-* 'strive'. Skr. *śās-tár-* Avest. *sās-tar-* 'master'. Skr. *jñā-tár* 'knower, acquaintance' Avest. *žnā-tar-* 'learner, knower' (according to I § 403 p. 298 we should expect *šnā-tar-*): Gr. *γνωστήρ* etc., see above, p. 383. Skr. *trā-tár-* Avest. *þrā-tar-* 'protector'. Skr. *yā́-tar-* 'he who goes, is on the way'. Avest. *ā-snātar-* name of a priest who is responsible for ablutions.

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Skr. *dami-tár-*, *jani-tár-*; see above, p. 383. Skr. *jari-tár-* 'singer', Cp. Avest. *aibi-jar'tar-* 'praiser'. Skr. *pavi-tár-* 'purifier', *vardhi-tár-* 'increaser', *vēdi-tar-* 'knower'. Avest. *daibi-tar-* 'deceiver'. Skr. *prati-grahītár-* 'receiver' *grábhī-tar* 'seizer'. Skr. *taru-tár- táru-tar-* 'subduer'. Skr. *cōdayi-tár-* beside *cōdi-tár-* 'inciter'.

Towards the end of the Vedic period of Sanskrit, the nom. sing. du. pl. masc. of these *nomina agentis* began to be used with the present of *as-* 'esse' as a periphastic future (cp. Lat. *datūrus sum*), which became a favourite construction in the classical period. In the third person the copula was usually omitted, and the form of the nom. sing. which had become fused with the verb, was generally kept even in the first and second persons of the plural and dual. Sing. *dātásmi* 'I will give' *dātási dātá*, du. *dātásvas dātásthas dātárāu*, pl. *dātásmas dātástha dātáras*. Rarely 3 sing. *dātásti*, 1. du. *dātárāu svas* and the like.

The adjectival character of the *nomina agentis* created a neuter form for them in Sanskrit; thus nom. acc. sing. *dā-tṛ́* (in Veda also *-tár*, see I § 285 p. 228), pl. *-tṝṇi* etc. Cp. Lanman, Noun-Infl. p. 421 ff.

Armenian. Here are found only names of kindred, all of which have been already mentioned: *taigr* 'brother-in-law', *k̔oir* 'sister', *hair* 'father', *mair* 'mother', *dustr* 'daughter', *elbair* 'brother'; see above, p. 381 f.

Greek. *δᾱήρ* 'brother-in-law', *ἀνήρ* 'man', *ἦρι* 'early' *ἔαρ-ες· πρωσήκοντες*, see above, p. 381. *ἀήρ*, gen. *ἀέρ-ος*, f. m. 'air', Lesb. *αὔηρ*, compare *αὔρᾱ* 'air'. *αἰθήρ, αἰθέρος*, f. m. 'aether', compare *αἴθρᾱ*.

πα-τήρ 'father', *μή-τηρ* 'mother', *θυγά-τηρ* 'daughter', *φρᾱ́-τηρ* 'member of a *φρᾱτρίᾱ*'; see above, p. 381 f. *εἰνά-τερ-ες* 'women married to brothers': Skr. *yā́-tar-* (acc. *-tar-am*) 'husband's brother's wife' (probably for **ji̯ā́-ter-*, see I § 253 p. 207), Lat. *jani-tr-ī-c-ēs* (§ 119 p. 377), Lith. *in-tė* (gen. *in-tės*, cp. the Remark on p. 383) 'brother's wife'; it is still doubtful what we should assume as the original form of the root-syllable; there seem to have been both a form with *ə* following the root-syllable,

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and a form without, as in Skr. *duhi-tár-*: Goth. *daúh-tar*. *γαστ-τήρ* 'belly'.

The *nomina agentis* in *-τηρ- -τορ-* were a fertile class. *ἴστωρ ἵστωρ* 'knower, witness', *ἐπι-ίστωρ* 'conscius': Skr. *vēttar-* etc.; see above, p. 382. *φύ-τωρ* 'begetter': Osc. Fuutr-eí 'Creatrici, Genetrici', cp. also Skr. *bhavi-tar-* 'impending, future', √*bheu-*. *βα-τήρ · βαίνων, βαδιστικός* (Hesych.), *ἐπι-βήτωρ* 'mounter, coverer': Skr. *gán-tar-* etc.; see above, p. 382. *βο-τήρ βώ-τωρ* 'herdsman', *πουλυ-βότειρα* f. 'much-nourishing'. *ἀφ-ήτωρ* 'slinger, shooter': Lat. *sa-tor*, √*sē-*; some scholars add Skr. *s-tr-ī́* 'wife' (cp. Lat. *sator* 'begetter') which as regards the form of the root-syllable bears the same relation to *sa-tor* and *-ᾱ́-τωρ* as Skr. *savyē-ṣṭhar-* to Gr. *στα-τήρ* and Skr. *sthā-tár-* (p. 382 f.). *ἀμαλλο-δετήρ* 'sheaf-binder': Skr. *ni-dātár-* 'fastener', √*dē*. *ἄκ-τωρ* 'leader' *ἐπ-ακτήρ* 'he who goes out for prey, hunter': Lat. *āc-tor*. *ἀλάστωρ* 'not forgetful of punishment, avenying deity' beside *ἄ-λαστο-ς λήθ-ω*. *λαμπ-τήρ* 'lighter'. *ὀπ-τήρ δι-οπτήρ* 'watcher, spy'. *ζωσ-τήρ* 'girdle'. *δια-βλήτωρ* 'slanderer' (late). *κρᾱ-τήρ* 'mixing vessel'. *δμη-τήρ* 'subduer', *Δμή-τωρ, δμή-τειρα* 'subduer (f.)'. *θηρᾱ-τήρ θηρη-τήρ, θηρᾰ́-τωρ θηρή-τωρ* 'hunter' (*θηράω*), *κυβερνη-τήρ* 'steersman' (*κυβερνάω*), *αὐλη-τήρ* 'flute-player' fem. *αὐλη-τρ-ίς* (*αὐλέω*), *κοσμή-τωρ* 'commander' (*κοσμέω*), *μισθώ-τρ-ια* 'procuress' (*μισθόω*). *λῃστήρ λῃστωρ* 'plunderer, robber' (*λῄζομαι*). *σημάν-τωρ* 'commander' (*σημαίνω*). *φυλακ-τήρ* 'watchman' (*φυλάσσω* for **-ακ-jω*).

παν-δαμά-τωρ, γενε-τήρ γενέ-τωρ, see above p. 383. *ἀλ-ε-τρ-ίς* 'miller (f.)': *ἀλ-* for *ηιλ-*? cp. Lat. *mol-i-tor*.

With *-τωρ-* we find only *μήσ-τωρ,* Homer. acc. *-τωρ-α,* 'counsellor' (but as a proper name *Μήστορ-α*), beside *μήδ-ομαι*.

Italic. Lat. *lēvir* modified in form by popular etymology; see above, p. 381. Umb. *ner-f* 'proceres'; see above, p. 381. Lat. *soror* for **sɹesōr*, see above, p. 381.

Lat. *pa-ter* Umbr. Iu-pater 'Juppiter' Iuve patre 'Jovi patri' Osc. patír 'pater' paterei 'patri' (I § 627 p. 471) Marruc. *patres* 'patris', Lat. *mā-ter* Umbr. *matrer* 'matris' Osc. maatreís

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'matris', Lat. *frā-ter* Umbr. frater 'fratres' *fratrom* 'fratrum'; see above, p. 382. Lat. *ven-ter*.

In the group of *nomina agentis* we may assume that *-tōr-* had prevailed in all cases even in proethnic Italic; only the derivatives show *-tr-*. The formation seems to have been in active use in all dialects.

Lat. *īn-fertor*, Umbr. aŕ-fertur 'infertor, flamen' acc. *ars-ferturo* dat. *-ferture*: Skr. *bhar-tár-*; see above, p. 382. Lat. *ē-versor*, Osc. Ϝερσορει (o to be read long) '*Yersori, *Τροπαίῳ*', √*uert-*. *cēnsor* (cp. § 79 Rem. 2 p. 231), Osc. *censtur* keensztur (for the zs see I § 209 p. 176), 'censor': Skr. *śáṣ-tar-*, see p. 382 above. Lat. *īn-spector*, Umbr spetur 'spectori' speturie dat. 'spectoriae': Avest. *spas-tar-* 'watchman'. √*spek-*. Lat. *auc-tor*, Umbr. uhtur 'auctor' uhturu 'auctorem' uhtretie 'auctoritate'. Osc. embratur 'imperator', regatureí 'rectori'.

Lat. *pīs-tōr pīns-tōr pīs-tr-ī-x*: Skr. *pēṣ-ṭar-* 'grinder, crusher'. *fictor*. *vīc-tor*. *duc-tor*. *ūs-tor*. *dē-sertor*. *tortor* for **torc-tor*, from *torqueō*. *com-mentor*: Skr. *man-tár-* 'thinker', Gr. *Μέν-τωρ*, √*men-*. *tex-tor*: Skr. *táṣ-ṭar-* 'foreman, architect, carpenter', √*teks-*. *ēsor ēstr-ī-x*: Skr. *attár-* 'eater', Gr. *ὠμηστήρ* 'eating raw food' (late) *νήστειρα* f. 'fasting' (late). *messor*. *cor-rēctor*. *rap-tor*. *can-tor*. *al-tor*. *oc-cīsor*, from *caedō*. *sū-tor*. *sprē-tor*. *im-plētor*. *viē-tor*. *flā-tōr*. *cūrā-tor*, *bellā-tor*; *fīnī-tor*.

Lat. *domi-tor*, *geni-tor*; see above, p. 383. *meri-tōr-iu-s mere-tr-ī-x*. *dēbi-tōr*. *moli-tor*. *moni-tor*.

The connexion of the Latin participles in *-tūru-s*, such as *da-tūru-s*, with these *nomina agentis* can not be denied, but the *ū* is obscure (I § 89 p. 85).

In Old Irish only the names of kindred remain.

siur, acc. Mid.Ir. *siair*, 'sister'; see above, p. 381; through the influence of names of kindred in *-ter-* arose the forms gen. *sethar* acc. *sethir* dat. pl. *sethraib*.

athir 'father', *māthir* 'mother', *brāthir* 'brother', see above p. 381 f. To these the word for 'uncle' was assimilated, Mod.Cymr. *ewi-thr* O.Corn. *eui-ter*, cp. Lat. *avun-culu-s*.

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Germanic. *svist-ar* O.H.G. *swest-er* 'sister', see above p. 381.

Goth. *fa-dar daúh-tar brō-þar* O.H.G. *fater muoter tohter bruoder*; see above, p. 381 f. In O.H.G. another word seems to have been associated with these: *swiger*, gen. *swiger*, 'mother--in-law' (Skr. *śvaśrú-*).

In Gothic, *-tru-m* (for **-tr-mi*) in the dat. pl. and *-tr-uns* (for **-tr-us*) in the acc. pl. gave rise to the nom. pl. in *-trjus*, as *brōþrjus*, after the analogy of the *u*-declension. In Old High German the names of kindred were also declined as *o*-stems and as *ā*-stems (according to their gender), but the feminine forms occur only in the pl., and not until a late period. Thus we have gen. sing. *fateres* beside *fater*, gen. pl. only *faterā*, gen. pl. *tohterā* beside *tohter*.

Of the *nomina agentis* we have only doubtful traces. A.S. *bæcestre* f. 'baker (f.)' and the like; see § 110 p. 336. A.S. *bealdor* O.Icel. *baldr* 'chief', O.H.G. *smeidar* 'artifex', see Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungsl. § 30. O.H.G. *friu-dil fri-dol* m. 'beloved' O.Icel. *fri-dill* 'concubinus': O.C.Sl. *prija-tel-ĭ* 'friend' Avest. *ā-frītar-* 'one who pronounces a blessing' Skr. *prē-tar-* 'benefactor, lover': *l* must have arisen in Germanic, as in Slavonic, *(-tel-ĭ)* through dissimilation, cp. *murmulōn* etc. I § 277 p. 221; but there is difficulty in explaining the relation of the vowels in the root-syllable (cp. Brate in Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 187).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *dẽver-ì-s* gen. *dẽveř-s* O.C.Sl. *dĕver-ĭ* 'brother-in-law', Lith. *sesů* gen. *seserś*, also nom. *sẽsė* on the analogy of *mótė* etc. (cp. the Remark on p. 383), O.C.Sl. *sestra* 'sister', see above, p. 381.

Lith. *mo-tẽ* and *mó-tė* 'woman, wife' O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother', Lith. *duk-tẽ* O.C.Sl. *dŭšti* 'daughter', Lith. *bro-ter-ẽli-s* 'little brother'. O.C.Sl. *bra-tr-ŭ bra-tŭ* 'brother', see p. 382 above. Lith. *in-tė* (gen. *intės*) 'brother's wife' (O.C.Sl. *ję-tr-y* like *svekry*): Skr. *yā-tar-* etc., see p. 385 above; a confusion with *gentì-s* 'a relative' (m. f.) gave rise to the form *gent-ẽ* gen. *genteř-s* or *gentẽs* 'husband's brother's wife'. In Czech the inflexion of *neti* f. 'niece' (= Skr. *napt-ī*) was assimilated to that of the

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names of kindred, partly in consequence of the similar ending of the nom. sing.: thus gen. *neteř-e*, like *mateř-e*; cp. Skr. *náptar-* p. 383.

The class of *nomina agentis* is found only in Slavonic, where it was fertile. In Lithuanian these forms were displaced by those in *-toji-s* = O.C.Sl. *-tajĭ*, as *ar-tóji-s* = O.C.Sl. *ra-tajĭ ora-tajĭ* 'arator'; as to Lith. *-klė* see I § 281 Rem. 1 p. 224. Slav. *-tel-* arose from *-ter-* by dissimilation; see I § 281 p. 224. *-tel-* without any additional suffix is still found in nom. gen. instr. pl., *-tel-e*, *-tel-ŭ*, *-tel-y* although the two latter forms may also be regarded as belonging to the *o*-decl.); elsewhere we have *-tel-je-*. *sŭ-věstelĭ* 'conscius, witness', *bljustelĭ* 'watchman', *žę-telĭ* 'reaper', *sŭ-dětelĭ* 'conditor', *zva-telĭ* 'caller', *zna-telĭ* 'knower'; see above, p. 382 f. *da-telĭ* 'giver', see above, p. 384. *prija-telĭ* 'friend', see above p. 388. *žrĭ-telĭ* 'offerer, priest'. *vlas-telĭ* 'commander' (*vladą* 'I command, rule'), *zi-telĭ* 'inhabitant', *dĕla-telĭ* 'worker'. *sŭ-biratelĭ* 'collector'. *umĕ-telĭ* 'one who understands'. *sŭ-vědětelĭ* 'conscius, witness'. *prosi-telĭ* 'beggar'. *goni-telĭ* 'follower'. *-itelĭ* was also used as an independent suffix: e. g. *po-dad-itelĭ* 'lender, bail, security', *po-greb-itelĭ* 'burier'.

VII. Suffixes in *-t.*

§ 123. The Suffix *-t-*[1]). In the proethnic language this was a primary suffix; and it was most frequently found, as its use in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin shews, in the final members of compound words. These had the force of a participle, which was generally active and could be either an adjective or substantive. But *-t-* is used in this way only with roots which end in vowels, liquids, or nasals, such as *eį̄-*, *dhē-*, *bher-*, *ghen-*. Skr. *arthĕt- (artha-i-t-)* 'busy, in haste', Lat. *comes* stem *com-i-t-* (properly 'one who goes with'), √*eį̄-*. Avest. *fratema-dā-t-* 'one set first, set in front, chief', Gr. *θής*, gen. *θη-τ-ός*, 'hired labourer', √*dhē-*. Avest. *fraotō-stā-t-* adj. 'in the rivers', Lat. *anti-sti-t-*, √*stā-*.

1) De Saussure, Le suffixe *-t-*, Mémoires de la Soc. de Ling. III 197 ff.

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Here must be classed **nepōt- *nept-* (Skr. *nápāt* 'offspring, descendant' instr. *nádbhiš* for **nabd-bhiš*, Lat. *nepōs*, Mid.Ir. *niae*, gen. *niath*, 'sister's son', O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew, relative' Goth. *niþ-ji-s* 'cousin, relative', O.Icel. *niđ-r* 'offspring', O.C.Sl. *net-iji* 'nephew, cousin', see I § 527 Rem. 1 p. 382, § 545 p. 399), if it belongs to the root of **pə-ter-* 'father' and if its original meaning was 'not having (a father's) protection, belonging to the family of uncle or grandfather', and hence 'nephew' or grandson'; see E. Leumann, Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk 1888 p. 77 f.

Next should be mentioned *noq-t-* 'night' (beside **noq-ti-*, cp. the suffix *-tāti-* beside *-tāt-* § 102 p. 308): Skr. *nák-t-* (Gaedicke, Der Acc. im Veda 177, B. Kahle, Zur Entwickelung der Consonant. Decl. im Germ. 32 f.), Gr. *νύξ νυκ-τό-ς*, Lat. *nox* (which also forms *i*-cases), O.Ir. *in-nocht* 'hac nocte', Goth. gen. *nah-t-s* dat. *nah-t*, O.Lith. gen. pl. *nak-t-u*.

We also find a few substantive numerals (with by-forms in *-ti-*, see § 101 p. 306 f.). **deḱm-t-* 'decade': Skr. *daśát-*, Gr. *δεκάς* gen. *δεκάδ-ος* (for the *δ* see p. 392), Lith. pl. *dẽszimt-s* O.C.Sl. pl. *deseṭ-e*. In this way were formed Skr. *pañcát-* Gr. *πεμπάς πεντάς* 'a group of five' (I § 427 *a* p. 312) beside Skr. *páñca* Gr. *πέντε* 'five', and other examples.

Lastly we find a certain number of nouns in different languages with a short vowel between the root and *-t-*; as Skr. *sravát-* f. 'river', Lat. *teges*, gen. *teget-is*, f. 'covering', Goth. *miteþ-s*, stem *mitad-* f. 'measure', Skr. *vāghát-* 'praying', Gr. *ἀργέτ-* 'gleaming', Lat. *teres*, gen. *teret-is*, 'turned, round, long'. Not one of these nouns appears in more than one language. Nevertheless it is natural to derive them from a common source.

In several branches of Indo-Germanic, particularly in Aryan, this suffix *-t-* was taken widely into use in combination with others by which it was extended. The new compound suffixes were used independently and became fertile, e. g. Skr. *-t-nu-*.

Aryan. Skr. *arthét-*, Avest. *fratema-đāt- þraotō-stāt-*, see above p. 389. Skr. *viśva-ji-t-* 'obtaining all by conquest', Avest. *išasem-ji-t-* 'subduing, suppressing one's wish'. Skr. *deva-stú-t-*

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'praising the gods', Avest. *ahūm-stu-t* 'praising the world'. Skr. *dēva-śrú-t-* 'heard of the gods, audible to them'. Skr. *vajra-bhṛ́-t-* 'bearing the thunderbolt', Avest. *aš-ber^{e}-t-* 'enduring much' *ā-ber^{e}-t-* 'purveyor' (appellation of a priest's assistant). Skr. *su-kṛ́-t-* 'behaving well', Avest. *yās-ker^{e}-t-* 'transacting business'. Avest. *taxmār^{e}-t-* *(taxma-ar^{e}-t-)* 'pressing on hard'. Skr. *adhva-gá-t-* 'on the way, traveller', √*gem-*. Less often in uncompounded words: Skr. *ri-t-* 'running', *hrú-t-* 'injurer, foe', Avest. *stū-t-* 'praiser'. Moreover these *-t*-stems are found in Aryan as feminine abstract substantives: Skr. *sam-i-t-* 'hostile meeting', *ni-yú-t-* 'team', *stú-t-* 'praise, song', *vṛ́-t-* 'company, following, troop, band', Avest. *xšnūt-* 'wisdom'. For the Skr. *nápāt- nápt-* 'offspring, descendant' Avest. *napāt- napt-* (fem. Skr. *napt-í-* Avest. *napt-ī-*) see above p. 390, and for Skr. *náptar-* Avest. *naptar-* § 122 p. 383.

Extensions of this suffix gave rise to the suffixes *-tya-*, e. g. Skr. *kṛ́tya-s* 'faciendus' § 63 p. 123 f., *-tnu-*, e. g. Skr. *kṛ́tnu-ṣ* 'active' § 106 p. 320, *-tvan-*, e. g. Skr. *kṛ́tvan-* 'effecting' § 116 p. 364. Compare Skr. *mṛ-t-yú-ṣ* 'death § 105 p. 318 f.

Skr. *nák-t-* 'night', see above p. 390. Skr. *daśát-* 'a group of ten' *pañcát-* 'a group of five', see above, p. 390.

A few Sanskrit nouns have *-at- -it-*. *sravát-* f. 'river'. *vahát-* f. 'stream'. *saścát-* f. 'stopping, check'. *vēhát-* f. 'a cow which yeans prematurely, casts'. *vāghát-* 'praying, one who prays'. *sarit-* f. 'river, brook'. *yōṣ́it-* f. 'girl, maiden'. *harít-* 'tawny'. There is one word in *-út-*: *marút-* name of the storm-gods.

Greek. *θής*, gen. *θη-τ-ός*, 'hired labourer', see p. 389 above. *πλώς*, gen. *πλω-τ-ός*, 'swimmer' name of a fish. *ὠμο-βρώς*, gen. *-βρῶ-τ-ος*, 'devouring raw flesh' (√*ger-*, cp. I § 306 p. 242). *ἀγνώς*, gen. *-γνῶ-τ-ος*, 'unknown, not knowing'. *προ-βλής*, gen. *βλῆ-τ-ος*, 'thrown forward, springing forward, prominent'. *δορι-κμής*, gen. *-κμῆ-τ-ος*, 'subdued by the spear'.

νύξ, gen. *νυκ-τ-ός*, 'night', see p. 390 above.

δεκάς, πεμπάς πεντάς, see p. 390 above. So also *πτάς* 'a group of seven' ground-form **septṇ-t-*, *ἐννέας* 'a group of nine',

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ὀνάς τριάς (this word cannot be compared with Lat. *triēns*, gen. *trient-is*), ἑξάς etc. In I § 238 p. 199, § 469, 7 p. 346 something has been said of the -δ- in these forms. In the Indo-Germanic case-system (*dekṃt- *septṃt-* and so forth) there was a variation between *t* and *d*, e. g. dat. **dekṃt-ai̯*, instr. **dekṃd-bhi(s)*. The only question is whether the Gr. -δ- arose from an assimilation of the cases with *t* to this latter form either in Greek or earlier, or whether the δ was a special Greek development, due to the terminations -ας -ασι, which also belonged to the original *d*-stems (§ 128). The latter explanation now seems to me the more probable. Cp. λάταγ- § 130 Rem.

ἀργέτ- and ἀργῆτ- 'gleaming' the nom. was perhaps originally -ēt, gen. -*et-os* and so forth (cp. below A.S. *hæle* 'hero' for pr. Germ. **χalēþ*). κέλης, gen. -ητ-ος, m. 'runner, courser', ἕχης m. 'possessor', λέβης m. 'cauldron, bowl'.

Italic. Lat. *com-es*, *anti-stes*, *nepōs* (gen. *nepōt-is* etc.; the weak form of the stem appears in *nept-i-s*), see p. 390 above. *sacerdōs*, gen. -*dōt-is*, for **sácro-dō-t-* I § 633 p. 473 f.; where it must be remembered that -*dō-t-* can be derived not only from √*dō-*, but also from √*dhē* (cp. Gr. θω-μό-ς etc. I § 315 p. 254). *locu-plēs*, gen. -*plē-t-is*, whose original meaning has not been clearly determined (see Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. 253). *man-suēs*, gen. -*suē-t-is* (beside *mān-suē-tu-s*). Add *in-gen-t-*, if it originally meant 'unknown, unheard of', and then 'extraordinary, huge', and so comes from √*ĝen-* 'know' (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. IV 149 f.).

Lat. *nox*, see above p. 390.

With -*et-*: *teges* (gen. *teget-is*) f., *seges* f., *merges* f.; *teres*, *hebes*. An isolated form is *caput*, gen. *capit-is*.

Remark 1. With -*it-*: *eques* (gen. *equit-is*) m. (*equo-s*), *pedes* m. (*pēs*), *vēles* m. (*vēlu-m*), *mīles* m., *circes* m. (*circu-s*), *palmes* m. (*palma*), *āles* subst. m. and adj. (*āla*). K. Walter (Kuhn's Ztschr. X 194 ff.) holds that these correspond to such Greek denominatives as ἱππό-τα (*eques*) ἀγρό-τη-ς (§ 80 p. 240). There seems to me to have been a confusion in Latin between *tā*-stems and compounds with -*i-t-* 'going' (see *com-i-t-* above), after the vowels preceding the -*t-* had become indistinguishable through phonetic change. The compounds attracted the *tā*-stems into their

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own consonantal declension, a process which was assisted by popular etymology. But it is doubtful whether all these forms (*eques* etc.) were *tā*-stems to start with. It may certainly be assumed of a few examples such as *ped-it-*, that (like *com-es*) they were real compounds of *-i-t-* 'going.

Old Irish. *niae*, gen. *niath*, (Mid.Ir.) 'sister's son', *in-nocht* 'hac nocte', see p. 390 above.

With *-et-*: *cing-*, gen. *cinged*, 'hero, warrior' Gall. *Cinges -etis Cinget-o-rīx*, *traig* 'foot', *cin* 'debt', *luch* 'mouse'. Compare Gall. acc. pl. *Namnet-as*, and further (with *ā*) *Atrebāt-es* (beside O.Ir. *atreba* i. e. *ad-treba* 'possidet, habitat') as well as Ir. *ascad-* (nom. *ascae*) 'rival, enemy' *arad-* 'charioteer'; in these words it is difficult to determine the original form of the suffix.

Germanic. O.H.G. *nefo* 'nephew' for **nefō(d)* has been attracted into the *n*-declension: Skr. *nápāt* etc., see p. 390 above. O.H.G. *nift* 'neptis, privigna' = Skr. *napt-t*.

Gen. sing. Goth. *nah-t-s* O.H.G. *naht-e-s*, dat. Goth. O.H.G. *nah-t* etc. (nom. Goth. *naht-s* O.H.G. *naht* 'night'): Skr. *nák-t-* etc., see above p. 390. In Germanic the various cases of this word followed different declensions.

Remark 2. Consonantal cases are found in the declension of the feminine nouns Goth. *vaih-t-s* 'thing' *brus-t-s* 'breast' as from *vaht-s*; and also from *spaúrþ-s* (*spaúr-d-*) 'race-course' *dulþ-s* (*dul-þ-*) 'feast'. The two latter should be compared with such Sanskrit fem. forms as *vṛ́-t- stú-t-* (see p. 391), if their consonantal inflexion is original.

There is a class of nouns which show a vowel before the *-t-* (pr. Germ. *-þ-* or *-đ-*, following always the position of the accent), which have abandoned their old consonantal inflexion more or less completely. Goth. *mitaþ-s* (st. *mitad-*) f. 'measure', beside O.Sax. *metod* O.Icel. *mjǫtuđ-r* m. 'measurer, orderer, artist, creator'. O.H.G. *helid* A.S. *hæleđ* (also *hæle*, an old nom. without *s*, for **χalēþ*) O.Icel. *hǫld-r* 'hero'. O.H.G. *hehhit* 'pike', *sceffid* 'creator', *leitid* 'leader'. In Norse this class (*nomina agentis*) was fertile: e. g. *hatu-đr hǫtuđ-r* 'hater', *skapađr* 'creator' *framiđ-r* 'gestor, tributor, dator'.

Goth. *mēnōþ-s* (dat. *mēnōþ*, pl. nom. acc. *mēnoþ-s*) O.H.G. *mānōd* O.Icel. *mānađ-r* (pl. *mānađ-r* m. 'month'. The nominative form **mēnō(þ)* gave rise to Goth. *mēna* O.H.G. *māno*, which

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then developed *n*-cases like *nefo*. In this word *-t-* was a secondary suffix, and so also in Goth. *veitvōþ-s (veitvōd-)* m. 'witness'; this form will be discussed below in § 176.

Balto-Slavonic. The Lith. nom. sing. *mẽnů* (gen. *mẽnesio*) may, with O.H.G. *māno*, be referred to **mēnōt*.

Lith. pl. *dẽszimt-s* O.C.Sl. *deseţ-e*; see p. 390 above.

Remark 3. The Slav. masc. *lakŭtĭ* 'elbow, ell', *nogŭtĭ* 'unguis', *pĕcatĭ* 'seal' form cases according to the consonantal declension; e. g. gen. pl. *lakŭtĭŭ* nom. pl. *pečat-e*. Have we here a secondary transference to this declension?

§ 124. The Suffixes *-tāt-* and *-tūt-* formed feminine abstract substantives from Adjectives and Substantives, and had in the proethnic and later periods the parallel forms *-tāti-* and *-tūti-*. They have been discussed in § 102 p. 308 ff.

§ 125. The Suffix *-nt-*[1]). In all periods this suffix formed all the active participles excepting that of the Perfect (§ 136). In most of the separate groups of languages it has remained in living use down to the present day.

nt- participles became simple nouns in all the languages, though more rarely in some than in others. They became partly adjectives pure und simple (with comparative and superlative), such as Mod.H.G. *reizend* 'charming' and partly substantives, such as Mod.H.G. *freund* 'friend'. This change from one part of speech to another has taken place at every stage in the developement of the Indo-Germanic languages. Thus for example Mod.H.G. *zahn* (Lat. *dēns*) had become a substantive in the proethnic period, *freund* (Goth. *frijōnd-s*) in

1) H. Ebel, Das Suffix *-ant* und Verwandtes, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, Origine du suffixe participial *ant*, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 188 ff. F. Baudry, Le *t* du suffixe participial *ant*, ibid. 393 ff. O. Bechstein, De nominibus Latinis suffixorum *ent-* et *mino-* ope formatis, Curtius' Stud. VIII 335 sqq. (I have not been able to work through Ch. Bartholomae's essay, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf *-nt-*, which has just appeared in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 467 ff., so as to make use of it for the following sections, but a cursory survey has shown me, to my great satisfaction, that we have arrived at the same conclusions on certain main points).

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proethnic Germanic, *heiland* (A.S. *hælend*) in proethnic West-Germanic, and *der vorsitzende* (O.H.G. *furi-sizzando*) 'president' in High German. Compare § 144.

-nt- is sometimes added immediately to the root-syllable, e. g. **s-n̥t-* 'being' √ *es-* (Skr. *s-ánt- s-at-*), sometimes to stems having a tense-determinant, e. g. pres. **ci-nu̯-n̥t-* √ *qei̯-* (Skr. *ci-nv-ánt- ci-nv-at-*), **rud-ó-nt-* √ *reu̯d-* (Skr. *rud-á-nt-*), **bhéu̯dh--o-nt-* √ *bheu̯dh-* (Skr. *bódh-a-nt-*), fut. **dō-si̯ó-nt-* √ *dō-* (Skr. *dā-syánt-*).

Remark 1. It is a plausible hypothesis that the 3. pl. in *-nti* and *-nt* (**rudó-nti* = Skr. *rudá-nti* **é rudó-nt* = Skr. *á-rudan*, cp. Lat. *rudu-nt*) is simply the bare stem of this participial formation, to which *-i* was sometimes added on the analogy of the 3. sing. in *-ti* beside *-t* etc. If so, the 3. pl. perf. (Gr. *λελόγχ-ασι -αν*, Goth. *vit-un*) was doubtless formed originally with some other suffix; and as a matter of fact the *nt-* suffix is not used in that tense in Aryan.

The original variation of ablaut is on the whole clear:

In participles formed from non-thematic verbal stems, the suffix varied between *-n̥t-* and *-n̥t-* in the parent language; as Skr. sing. acc. *s-ánt-am ci-nv-ánt-am* gen. *s-at-ás ci-nv-at-ás* pl. loc. *s-át-su ci-nv-át-su* (instead of **s-at-sú *ci-nv-at-sú*), cp. I § 226 p. 193, § 230 p. 196 etc.

With thematic stems, on the other hand, the suffix assumed the forms *-ó-nt-* and *-n̥t-*; as Skr. *rudá-nt-am rudat-ás rudat-su* (instead of **rudat-sú*) Gr. *ϝιδόντ-τα *ϝιδατ-ός *ϝιδατ-σι* (replaced by *ϝιδόντος* and *ϝιδόνσι ϝιδοῦσι*). It is certain that *-ó-nt-* and *-n̥t-* were original; but it is still a little doubtful whether the paradigm also contained *-e-nt-*. The nom. sing. ended partly in *-o-nt-s* (and under certain conditions perhaps in *-e-nt-s*), partly in *-ōn* (Gr. *φέρων* O.C.Sl. *bery*; there was no loss of *-t*, contrast *ἔγνον* for **ἐ-γνω-ντ* I § 611 p. 461).

Remark 2. Special evidence for a form *-e-nt-* beside *-o-nt-* and *-n̥t-* is given by Mid.H.G. *zint* O.Icel. *tind-r* 'tooth, prong' = **d-en-t-* beside **d-on-t-* (O.H.G. *zan*, Gr. *ὀδόντ-* etc.) and **d-n̥t-* (Goth. *tunþ-*). It is possible to assume (with B. Kahle, Zur Entw. der Conson. Decl., 13) that the loc. sing. was originally **dént(i)*, cp. loc. sing. *-en(-i) -men(-i)*. § 118 p. 344 and *-(t)er-i* § 120 p. 379. Another view is also possible. **rud-é-nt-* may once have existed beside **bhéu̯d-o-nt-*, **d-é-nt-* beside **d-o-nt-* as *φρ-εν-ες* beside *ἄ-φρ-ον-ες* § 118 p. 343 f. and *πα-τέρ-ες* beside *φρά-τορ-ες*

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μητρο-πάτορ-ς; § 120 p. 375; while in the *-nt-* stems also in either case the loc. sing. may have had *-e-*, **dent-(i)*. This latter assumption would explain very simply the varying declension of these stems in the different languages. Observe especially that in this case there would be no necessity to suppose any levelling of different forms of the stem in participles like Lat. *rudēns rudentis* etc., inasmuch as *rudent-* would come as regularly from **rudént-* as from **rudn̥t-*.

§ 126. Indo-Germanic. Participles. **bhér-o-nt- *bher-n̥t-*, beside **bhér-e-ti* 'fert': Skr. *bhárant- bhárat-*, Gr. *φέρων* (*-οντ-*), Lat. *ferēns* (*-ent-*), Goth. *baírand-s* (*-and-*), O.C.Sl. *bery* (**-ǫt-*). **dorḱéi̯o-nt-*, from the causative **dorḱéi̯e-ti* 'causes to see', √ *derḱ-*: Skr. *darśáyant-* 'causing to see' Goth. *ga-tarhjand-s* 'distinguishing'; Skr. *tyājáyant-* 'bidding one abandon something' Gr. *σοβέων* 'driving away quickly, scaring off': Skr. *nāśáyant-* 'causing to disappear, destroying' Lat. *nocēns* from **noceient-* (indic. *noceō*). **rud-ó-nt-*,[1]) **rud-n̥t-* from **rud-é-ti* 'laments, howls': Skr. *rudánt- rudat-* Lat. *rudēns* (*-ent-*); Skr. *vidánt-* 'finding' Gr. *ἰδών* 'seeing' Goth. *vitand-s* 'knowing'; Skr. *giránt-* O.C.Sl. *žĭry* 'swallowing' common ground-form* *gṛ--ó-nt-*, √ *ger-*; Skr. *kṛntánt-* 'cutting off' Lith. *krintą̃s* (*-ant-*) 'falling off'. **dō-si̯ó-nt-*, from **dō-si̯é-ti* fut. 'he will give': Skr. *dāsyánt-* Lith. *dū̃sęs* (*-ent-*). **u̯ē-nt-* (the stem doubtless had this form in all the cases; for Aryan *vāt-* in the weak cases see § 110 p. 337), from **u̯é-ti* 'blows' (without vowel-gradation): Skr. *vā́-nt-*, Gr. *ἄεις ἄ(ϝ)εντ-* for **ἀ(ϝ)ηντ-*; add Lat. *vent-u-s* Goth. *vind-s* 'wind', which have been extended by *-o-*. **sthā́-nt- *stənt-*, from **stá-t(i)* (Lat. *sta-t*, Skr. *á-sthā-t* Gr. *ἔ-στη*): Skr. *stá-nt-*, Gr. *στάς* (*σταντ-* may regularly represent either form of the stem), Lat. *stāns* (*stant-*, as in Greek); **dṓ-nt- *də-nt-*, from *dṓ-t(i)* (Lat. *da-t* instead of **dō-t*, Skr. *á-dā-t*): Gr. *δούς* (*δοντ-* for **δω-ντ-* or instead of **δα-ντ-*, see I § 109 p. 102), Lat. *dāns* (*da-nt-* = **də-nt-*). In the following examples the tense-stem ends in a consonant. **s-n̥t- *s-n̥t-*, beside **és-ti* 'is': Skr. *s-ánt- s-at*; in Greek the only trace of the orig. stem is **s-n̥t-* in the fem. Dor. *ἔασσα* i. e. **ἐ(σ)-αντ-ι̯α* § 110 p. 337

1) Or **rud-é-nt-*, under other (more primitive) conditions, see § 125 Rem. 2. So also in the cases which follow.

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(elsewhere we find new formations, such as Dor. ἐντ-ες Ion. ἐόντ-ες Att. ὄντ-ες), Lat. *prae-sēns* (*-sent-*), Pruss. *emprīki-sins* 'present' (dat. *-sentismu*). **dé-d-n̥t-* **dhé-dh-n̥t-* (*-n̥t-* no doubt in all the cases), from **dé-dō-ti* 'gives', √*dō-*, **dhé-dhē-ti* 'ponit', √*dhē-*: Skr. *dádat-* *dádhat-* (acc. *dádat-am* *dádhat-am*), Gr. διδόντ- τιθέντ- new formations in place of **δίδατ-* **τιθατ-* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 394 f.). **gi-mn̥-ńt-* **gi-mn̥-n̥t-*, from **gi-mén̥-ti-* √*gen̥-*: Skr. *cinv-ánt-* *cinv-at-* 'gathering, arranging', *śak-nuv-ánt-* 'being able'; in Greek we have a reformation *ἀγ-νύ-ντ-* 'breaking' taking the place of **ἀγ-ντ-αντ-*[1]) **ἀγ-ντ-ατ-* which would correspond to the 3. pl. *ἀγ-νύ-ασι*. **mn̥-n-ńt-* **mn̥-n-n̥t-*, from **mn̥-nā-ti*, √*men-*: Skr. *mn̥-n̥-ánt-* *mn̥-n̥-at-* 'grinding'; Gr. δαμ-ν-άντ- (nom. δαμνᾶς) 'taming', where this strong form of the stem is carried through the paradigm.

A number of participles of this kind became simple nouns even in the parent language. Skr. *jára-nt-* 'frail, old,

1) In this section, as in Vol. I § 235 p. 198 f., I have regarded *-αν-* as the regular phonetic representative of original *-n̥-*. This view has been recently attacked by Kögel in the Literar. Centralbl. 1888 Sp. 1380, in his criticism of Burghauser, who maintained (as I do) that ἴασι (for **i(n)αντι*) was the normal form of the 3. pl. of the root *es-*; the comparison Skr. *sánti* = Gr. εἰσί (for **σεντι*) = H.G. *sind* 'is', says our critic, 'almost universally (??) accepted'. In view of this, I am bound to call attention to the evidence of the word *π-άντ-* = Idg. **k̑u-n̥t-* which is shortly to be mentioned in the text; a form which is of especial importance from its isolation, and which in my opinion decides the question of the representation of Idg. *n̥* in Greek distinctly in favour of *αν*. Can any one maintain the alternative that in the proethnic period of Greek **π-ντ-* became *π-άντ-* through the influence of the weak form **π-ατ-* = **k̑u-n̥t-*? This form disappeared in that very period, and in other instances of levelling between different cases it is the reverse process and that only that has been established — e. g. *-ϝετ-* for *-ϝατ-* on the analogy of *-ϝεντ-*, *φρ-ε-σί* for *φρ-α-σί* on the analogy of *φρεν-*. Nor are the objections urged by Meringer (Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 149 f.) against my theory at all more serious. I hope to find an opportunity elsewhere of dealing with his arguments in detail; suffice it here to say, that in maintaining as he does (p. 150) that the *e* of the Indo-Germanic sound *ᵉn*, which he and J. Schmidt assume in place of *n̥*, 'naturally' became *a* in Aryan, he has completely overlooked the fact that before this *ᵉn* the Aryan *k*-sounds would necessarily appear as *c*-sounds, which no more happens here than it does before *ir* = Idg. *ṛ*.

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hoary', Gr. γέρων (-ο-ντ-) 'old man'. Skr. *šá-śvant- śá-śvat-* 'complete, whole, every' for **sá-śvant-* (I § 557 p. 413), Gr. πάντ- (πᾶς) ἅ-παντ- (ἅ-πᾱς) 'all, every', Idg. **k̑u̯-u̯t- *k̑u̯-n̥t-* originally perhaps 'coming to fulness', compare Skr. *śvā-* 'swell out' Gr. κυέω 'am pregnant' κύος 'fetus' (to the same root belongs Dor. πᾶ-μα § 117 p. 370 f.); cp. Goth. *all-s* § 66 p. 147 and Lat. *omni-s* § 95 p. 286. Skr. *br̥-hánt- br̥-hat-* 'exalted, high, great' fem. *br̥hat-ī́*, O.Ir. *Brigit* f. ('she who is exalted'), see § 110 p. 337. **d-ó-nt- *d-n̥t-* 'tooth' (cp. § 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.) from √*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *dánt- dat-* (*dat-ás dad-bhíṣ*), Gr. ὀδόντ- nom. ὀδούς and ὀδών; **δατ-* appears in ὀδάξ § 86 p. 256, § 88 p. 265, Lat. *dent-* nom. *dēns* (Osc. *dunt-* = *dont-* is uncertain, see Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 184), O.Ir. *dēt* (Mod.Cymr. *dant*) dat. *dēit*, Goth. *tunþ-u-s* O.H.G. *zan* (see p. 402 f.), Lith. *dant-ì-s* (we still find gen. pl. *dant-ũ* beside *dancziũ*)[1]; it seems more probable that Gr. Lesb. ἔδοντες was a re-formation, the original word being altered on the analogy of ἔδω, than that a by-form **éd-o-n-t-* 'tooth' should have existed side by side with **d-ón-t-* in Indo-Germanic; the ὀ- of ὀδούς however has yet to be explained; the theory of J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 51) and G. Meyer, (Gr. Gr.² p. 306) does not satisfy me.

Aryan. Skr. *váh-a-nt-* Avest. *vaz-a-nt-* (nom. *váhan vaząs*) 'vehens': Lat. *vehēns*, Goth. *ga-vigand-s*, Lith. *vežą̃s* O.C.Sl. *vezy*, common ground-form **u̯éĝh-o-nt-*, beside indic. **u̯éĝh-e-ti* 'vehit'. Skr. *dhāráya-nt-* Avest. *dāraya-nt-* 'holding', beside indic. *dhāráya-ti- dārayęiti*; Skr. *vāháya-nt-* 'causing to ride, causing to run': Gr. ὀχέων 'causing to drive, ride', Goth. *vagjand-s* 'setting in motion'. Skr. *náś-ya-nt-* Avest. *nas-ya-nt-* 'becoming lost', beside indic. *náś-ya-ti nas-yęiti*. Skr. *pr̥chá-nt-* Avest. *per^esa-nt-* 'asking': Lat. *poscēns* for **por(c)-scent-*, beside indic. *pr̥chá-ti per saiti poscit* ground-form **pr̥(k̑)-sk̑é-ti*, √*prek̑-*. Skr. *vindá-nt-* Avest. *vinda-nt-* 'finding', beside indic. *vindá-ti vindaiti*, √*u̯ei̯d-*.

1) I see no sufficient reason for doubting that in *dantũ* we still have the old *-nt*-stem (Brückner, Archiv für slav. Phil. III 247). *grindũ* beside *grindžiũ* from *grindì-s* 'deal board', only shews that the word has been influenced by the analogy of such forms as *dantũ*.

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Skr. *udan-yá-nt-* 'streaming' beside indic. *udan-yá-ti*. Skr. *vak-šyá-nt-* Avest. *vax-šya-nt-* fut. 'about to speak', beside indic. *vak-šyá-ti vax-šyeiti*. Skr. *vá-nt-* Avest. *vå-nt-* 'blowing', beside indic. *vá-ti vāiti*: Gr. ἄεις, see above p. 396. Skr. *snā-nt-* 'washing oneself, bathing', beside indic. *snā-ti*: Lat. *nāns*. Skr. *s-ánt-* Avest. *h-ant-* 'being, true', beside indic. *ás-ti as-ti* 'is'. Skr. *y-ánt-* Avest. *y-ant-* 'going, coming', beside indic. *é-ti aeiti*. Skr. *dád-at-* 'giving, *dádh-at-* ponens', Avest. *daδant-* 'giving, ponens', beside indic. Skr. *dádā-ti dádhā-ti* Avest. *daδāiti*; the Avestic form was a new formation, see above, p. 397. Skr. *su-nv-ánt-* Avest. *hu-nv-ant-* 'pressing out', beside indic. *su-nó-ti hu-naoiti*. Skr. *krī-ṇ-ánt-* 'buying', beside indic. *krī-ṇā-ti*.

In proethnic Aryan, participles like *vá-n-t-* 'blowing' lost their nasal in the weak cases on the analogy of *sánt-am*: *sat-ás* etc. Compare § 110 p. 337. Beside Skr. *mahat-* Av. *mazat-*. *(mahat-á mahád-bhiš, mazaƀ)* 'great' we have a remarkable form Skr. *mahánt-* Avest. *mazånt- (mahánt-am, mazånt-em)*. Compare with it the Vedic acc. *mahấ-m* and such compounds as *mahā-grāmá-s* 'great host'. *mahānt-* is doubtless a contamination of *mahan- (mahān-)* and *mahat-*; compare § 135.

On the whole Sanskrit has preserved faithfully the vowel-gradation of proethnic Aryan; e. g. sing. acc. *pṛchá-nt-am su-nv-ánt-am* instr. *pṛchat-ấ su-nv-at-ấ* pl. instr. *pṛchád-bhiš su-nv-ád-bhiš*. On the other hand, we find in Avestic the strong form of the stem constantly transferred to the weak cases, as gen. pl. *jasent-ąm* contrasted with Skr. *gácchat-ām*, dat. pl. *ber^{e}zenbyō* contrasted with Skr. *bṛhád-bhyas*.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Aryan: Skr. *járant-*, Skr. *śá-śvant-*, Skr. *bṛhánt-*, Avest. *ber^{e}zant-* 'exalted, high, great', Skr. *dánt-* 'tooth' (Avest. *dant-an-* has the *-en-* which is so common in names of parts of the body, cp. § 114 p. 345 ff.); see above, p. 397 f. Aryan: Skr. *mahnt-* Avest. *mazånt-* 'great', see above, Skr. *píšant-* 'spotted, dappled', *dhṛšánt-* 'courageous, bold', *ɣhánt-* 'small, little' (the opposite of *bṛhánt-*), Avest. *sao-šya-nt-* fut. part. 'who will help; saviour, preserver'.

Greek. Participles. ῥέων (*-o-vτ-*) 'flowing', beside indic.

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ῥέει ῥεῖ: Skr. *srávanti*, √*sreu̯*. φορέων 'bearing', from φορέω φορῶ: Skr. *bhāráya-nt-*, √*bher-*. πέψων (-ο-ντ-) fut. 'about to cook', from πέψω, √*peq-*. λιπών (-ο-ντ-) 'leaving', from ἔ-λιπ-ον: Skr. *ric-á-nt-* √*leiq-*. γνούς (-όντ-) 'learning' for *γνω-ντ- (I § 611 p. 461), from ἔ-γνω-ν; μιγείς (-έντ-) 'mixed with, united with' for *μιγη-ντ-, from ἐ-μίγη-ν. τεκταίνων 'making', from τεκταίνω for *τεκταν-ι̯ω. τῑμάων 'honouring', from τῑμάω. δουλόων 'subjugating', from δουλόω. στᾱ́ς (στάντ-) 'placing oneself, being in a position', beside ἔ-στη-ν; see p. 396 above. π-ᾱς (acc. π-άντ-α gen. π-αντ-ός) 'complete, all' for *ku̯-ṷt-, see p. 398 above; the indic. would perhaps be *k̑éu̯-ti. πέψᾱς (-αντ-) part. aor. 'cooking', beside ε-πεψ-α, instead of *πεπ-σ-άντ- *πεπ-σ-ατ- = *peq-s-ṷt- *peq-s-n̥t- or perhaps instead of the single form *πέπ-σ-ατ- = *péq-s-n̥t- (which may have been regular in all the cases); the latter view is supported especially by Ved. nom. sing. *dhákṣat* (*dah-* 'burn'). τι-θείς (-έντ-) 'placing' contrasted with Skr. *dádh-at-*; see above, p. 397. ἀγνύς (-ύντ-) 'breaking' (trans.) contrasted with Skr. *śak-nuv-ánt-*; see above, p. 399. δαμ-υ-ᾱ́ς (-άντ-) 'taming', see ibid.

In Greek only a few traces remain of the different forms due to the original vowel gradation. Beside φέροντ- a form *φέρατ- = Skr. *bhárat-* is implied in Heracl. loc. pl. πρᾱσσόντασσι and the like: such a form as *φερασσι for *φερατ-σι (Skr. *bhárat-su*) would be altered to φερόντ-ασσι through the influence of φέροντ- in the other cases. Dor. ἔασσα (Cret. dat. ἰάττᾳ) = Skr. *s-at-ī́* has been already mentioned on p. 396. If we may trust a few corrupt glosses in Hesychius, a form ϝεκατ-, fem. ἀ-έκασσα once existed beside ἑκών ἑκόντ-ος 'willing'. See R. Kögel, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 116, J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 590 ff.

Remark 1. It is very questionable whether θέρμασσα 'furnace, stove' comes directly from the partic. θέρμων 'warming', as some maintain. It is important to notice that we have the parallel form θερμαίνω. Cp. πρό-φρασσα beside πρό-φρων.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Greek: γέρων, πᾶς, ὀδούς, see p. 398. Greek: δράκων 'dragon' (δρακών part. aor.),

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ἄρχων 'ruler', κρείων 'ruler' (εὐρυ-κρείων 'ruling over wide realms'), μέδων 'counsellor, lord' (εὐρυ-μέδων): Goth. *mitand-s* 'measuring', ὁρίζων 'the bounding line, horizon'; ἑκών 'willing', φαέθων 'shining, bright', μέλλων 'future'.

Italic. Participles. Lat. *sedēns (-ent-)*, Umbr. *zeřef serse* 'sedens'. Lat. *prae-sēns*, Osc. *praesentid* 'praesente'. Lat. *dūcēns*: Goth. *tiuh-a-nd-s* 'drawing', √ *deuk-*. *agēns*: Skr. *áj-a-nt-* Gr. ἄγων, √ *aǧ-* 'agere'. *monēns* for **moneient-*, beside *moneō* (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. *mānáyant-* 'honouring', √ *men-* 'remember, think'. *cōn-spiciēns*: Skr. *paś-ya-nt-* 'seeing', √ *spek-*. *rudēns*: Skr. *rud-á-nt-* 'lamenting', √ *reud-*. *vorrēns (verrēns)*: O.C.Sl. *vrĭchy* 'threshing', √ *uers-*. *rumpēns*: Skr. *lumpá-nt-* 'breaking'. *im-plēns*, beside *im-ple-t (plē-)*. *flūns*, beside *fla-t (flā-)*. *albēns*, beside *albe-t*. *plantāns*, beside *planta-t*. *stāns*, *dāns*, see p. 396 above. *mi-nu-ēns ster-nu-ēns* may represent immediately the original forms in *-nu̯-u̯t- -nu̯-u̯t-*; and similarly *li-nēns ster-nēns (li-n-ent- ster-n-ent-)*, may be directly compared with Skr. *mr̥-ṇ-ánt-* Gr. δαμ-ν-άντ-; see above, p. 397.

Few traces can be found of vowel gradation in the stem. If the form *-e-nt-* did not ever occur beside *-o-nt- -n̥t-* in the original paradigm of the participles from thematic stems (see § 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.), then in all the examples of participles of this class in Latin, *-ent-* must be due to an assimilation of all the cases to those with Idg. *-n̥t-* (e. g. gen. *rudent-is* = Skr. *rudat-ás*). The grade *-o-nt-* is still seen in *eunt-is* etc. beside *iēns*, *flexu-nt-ēs* beside *flexentēs*, Roman knights on active service, *voluntās* for **volont-i-tās* beside *volēns*, and other examples; see Bechstein in Curtius' Stud. VIII 344. 348. 352; the forms *ferundu-s faciundu-s* also are indirect evidence for *o-nt-* in the partic.; see § 69 p. 162. In the participles from non-thematic stems, such as *prae-s-ent-*, *-ent-* regularly represents both *-n̥t-* and *-n̥t-* (I § 240 p. 200); and this form, which appeared in all the cases, may have helped to establish *-ent-* in the former class to the exclusion of *-o-nt-*.

The purely nominal use of the suffix is here more common than in Aryan and Greek. Pre-Italic: Lat. *dēns*, see p. 398.

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Lat. *prae-sēns*, Osc. *prae-sentid*. Lat. *serpēns*, *parēns*, *ad-ulēscēns*, *cliēns*, *oriēns* (sc. *sōl*); *ē-loquēns*, *con-gruēns*, *in-nocēns*, *sapiēns*, *abundāns*, *in-tolerāns*. In its adjectival function the participial suffix was fertile even beyond its original sphere; thus such forms as *bene-volenter -volentior -volentissimu-s* which were attached to *bene-volu-s* etc., produced *māgni-ficenter -ficentior -ficentissimu-s* (from *-ficu-s*).

In Old Irish it is only used as a purely nominal suffix *Briyit* f. = Skr. *bṛhat-ī* and *dēt* 'tooth', see above p. 398. *lōche* gen. *lōchet*, 'flash', √ *leuk-*. *brāge* 'neck'. *care cara*, gen. *carat* 'friend', Gall. *Carant-onus Carant-illus*. *tē*, pl. *tēit*, 'hot' for **tepent-* (I § 339 p. 269).

Germanic. Goth. *kius-a-nd-s* O.H.G. *chios-a-nt-i* 'trying, choosing': Skr. *jóṣ-a-nt-* 'being fond of', √ *ǵeus-*. Goth. *us-vakja-nd-s* 'awakening' O.H.G. *wecche-nt-i* 'wakening': Skr. *vājáya-nt-* 'urging, driving on', √ **ueǵ-* 'move, be strong'; Goth. *fra-vardja-nd-s* O.H.G. *far-wertte-nt-i* 'causing to disappear, destroying': Skr. *vartáya-nt-* 'causing to turn, or run a course', √ *uert-*. Goth. *nasja-nd-s* O.H.G. *nerie-nt-i* 'saving', √ *nes-*. O.H.G. *feh-ta-nt-i* 'fighting': Lat. *pec-tēns*. Goth. *vit-a-nd-s* O.H.G. *wizz-a-nt-i* 'knowing': Skr. *vid-á-nt-* 'finding', Gr. *ἰδ-ό-ντ-* 'seeing', √ *ueid-*. Goth. *ga-daúrs-a-nd-s* 'venturing': Skr. *dhṛṣ-á-nt-* 'courageous'. Goth. *salbō-nd-s* O.H.G. *salbō-nt-i* 'anointing', beside indic. Goth. *salbō-þ* O.H.G. *salbō-t*.

The original vowel-gradation has disappeared. But an example of original *-ṇt-* survives in Goth. *hulund-i* 'cave, hole' § 110 p. 337.

The participles in actual use were declined in Gothic as weak *n*-stems; except that in the nom. sing. we have *-nds* i. e. **-nd-a-z* besides the usual form from *n*-stems: thus, nom. *kiusa-nds* and *-nda*, gen. *-ndins* and so forth. In Old High German this participle was an *-i̯o-*stem; *-nti* is the so-called uninflected form. Parallel to it is the inflected form: 'strong' *-ntēr*, 'weak' *-nto*. See the sections on the cases.

Participles becoming Substantives:

Pre-Germanic. Goth. *tunþ-u-s* O.H.G. *zan* 'tooth', see

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above p. 398. This variation arose from the original doublet, pr. Germ. **tánþ-* = **d-ó-nt-* and **tund-* = **d-n̥t-*. Such cases as acc. sing. Goth. *tunþ-u* (instead of **tanþ-u* = **dónt-m̥*) gave rise to the *u*-inflexion; see Kahle as already quoted, 12 ff.

Examples common to all branches of Germanic are: Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* 'friend' ('who loves'), Goth. *fijand-s* O.H.G. *fīant* enemy' ('who hates'), no doubt also Goth. *all-waldand-s* O.Sax. *alo-waldand* 'All-ruler, Almighty' O.H.G. *waltant* 'ruler, director', and a few similar words. Other examples are found only in single dialects or groups of dialects, as Goth. *giband-s* 'giver', *mērjand-s* 'proclaimer', O.H.G. *wīgant* A.S. *wīgend* 'fighter', O.H.G. *helfant* 'helper'. These participles, which became substantives only in Germanic, still show an unextended *nt*-inflexion, though it is nowhere found in all the cases: e. g. nom. pl. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* O.Icel. *frœnd-r* = **-nt-es* (Gr. *-ντ-ες*), loc. (dat.) sg. Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt* = **-nt-i-* (Gr. *-ντ-ι*); whereas other cases in Gothic and West-Germanic follow the *o*-declension, as nom. sing. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* (thus in O.H.G. we have nom. pl. *friunta* as well as *friunt*), and in Norse follow the *n*-declension, as nom. sing. *frœnde frœndi*.

A still younger stratum is formed by substantives like O.H.G. *waltanto* 'he who rules', *furi-sizzando* 'architriclinus', *nerrendeo* 'preserver, saviour'. Their substantival use was based upon the *n*-inflexion, to which as participles they were transferred; compare Mod.H.G. *der reisende* and the like.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *vežą̃s* O.C.Sl. *vezy* 'vehens': Skr. *váh-a-nt-* etc., see p. 398 above. Lith. *velką̃s* O.C.Sl. *vlěky* 'dragging, drawing': Gr. *ἕλκων*, √ *(s)u̯elq-*. Lith. *piną̃s* 'plaiting' O.C.Sl. *pĭny* 'stretching, hanging', ground-form **pn̥-ó-nt-*, √ *(s)pen-*. Lith. *mélžą̃s* 'milking': Gr. *ἀμέλγων* 'milking'; O.C.Sl. *mlĭzy* 'milking': cp. Skr. *mr̥j-á-nt-* 'wiping off, rubbing off'. Lith. *limpą̃s* 'cleaving, clinging': Skr. *limpá-nt-* 'smearing', √ *leip-*. Lith. *bú-sęs* O.C.Sl. *by-šę* fut. 'about to be' (*byšąšte-je* 'τὸ μέλλον', the only relic of the future participle in Slav.): Avest. *bū-šya-nt-*, common ground-form **bhū-si̯ó-nt-*, √ *bheu̯-*. Lith. *jẽszkąs* 'seek-

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ing', beside indic. 1. pl. *jẽszkō-me*, for **jẽszkō-nt-* (I § 615 p. 465): O.H.G. *eiscōnt-i* 'inquiring, asking' Lith. *turĩs (turint-)* 'having', beside indic. 1. sing. *turiù* 1. pl. *tùri-me*. O.C.Sl. *chvalę* (gen. *chvaląšta*) 'praising', beside indic. 1. sing. *chvalją* 1. pl. *chvali-mŭ*.

The old vowel-gradation has disappeared. Participles belonging to non-thematic vowel stems followed the analogy of stems in *-o-nt-*, e. g. Lith. *ẽsąs* and *ẽsąs* O.C.Sl. *sy* 'being', beside indic. *ẽs-ti jes-tŭ*. In Prussian however there is a form *-sins* = Idg. **s-ɥ̥t-* or **s-ɥt-* (p. 396 f.).

Remark 2. I cannot believe that Lith *dañgujẽsis* 'heavenly' = *danguje* loc. + *sis* 'being' (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 393). Nor can I believe that O.C.Sl. *dadę* beside *dady* 'dans' represents another non-thematic form corresponding to the 3. pl. *dad-ętŭ* (= Skr. *dád-ati*); as to *dadę* and other forms in *-ę* beside *-y* see O. Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conjug. 128 f., Leskien Handb². p. 76 f.

In Baltic and Slavonic most of the cases of the *-nt-* participles were attracted into the *ja*-declension owing to the suffix of the feminine; e. g. gen. Lith. *vẽžanczio* O.C.Sl. *veząšta*. The acc. sing. Lith. *vẽžant-į* still belongs to the unaltered consonantal inflexion.

Lith. *dant-ì-s* 'tooth': Skr. *dánt-* etc., see p. 398 above. Pruss. *dīlant-s* 'worker'.

§ 127. The Suffix *-ɥent-*[1]. This Suffix appears in Aryan, Greek and Italic in denominative adjectives; it usually denotes the possession of something, more rarely a resemblance to something.

In the strong cases *-ɥent-* = Skr. *-vant-* Gr. *-Fεντ-*, and in the weak cases *-ɥɥ̥t-* = Skr. *-vat-* Gr. **-Fατ-*. The latter was displaced by *-Fετ-* (loc. pl. *χαρίεσι* = **χαρι-Fετ-σι*, fem. *χαρίεσσα* = **χαρι-Fετ-ια*), *ε* being taken from the cases which had *-(F)εντ-*. Lat. *-ōnsu-s -ōsu-s* for *-o-ɥɥ̥t + to-*, a derivative form which also appears in Avestic, see § 79 p. 231 f.

1) See Ebel's (and Bartholomae's) essays mentioned on p. 394 footnote. A. Goebel, De epithetis Homericis in *ειϛ* desinentibus, Wien 1858, Schuster, Die homerischen Adjectiva auf *-ειϛ*, Ztschr. für österr. Gymn. 1859 § 16 ff. O. Schönwerth and C. Weyman, Über die lateinischen Adjectiva auf *osus*, Archiv für lat. Lexicogr. V 192 ff.

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In the proethnic language this suffix seems to have been displaced by *-ɥes- -ɥos-* in a certain number of the cases. We have evidence of this in the proethnic Aryan nom. sing. masc. in **-ɥās* (Avest. *-vå*, altered in Skr. to *-vāṣ -vān*, see § 136 Rem. 2), voc. sing. masc. in **-ɥas* (Skr. *-vas*, Avest. *-vō*) and the Greek **τᾱ-Fος* Hom. *τῆος* compared with Skr. *tá-vant-* (see Rem. 1). Observe the similar phenomena in the Aryan *-mant-* stems (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1235): nom. sing. Skr. *-māṣ -mān* Avest. *-må*, voc. Skr. *-mas* (Avest. **-mō*), and notice the Homeric forms *τῆ-μος* and *ἦ-μος* (Dor. *τᾶ-μος ἄ-μος*) (which are probably to be compared with the Aryan stems in *-mant-*), beside which we have *τᾶ-μον* in Thessalian; Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 77) and Kozlovskij (Archiv f. slav. Phil. X 657 f.) are no doubt right in comparing O.C.Sl. *ta-mo* 'thither' *ja-mo* 'whither'.

Idg. Skr. *ápa-vant-* 'watery', Gr. *ὀπό-εις* 'rich in sap'. Skr. *viṣá-vant-* 'poisonous, poisoned', Lat. *vīrōsu-s*. Gr. *δολό-εις* 'crafty': Lat. *dolōsu-s*. Gr. *οἰνό-εις* 'made of or with wine', Lat. *vinōsu-s* 'full of wine' or 'like wine' *(sapor, odor)*.

Remark 1. Further examples of the meaning 'like something' are *aestuōsu-s cadāverōsu-s mōnstruōsu-s* etc. (Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. V 216 ff.); examples from Aryan are Skr. *vṛṣaṇ-vant-* 'like a *vṛṣaṇ-*', *índrasvant-* 'like Indra' (the *s* is due to the analogy of stems in *-as-*), Avest. *drafšaka-vant-* 'like a small flag, fluttering, undulating' (K. Geldner, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 401). This meaning is specially frequent in the Sanskrit adverbs in *-vát* (acc. neut.), such as *aṅgiras-vát* 'like angiras' *pūrva-vát* 'after the ancient fashion, as of yore', and in the adjectives formed from pronouns such as Skr. *tvā-vant-* Avest. *θwā-vant-* 'who is of thy nature, like thee', Skr. *tā-vant- ētā-vant-* Avest. *aṇta-vant-* 'tantus' Skr. *yā-vant-* Avest. *ya-vant-* 'quantus', from which we cannot separate Hom. *τῆος ἧος* Dor. *ἇς* for pr. Gr. **τᾱ-Fος *ᾱ-Fος*.

Aryan. The accent in Sanskrit falls sometimes on the suffix, but oftener on the word to which it is added. Skr. *áma-vant-* Avest. *ama-vant-* 'acting with violence, constraining with force, strong', from Skr. *áma-* Avest. *ama-* m. 'violence, strength'. Skr. *putrá-vant-* Avest. *puθra-vant-* 'having a son or sons', from *putrá- puθra-* m. 'son'. Skr. *vastra-vant-* 'having a beautiful garment' Avest. *vastra-vant-* 'provided with clothing', from *vástra-m vastre-m* 'garment, vesture'. Skr. *agni-vánt-*, 'provided with fire',

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from *agní-š* 'fire'. Skr. *dhī-vant-* 'devout' from *dhī-š* f. 'devotion', *udan-vánt-* 'rich in water' from *udán-* n. 'water', *bráhman-vant-* 'accompanied with prayer' from *bráhman-* n. 'prayer' (I § 229 p. 195), *nṛ-vánt-* 'rich in men' from *nár-* m. 'man', *marút-vant-* 'accompanied by the Maruts' *(marút-)*, *pad-vánt-* 'having feet', from *pád-* m. 'foot', *támas-vant* 'dark' from *támas-* n. 'darkness', *nas-vánt-* 'with a nose' from *nás-* f. 'nose'. Avest. *gaoma-vant-* 'provided with flesh' from *gaoma-* m. 'flesh', *aši-vant-* 'holy' from *aši-š* f. 'holiness', *astvant-* i. e. *astu-vant-* (cp. I § 159 p. 143) 'having a body, corporeal' from *astu-š* m. 'body', *dᵃbiš-vant-* 'hostile, hating' from **dᵃbiš-* Skr. *dvíṣ-* f. 'hate, enmity'. In Old Persian the suffix occurs in the feminine proper name *harauvat-ī-* = Avest. *haraxwaiṭ-ī-* Skr. *sáras-vat-ī* (*sáras-vant-* 'rich in water'); cp. I § 159 p. 143.

We have no certain explanation of the length of the final vowel of the contained stem in Skr. *áśvā-vant-* beside *áśva-vant-* 'possessing horses' from *áśva-*, *sutā́-vant-* 'provided with pressed soma' from *sutá-*, *śáklī-vant-* 'mighty' from *śakti-*, *viṣū-vánt-* 'which has or wears different sides, which is in the middle' from *víṣu* and the like. Cp. *mā́-vant-*, *yuṣmā́-vant-*, *tā́-vant-* in Rem. 1. p. 405 and *áśvā-magha-s* etc. § 22 p. 38, and also Gr. *-ώ-εις -ή-εις* in the Greek section.

This suffix was frequently added in Sanskrit to the passive participle in *-tá-* (§ 79 p. 225 f.), as *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, having done'. In the course of the Vedic period this was developed into a perf. part. act., which is very common in classical Sanskrit, where it is almost always used as a predicate; e. g. *mā́ṃ na kaścid dṛṣṭavān* 'no one has seen me'.

Greek. The *ϝ* of *-ϝεντ-* appears e. g. in Corcyr. inscr. *στονόϝεσσαν* = Homer. *στονόεσσαν*. *ἀμπελό-εις* 'rich in vines' from *ἄμπελο-ς*. *τῑμή-εις* 'treasured, honoured' (Pamphyl. inscr. *τιμᾶϝεσα*) from *τῑμή*. *χαρί-εις* 'graceful' from *χάρι-ς* acc. *χάρι-ν*. *ὑγί-εις* 'having growth, blooming' (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV. 180 ff.). Hom. *εὐρώεις* no doubt meaning 'mouldy, musty' from *εὐρώς* (post-Homeric gen. *εὐρῶ-τ-ος* etc.) 'mould'. *τελέεις* beside *τελήεις* (see below) 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself', no doubt

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for *τελεσ-ϝεντ-, from τέλος n. κεράεις 'horned' (late) from κέρας. -ο-εις, proper to the derivatives from o-stems, became an independent suffix: μητι-όεις 'rich in wisdom' from μῆτι-ς, ἰχθυ-όεις 'full of fish' from ἰχθῦ-ς, ἠερ-όεις 'cloudy' from ἠήρ, νιφ-όεις 'snowy' from acc. νίφ-α, κλωμακ-όεις 'rocky' from κλῶμαξ, θυόεις from θύος n.; this is found even where the word is derived from an ā-stem: σκιόεις 'shady' from σκιᾱ́, μηχανόεις 'fertile in resource' from μηχανή. On the other hand from o-stems we find -η-εις as well as -ο-εις: μεσήεις 'moderate' from μέσο-ν, φοινήεις 'bloody' from φοινό-ς 'bloody'. The same -η-εις occurs also in θυήεις beside θυόεις, τελήεις 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself' beside τελέεις, ἑλκήεις 'full of wounds', from ἕλκος n., ῥωπήεις 'overgrown with underwood' from ῥώψ, etc. -ώ-εις is found in other words besides εὐρώεις; e. g. Hom. κητώεις 'full of hollows' (cp. κητώδης p. 409), ὠτώεις 'eared' (ὠτ-) and in late authors πηλώεις 'loamy, muddy' (πηλό-ς), δενδρώεις 'wooded' (δένδρο-ν).

Remark 2. It cannot be established that Φλειάσιο-ς contains the ā of the -ϝατ- (see p. 404) which we must assume as the weak form of the suffix (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 591). See Wackernagel ibid. XXVIII 130 f.

Italic. It is found only in the Latin compound suffix -ōnsu-s- ōsu-s, where the termination of forms containing o-stems became regular in all words. The suffix of Avest. *ašavasta-* from *aša-vant-* is exactly parallel; see p. 404 above. *verbōsu-s* from *verbu-m*, *officiōsu-s* from *officiu-m*; *fāmōsu-s* from *fāma*, *silvōsu-s* from *silva*; *piscōsu-s* from *pisci-s*; *aestuōsu-s* from *aestū-s*; *crīminōsu-s* from *crīmen*; *nivōsu-s* from *nix*, like Gr. νιφ-όεις.

VIII. The Suffix -d- (-ad-).

§ 128. In Sanskrit -*ad*- occurs a few times, in Greek -αδ- and -ιδ- are found more frequently, in Latin there are a certain number of examples of -*d*- with a preceding vowel, and in Germanic we have denominative verbs in -*at-jan*, which seem to correspond to the Greek verbs in -αζειν (-ζ- = -δ-ι-). Side by side with these forms in Greek, Italic, Germanic and Balto-

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Slavonic we find other suffixes having *d* for their distinguishing consonant which appear to be connected with them (*-do-* may be related to *-d-* as *-to-* to *-t-*). Thus we may be justified in regarding this suffix as proethnic, although there are perhaps only two examples in which *-d-* appears in more than one branch of language: O.H.G. *gramizzōn* A.S. *gremettan*: Gr. *χρόμαδο-ς*, and O.H.G. *albiz* O.Icel. *ālpt*: O.C.Sl. *lebedĭ*.

Remark. We must not disregard the possibility that the *-d-* of this suffix may have come from *-t-* in the proethnic period, and that not only in the cases with *bh*-suffixes, such as Skr. *dṛṣád-bhiḥ*. See I § 469, 7 p. 346, and cp. II § 130 Remark.

Aryan. There are only three certain instances, all in Sanskrit. *dṛṣád-* f. 'rock, great stone, millstone', *bhasád-* f. 'back parts, pudenda muliebria', *śarád-* f. 'autumn'. Add *vanád-*, a doubtful word found in the Rig-Veda, meaning perhaps 'desire'.

Greek. Adjectives and (feminine) Substantives in *-αδ-*: *φυγάς* 'fleeing', *μιγάς* 'mixed', *μαινάς* 'raving', *μηκάς* 'bleating', *τοκάς* 'bearing, bringing forth', *νομάς* 'pasturing', *γυμνάς* 'naked, stripped for gymnastics, practised', *τεφράς* 'ash-coloured', *χοιράς* 'rising up, jutting out'; *νιφάς* 'snow-flake', *σπιλάς* 'reef', *ἰλλάς* 'cord, rope', *χολάδ-ες* 'entrails, intestines', *λαμπάς* 'torch', *πηγάς* 'rime, frozen earth', *γενειάς* 'beard, hair of the beard', *πελειάς* 'wild dove'. Stems ending in *-ιδ-* (fem.), the *ι* of which in many words certainly comes from the *i*-stems: *ἔριδ-* (*ἔριδ-ος* etc.) 'strife' beside acc. *ἔρι-ν*, *κάλπιδ-* 'jug, vessel' (*κάλπιδ-ος* etc.) beside acc. *κάλπι-ν*, *ἶρι-ς* 'rainbow', *αὐλις* 'place for passing the night', *αἰγίς* 'stormcloud, shield of the gods', *ἀσπίς* 'shield', *γλυφίς* 'notch in the shaft of an arrow', *κερκίς* 'weaver's comb', *ἀκρίς* 'locust', *ἐπιγουνίς* 'upper part of the thigh'. Connected with these *δ*-formations, and undoubtedly in great part derived from them, are a variety of elements of the nature of suffixes containing *-δ-*. Examples are *χρόμαδο-ς* (mentioned above), to which *κέλαδο-ς* 'noise, tumult' is parallel; *κόρυδο-ς* 'tufted lark', which in its formation comes very close to the cognate Germ. word **χerut-* 'stag' (Danielsson, Gramm. und etymol. Stud. I 31); patronymics like *Ἀκτορίδης* m. from

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Ἀκτορίς f.; adjectives in *-ώδης* such as *κητώδης* 'like a sea-monster' (for the *ω* cp. *κητώεις*), which have been incorrectly classed with the adjectives in *-εἰδής*[1]); and the numerous verbs in *-άζω* and *-ίζω* with a characteristic dental which were derived from these *δ*-nouns, such as *δικάζω, νομίζω*.

Italic. There are a few examples in *-id-*, no doubt with Idg. *i*: Lat. *capis* (*-id-is*) f., Umbr. kapiře 'capide', Osc. *καπιδιτωμ* i. e. *capid-ī-to-m* 'ollarium'; Lat. *cassis* f., *cuspis* f., *lapis* m. Add *pecus (-ud-is)* f., *herēs (-ēd-is)* m. f., *mercēs* f., *palūs (-ūd-is)* f. Here too are found a variety of formative elements connected with this *d*-suffix: as in *ōr-dō -din-is* (beside *or-d-ior*), cp. Gr. *μελεδών μελεδαίνω, capēdō frīgēdō rubēdō*, cp. Gr. *ἀχθηδών, χαιρηδών*. The *-do-* of such adjectives as *imbridu-s lūcidu-s* however cannot be classed here, if they were originally compounds with *dō-* 'give' (as Skr. *jala-da-s* 'giving water' *artha-da-s* 'bringing benefit, generous') (Corssen, Krit. Beitr. 97 ff., Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominalcomp. 121 ff.; see also the evidence given by Thurneysen in his essay, Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io*, 1879, p. 13).

Old Irish. On account of the coincidence of *t* and *d* in unaccented syllables it is hard to say what Irish forms belong to this section. Yet it is clearly established that the adjectival suffix *-de* = **-dio-*, e. g. *conde* 'caninus' *talmande* 'terrestris', contains an original *-d-*, not *-t-*.

Germanic. The verbs in *-at-jan* should be first mentioned, as Goth. *lauhatjan* O.H.G. *lohazzen* 'to shine like lightning' *lougazzen* 'to burn like fire', Goth. *káupatjan* 'to box the ears, cuff' (pret. *káupasta*), *svōgatjan* 'to sigh', O.H.G. *blecchezzan* 'to flash', *roffezzen* 'eructare', *snepfezzen* 'to sob'. The following words may also be referred to old *d*-stems: O.H.G. *gremizzi* 'provoked' beside *gramizzōn gremizzōn*, *einazzi*, dat. pl. *einazzēm* 'singulatim'; O.H.G. *albiz* m. O.Icel. *alpt* f. 'swan' (the Icelandic

1) The complete similarity between the usage of *-εἰδής* and *-ώδης* only shews that even in antiquity the two terminations had been connected by popular etymology. I reserve a fuller discussion for another opportunity.

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word still keeps the consonantal declension, see Noreen, Altn. Gramm. I § 327. 328): O.C.Sl. *lebedĭ* 'swan', O.H.G. *hiruz* A.S. *heorot* 'stag' (cp. E. Brate, Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 184 f.); Goth. *stiviti* n. 'patience', O.H.G. *fiscizzi* 'fishery, fishing' and several other similar forms (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 111 ff.).

Balto-Slavonic. There are no examples with *-d-*, only *-do- -di-* and the like; and it must be remembered that Balto-Slavonic *d* may also be referred to Idg. *dh*. Lith. *pa-klõda-s pa-klõdė* 'cloth for spreading underneath' from *pa-klóti* 'to spread out', and other examples. O.C.Sl. *vražĭda* 'enmity', *krivĭda* 'wrong', and other examples. *d* = pre-Balt.Slav. *d* seems to be certain only in *lebedĭ* 'swan' (see above).

IX. The Suffix -k̂- and -q-.

§ 129. In § 83—89 we assumed that a certain number of Greek, Italic, and Old Irish words in *-k-* had formerly been *-k̂o-* or *-qo-* stems, e. g, Gr. ἀλώπηξ (Skr. *lōpāśá-s*), ὄρτυξ (Skr. *vartaka-s*), μιῆραξ (Skr. *maryaká-s*) νεᾱξ (O.C.Sl. *novakŭ*), Lat. *senex* (Skr. *sanaká-s*), *vertex*, *fīlix*, *bibāx*, O.Ir. *aire* (Skr. *āryaka-s*). In these cases it is sometimes certain and sometimes very probable that there has been an attraction from the *o*-declension to the consonantal; but we find in the same languages other similar stems in *-k-* which cannot be explained with any degree of probability as derived from an original *-k̂o-* or *-qo-*. For Greek and Italic the reader may be referred to Leo Meyer's Vergl. Gramm. II 409 ff., 508 ff. In Old Irish, examples of this kind are *nathir*, gen. *nathrach*, 'water-snake', *lāir* 'mare', *fāl* 'hedge' (Zeuss-Ebel Gr. C. 805 ff., Wh. Stokes, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XI 84 ff. 155). In Aryan there is only one doubtful relic of these forms: *vípāś-* f. beside *vipāśa-* f. name of a river, which is referred to *vépatē* 'is in trembling, whirling motion'.

This being the case, it may be assumed that *-k̂- -q-* once existed as suffixes parallel to *-k̂o- -qo-*, bearing much the same relation to them as *-t-* to *-to-*. And further the transition of such classes of forms as ἀλώπηξ, ὄρτυξ, *senex*, *aire* to the con-

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sonantal inflexion may have been aided by the influence of such original *k*-stems.

X. The Suffix -g- (and -ĝ-?)

§ 130. We find suffixes in *-g* in Aryan and Greek; but not one of the words containing them appears in both simultaneously. Thus it is not safe to assume this suffix for the parent language.

Remark. We must not overlook the possibility that *-g-* may have come from *-k-* in the proethnic period, and that not only in the cases with *bh*-suffixes such as Skr. *uśig-bhiṣ*. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. In the case of Gr. *λάταγ-* (*λάταξ*) 'drop, dregs': Lat. *latic-* (*latex*) it may be assumed that the Greek word originally had *k*, and passed over to the ordinary inflexion of *g*-stems simply through the influence of the form of the nom. sing. and of the loc. pl. (*-αξ -αξι*) (cp. gen. *ὄρτυγ-ος* § 86 p. 258 and gen. *δεκάδ-ος* § 123 p. 392); and many other instances are doubtful for the same reason. Cp. § 128 Rem. p. 408.

Aryan. Skr. *sanáj-* 'old' (beside *sanaká-s*), *dhṛšáj-* 'bold', *tṛšṇáj-* 'thirsty' (beside *tṛ́šnā-* 'thirst'), *uśíj-* 'longing, desirous', *vaṇíj-* 'merchant', *bhuríj-* 'arm'. Forms like instr. pl. *uśíg-bhiṣ* point to *-j-* = Idg. *-g-*.

Greek. *ἅρπαξ*, gen. *ἅρπαγ-ος* 'robbing, rapacious', whence *ἁρπάζω* (the *ā* of Lat. *rapāc-* shews that it is quite a different word). *φάρυξ* (*-υγ-*) 'throat, gullet'. *πτέρυξ* (*-υγ-*) 'wing, pinion'. *μάστιξ* (*-ῑγ-*) 'scourge, lash'. The parallel forms *-αγγ- υγγ- ιγγ-* are more frequent; these may possibly have arisen from an original formation in which a nasal followed the *γ*-suffix (cp. I § 221 p. 188 ff.), e. g. *φάλαγξ* 'phalanx', *φάραγξ* 'steep rock, gorge', *λάρυγξ* 'larynx' (similarly *φάρυγξ* is found later for *φάρυξ*), *στόρθυγξ* 'tooth, prong, point', *σάλπιγξ* 'trumpet', *σμῶδιγξ* 'weal, swelling'.

XI. Suffixes in -s[1]).

§ 131. The Suffix *-es-*[2]). The nouns formed with this suffix in the parent language were partly neuter substantives (generally

1) The Author, Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe *-as-*, *-jas-* und *-vas-*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 1 ff. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Les thèmes celtiques en *s*, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 327 ff.

2) Th. Aufrecht, Bildungen auf *ηυς*, *vos nas*, Kuhn's Ztschr. II 147 ff. A. Goebel, Das Suffix *ες-* in seinem Verhältnisse zum Suffix

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abstract), with which were associated adjectives like Skr. *yaśás-* 'glorious, majestic' Gr. *ψευδής* 'deceitful', and partly masculine or feminine substantives, e. g. nom. Skr. *uṣ́ás* Gr. *ἠώς* 'dawn'. These two groups bear very much the same relation to one another as the group of neuter and the group of masculine and feminine *-men-*stems, e. g. Gr. *χεῖ-μα* : *χεί-μών* § 117 p. 365 ff.; we sometimes find *-εσ-*stems, as we found *-men-*stems, which seem to have had both forms of inflexion from the earliest times; e. g. Skr. *tápas-* n. 'warmth': Lat. *tepor* m., Lat. *tenus* n. Gr. *τένος* n. 'bond': Lat. *tenor* m. At the time of the separation of the languages the neuter forms greatly preponderated. We may begin with these, and the vowel-gradation of the stems will be separately discussed under each of the two classes.

§ 132. 1. Neuter Substantives in *-es-* and the adjectives connected with them.

From the proethnic period onwards *-es-* is regular in all cases of the substantives except the nom. sing., which had *-os*, and in the adjectives also except in the nom. sing., whose ending in the masc. was *-ēs*, in the neut. *-es*. The vocalism of the root-syllable is almost without exception that of the strong grade (the *e*-grade in the *e*-series), and takes the accent in substantives, while in adjectives it falls on the formative suffix. E. g. Gr. *ψεῦδος* gen. *ψεύδεος* etc. *μένος* gen. *μένεος* etc. beside *ψευδής ψευδές* gen. *ψευδέος* etc. *δυσ-μενής -μενές* gen. *-μενέος* etc.

This double system of declension in the substantives and adjectives was no doubt developed out of a single one. The abstract substantive, denoting a quality, when it was used simply for the owner of that quality, formed a nom. sing. with the mark of masculine or feminine gender in the same way as nouns like Gr. *ποι-μήν πα-τήρ*; so also, with a similar indication of gender, an acc. sing. *-és-m*, nom. pl. *-és-es*; and the different accent connected with the new meaning caused a differentiation

s; oder die Neutra in *σος*, ibid. XI 53 ff. H. Ebel, Neutra auf *-as* im Altirischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 222 ff. Wh. Stokes, Irish neuter stems in *s*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 291 ff. H. Ebel, Suffix *-as* im Gothischen, ibid. V 355 ff.

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of accent in the other cases corresponding to the new function of the word. There is evidence however that amongst the cases of the neuter substantive there once were also forms with -*és*-; this is shewn by the datives like Skr. *dṓhás-ē* 'to milk', which are used as infinitives. There must also have been cases where the suffix was simply -*s*- (the weak-grade form), namely, those in which the case-suffix bore the accent: compare Skr. *śīrṣ-á-m* 'head' Gr. *κόρση* 'temple, forehead' beside Skr. *śíras* 'head' (I § 306 p. 242), Skr. *ą́-s-a-s ą́-s-a-m* Gr. *ὦμο-ς* for **ὠμ-σ-ο-ς* Goth. *am-s-a* m. 'shoulder' beside Lat. *um-er-u-s*, Skr. *vats-á-s* 'year, calf' beside Gr. *ϝέτος* n. 'year', Skr. *ōṣa-dhí-* f. 'medicinal herb' for **aų-s-a-* beside *ávas* 'help, comfort', *man-dhātár-* 'thoughtful, devout person' for **manz-dhātar-* beside *mánas* 'thought', Lith. *tams-à* beside Skr. *támas* 'darkness', Lat. *farr-* for **fars-* beside Goth. *bariz-ein-s* 'of barley' (I § 571 p. 429) and many similar examples (The Author, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 10 f., J. Schmidt, ibid. XXV 26, Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 192)[1]. Finally we must observe the frequency of the instances in which the root-syllable shows the weak grade; e. g. Skr. *śír-as* beside Lat. *cerebru-m* for **ceres-ro-m* Gr. *λίπος* 'fat' beside Skr. *rḗpas* 'spot, stain', Gr. *πάθος* beside *πένθος*, Gr. *ἄγος* 'guilt' beside Skr. *ágas* 'sin', Goth. *ga-digis* 'structure, work' beside Gr. *τεῖχος* 'wall', Gr. *πύος* 'pus', Skr. *duv-ás-* 'eagerly striving' and the like (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 182 f.). We may then reconstruct the paradigm of these neuters as follows: nom. acc. **ḱḗr-os* 'head', gen. *ḱr̥-s-és* (or -*ós*), dat. **ḱr̥-s-ái̯*, loc. **ḱr̥r-és -és-i*; nom. acc. **á-gos* 'sin, guilt' (Skr. *ágas*), gen. **aǫ-s-és* (or -*ós*), dat. **aǫ-s-ái̯*, loc. **aǫ-és -és-i* (cp. Gr. *ἄγος ἄγεος*). The dat. **-és-ai̯* (cp. Skr. inf. *bhiy-ás-ē jiv-ás-ē* etc.) was then formed on the model of the loc. *-és -és-i*. In most instances however, and even in the parent language, the nom. acc. (**ḱéros*) gave the type for the position of the accent and the form of the root in all the cases. With regard to the adjectives we must further observe that the accentuation of the

1) Cp. also Lat. *max-imu-s* beside Skr. *mahá-s* 'great' and Umbr Osc. Celt. **neks-* in *nesimo- nessam* § 73 Rem. p. 179 f.

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final syllable of the stem was original in compounds also: Gr. *ἀν-αγής* 'innocent, pure' *δυσ-μενής* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *an-āgás* 'sinless' (beside *án-āgās*) *a-rēpás* 'spotless' *su-pīvás* 'very fat' etc. Along with these there are other words which have the later accentuation, Gr. *οὐρανο-μήκης* 'heaven-high' *μεγα-κήτης* 'monstrously great' Skr. *su-mánās* 'well-disposed' *dur-vásās* 'ill dressed', with other examples.

Indo-Germanic. **ḱlḗu̯-os*: Skr. *śráv-as* Gr. *κλέϝος κλέος* 'fame, glory', O.C.Sl. *slovo* 'word'. **ǧén-os* 'race, family': Skr. *jánas* Gr. *γένος* Lat. *genus*. Gr. *στέγος τέγος* 'roof, house', O.Ir. *tech* *leg* 'house'. **séd-os* 'seat': Skr. *sádas* Gr. *ἕδος* O.Icel. *setr* (gen. *setrs*). **rég-os*: Skr. *rájas* 'darkness, dust', (Armen. *erek* 'evening') Gr. *ἔρεβος* Goth. *riqis* (gen. *riqizis*) 'darkness'. **nébh-os* 'clouds, atmosphere': Skr. *nábhas*, Gr. *νέφος*, Lith. *debes-ì-s* (*d-* instead of *n-* is difficult to explain; perhaps it is due to the influence of *dangù-s* 'heaven', Holthausen in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 590) O.C.Sl. *nebo*. **u̯éi̯d-os*: Skr. *védas* 'knowledge', Gr. *εἶδος* 'form, idea'; add perhaps (with the weak form of the stem) **u̯its-*, *ἴσο-ς* Cret. *ϝίσϝο-ς* 'like'; see § 64 p. 135. Gr. *ἄγ-ος* 'awe', Skr. *yaj-ás-* 'honouring', √*i̯aǧ-*. Skr. *ándh-as* 'plant', Gr. *ἄνθ-ος* 'bloom'. Skr. *dáṣ-as* 'glorious deed' Gr. pl. *δήνεα* 'counsels, wiles', common ground-form **dáns-os*. Skr. *édh-as* 'wood for burning', Gr. *αἶθ-ος* 'brand'. Skr. *ój-as* 'strength' Gr. *ἐρι-αυγής* (late) 'very bright' and **ὑγής* 'strong, sound' in *ὑγιᾱ́* *ὑγεινό-ς* *Ὑγεῖνο-ς*, Lat. *augus-tu-s*. Skr. *áp-as* *áp-as* 'work, religious practice', Lat. *op-us*.

The dative and the locative of *nomina actionis* served also as infinitives, a usage which is doubtless proethnic. In Vedic infinitives in *-as-ē* the formative suffix usually bore the accent; this must be due to an early isolation of meaning. Skr. *jīvás-ē* (dat.) 'to live' Lat. *vīver-e* (loc.).

In several languages *-es-* sometimes appears in close connexion with other formative elements, which precede it; as in Lat. *pāg-nus*. These formations existed in the parent language; indeed they were so well established that the compound suffix had the appearance of a primary formation (cp. Skr. *kṛ́-t-ya-*

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and the like, § 123 p. 391). Skr. *pī-c-as* Gr. *πῑ̄-(ϝ)-ος* n. 'fat'. In the word **mḗ-n-os* n. (or nom. **mḗ-n-ōs* m., § 133) dat. **mē-n-s-áį̯* loc. **mē-n-és -és-i* from √ *mē* 'measure', the **mē-n-s-* form of the stem prevailed through all the cases, producing the masc. Gr. *μήν* gen. *μηνός* Lesb. *μῆνν-ος*, Lat. *mēns-i-s* gen. pl. *mēns-um*, O.Ir. *mī* gen. *mīs* 'month'; in Lithuanian **mē-n-es-* still survives in the gen. *mẽnes-io* etc.[1]). The Aryan *mās-* and the Old Church Slavonic *měs-ęcĭ*, which J. Schmidt explains as coming from an Idg. nom. sing. **mēs* for **mēns* (see I § 220 p. 188), may have been formed directly from the root; see § 134, 1. **loiq-nos* 'remainder, what is left over' from √ *leiq-* 'leave': Skr. *rḗk-ṇas* 'riches' (bequest'), O.H.G. *lēhan* n. O.Icel. *lān* n. 'loan'.

Of the simple adjectives no example is found in more than one language simultaneously in its adjectival function; e. g. Skr. *mahás-* 'great' beside *máhas-* n. 'greatness', *yaśás-* 'glorious' beside *yáśas-* n. 'glory', Gr. *ψευδής, σαφής*. On the other hand several adjectives are so found in composition. Skr. *dur-manas-* 'ill-humoured' Gr. *δυσ-μενής* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *ṇ-mánas-* 'having a man's mind' Gr. *Ἀνδρο-μένης*, from **mén-os* n. Avest. *dəuš-r-savah-* Gr. *δυσ-κλεής* 'of ill report', from **k̑lḗu̯-os* n. Skr. *puru-dáṣas-* 'rich in wondrous deeds', Gr. *πολυ-δήνεα· πολύβουλον, πολύμητιν* (Hesych.), from **dáns-os* n.

Aryan. Neuters. Skr. *śráv-as* 'fame glory', Avest. *srav-ō* 'word, prayer, glory, honour' (with *ca* 'and' it has the form *sravas-ca*): Gr. *κλέος* etc.; see above, p. 414. Skr. *jráy-as* 'level, tract', Avest. *zray-ō* O.Pers. *dray-a* 'sea'. Skr. *nám-as* 'obeisance, reverence', Avest. *nem-ō* 'prayer, invocation' (cp. O.Ir. *nem* 'heaven' p. 419), √ *nem-*. Skr. *mán-as* Avest. *man-ō* 'thought': Gr. *μέν-ος* 'courage, anger', Lat. *Miner-va* (I § 569 p. 426). Skr. *vác-as* Avest. *vac-ō* 'word, speech': Gr. *Ϝέπ-ος ἔπ-ος* 'word, speech' √ *u̯eq*. Skr. *sáh-as* Avest. *haz-ō* 'might': Goth. *sig-is* (*a*-stem), 'victory', √ *seĝh-*. Skr. *práth-as* Avest. *fraθ-ō* 'extent, breadth': Gr. *πλάτ-ος* 'extent, breadth' (the root in the weak grade, as in *πλατ-ύ-ς*), O.Ir. *leth* 'side'. Avest. *raoc-ō*

1) Another and less probable explanation of this word has been mentioned in vol. I § 221 p. 189 f.

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'light, clearness, brightness' O.Pers. *rauc-a* 'day', Skr. *sva-rōcas-* 'shining of itself', √ *leuq-*. Skr. *ōj-as* Avest. *aoj-ō* 'strength': Gr. *ἐρι-αυγής* etc.; see above, p. 414. Skr. *vár-as* 'width' beside *úr-as* 'breast': Gr. *εὐρ-ος* 'breadth', like *ἐὐρύ-ς*; see § 104 p. 314. Skr. *kár-as* 'deed', *jár-as* 'age', *pḗś-as* 'form', *jáv-as* and *júv-as* 'swiftness'. Avest. *tac-ō* 'course', *drāj-ō* 'length', *haęc-ō* 'dryness'.

Examples of the dative used as an infinitive; pr. Ar. **-as-aį̄*. Skr. Ved. *dōhásē* 'to milk' (*dṓh-as* n. milking'), *bhárasē* 'to bear', *spárasẹ̄* 'to obtain'. Avest. *avaŋhē* 'to help' (*av-ō* n. 'help, protection') and by an extended analogy *vaocaŋhē* inf. to the indic. aor. *vaoc-a-p̄* from *vac-* 'to speak', *srāvayaŋhē* inf. to the indic. *srāv-ayęiti* caus. 'causes to hear, announces'.

Ar. *-n-as, -t-as*. Skr. *rḗk-ṇas* 'riches', Avest. *raęx-nō* ('gladness'?), see above p. 415. Skr. *ḗ-nas* 'oppression, wickedness, sin', Avest. *aę-nō* 'enmity, hate, vengeance'. Skr. *áp-nas* 'possession', *ár-ṇas* 'wave'. Avest. *zaę-nō* 'readiness, watchfulness, guard', *xwarᵉ-nō* 'brightness, glory', *raf-nō* 'joy, happiness'. Skr. *dráviṇas* 'property'. Skr. *srṓ-tas* O.Pers. *rau-ta* 'river' (I § 558, 3 p. 414). Skr. *rḗ-tas* 'seed'. Avest. *vī-saṣ-tō* 'obedience, learning', *parš-tō* 'fight, weapon for fighting'. Ar. *-ṷ-as* is found in Skr. *pī́vas*, see p. 415.

In Adjectives. Skr. *tarás-* 'eagerly striving' beside *táras* 'eager striving', *apás-* 'active' beside *ápas* 'work', *rakṣás-* 'injuring, injurer' beside *rákṣas* 'injury', *tavás-* 'strong'. Avest. *dvaęšah-* (nom. sing. *dvaęšå*) 'tormenting, tormentor' beside *dvaęšō* 'torment', *rādah-* 'giving, giver' beside *rādō* 'gift', *xwarᵉnah-* 'bright, glorious' beside *xwarᵉnō* 'brightness, glory', *aęnah-* 'hostile, enemy' beside *aęnō* 'enmity'. Skr. *dur-manas-* 'out of humour' Avest. *duš-manah-* 'ill-disposed', Skr. *su-mánas-* Avest. *hu-manah-* 'well disposed', Skr. *nṛ-máṇas-* Avest. *narᵉ-manah-* 'with a manly mind, heroic'. Skr. *su-cḗtas-* 'having a good disposition, wishing well', *puru-bhṓjas-* 'nourishing many'. Avest. *duž-varšnah-* 'evildoer', *aiwi-aojah-* 'surpassing in strength, subduing victoriously', O.Pers. *aspa-canah-* proper name (no doubt to be compared with Skr. *cánas-* n. 'pleasure'). — Skr. *vēdhás-* 'helping, gracious', Avest. *aša-vazdah-* proper name, and *vohvazdah-* i. e. *vohu-vazdah-*

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proper name, ground-form **μedh + tes-*, √*μedh-* 'lead', Skr. *su-mēdhás-* 'intelligent', ground-form **mŋdh + tes-*, see I § 482 p. 356.

Armenian. Here the *es*-stems have been lost. A part of them became *o*-stems, as *sar*, gen. *saroy*, 'height, peak, declivity': Skr. *śiras-* Avest. *sarah-* 'head', common ground-form **ḱŗr-es-*.

Greek. *πέος* 'membrum virile' for **πεσ-ος*: Skr. *pás-as* the same. *Ϝέτ-ος ἔτ-ος* 'year': Lat. *vetus* (originally a subst.), Skr. *vats-á-*, see p. 413 above. *θέρ-ος* 'heat, summer': Skr. *hár-as* 'glow, heat'. *τέν-ος* 'sinew, bond': Skr. *tán-as* 'offspring', Lat. *ten-us*. *ζεῦγ-ος* 'yoke': Lat. *jūgeru jūgeribus*, cp. also Mid.H.G. *jiuch* n. 'measure of land'. *βέλ-ος* 'missile', *ἔγχ-ος* 'spear', *ἔρκ-ος* 'enclosure', *κεῦθ-ος* 'hidden depth', *δέος* 'fear' for **δϜεμ-ος*, *θέρσ-ος* (Acol.) and *θράσ-ος θάρσ-ος* 'courage', *κρέτ-ος* (Acol.) and *κράτ-ος κάρτ-ος* 'strength', *πένθ-ος* 'woe, sorrow' and *πάθ-ος* 'suffering, experience, misfortune'. *ὄχ-ος* 'vehicle' instead of *ἔχ-ος* (which is preserved in Hesych.) through the influence of *ὁ ὄχος*, √*μeĝh-*; cp. Lat. *modes-tu-s* p. 418, O.H.G. *fahs* p. 420. *μῆκ-ος* 'length'. *ἦδ-ος* 'pleasure'. *αἶθ-ος* 'brand': Skr. *ēdh-as*, see p. 414 above. *ἄγκ-ος* 'valley, ravine': Skr. *áṅk-as* 'bend, curve'. *σάκ-ος* 'shield'. *ψῦχ-ος* 'cold'. *κῦδ-ος* 'glory'. *ῥῖγ-ος* 'frost': Lat. *frīg-us*.

πῖος 'fat' for **πῑ-Ϝ-ος*: Skr. *pīvas*, see above, p. 415. *εἶρος* 'wool' for **Ϝερ-Ϝος*, cp. Lat. *vervēx* ('laniger'). *ἔρ-νος* 'sprout, twig'. *ἔθ-νος* 'multitude, race'. *γλῆ-νος* 'show, marvel'. *δά-νος* 'gift, loan', √*dō-* (cp. § 66 p. 142 f.). *τέμενος* 'piece of land'. *πάχετος* 'thickness'. *ἔδαφ-ος* 'ground, foundation'. *κάλλος* 'beauty'.

ψευδής 'deceitful, lying' beside *ψεῦδος*. *σαφής* 'clear, plain'. *ἀ-σθενής* 'weak' beside *σθένος*. *εὐ-μενής* 'well-disposed' beside *μένος*. *ἀ-πευθής* 'unaware, uninvestigated': Avest. *baoδaḥ-* n. 'consciousness, knowledge'. *ἀ-ληθής* 'unconcealed, true' beside Dor. *λᾶθος* 'forgetfulness'. *δυσ-χερής* 'hard to deal with': Skr. *háras* 'grip'; we should also add *χείρ* 'hand' if Wackernagel is right in referring *χειρ-* to **χερσ-* (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 131 ff.); the gen. **χερ-σ-ός* would then be explained in the same way as Lat. *farr-* p. 413. — *πλή-ρης* 'full' side by side with *πλη-ρόω* 'I fill' Lat. *plē-ru-s*.

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Italic. Lat. *op-os op-us op-er-is, op-er-a,* Umbr. *ose* 'opere' *osatu* 'operato', Osc. úpsannam 'operandam' (I § 633 p. 474): Skr. *áp-as áp-as*, see above p. 414. Lat. *vet-us vet-er-is* ('agedness, or being stricken in years; old creature', hence as an adj.) 'old', *vetus-tu-s*, Osc. Vezkeí dat., name of a god, '*Vetusco' (cp. *vetusculu-s*): Gr. *Fέτ-ος*. Pr. Ital. **med-os* 'measure' (Gr. *μέδ-ιμνο-ς*, Goth. *mit-an*): Lat. *modes-tu-s · moder-ārī* (the *o* instead of *e* is due to *mod-u-s*), Umbr. meř-s *mers* 'ius, fas' for **med(o)s*, the *o* being lost by syncope, see I § 633 p. 474. Umbr. *vas* 'vitium' for **vak(o)s*, beside Lat. *vacāre.* Lat. *aes*, gen. *aer-is*, which can hardly stand for **aiz-es-*, but for **aiz-*, the weak form of the stem [1]) (the nom. acc. *aes* instead of orig. **a(i)-os* was formed on the analogy of the other cases), *aēnus* Umbr. ahesnes 'aënis' for **aies-no-* (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. *áy-as* 'metal, iron', Goth. *áis* (gen. *áizis*) 'ore, money'.

Lat. *nem-us* (*-or-*): Gr. *νέμ-ος* 'place of pasture'. *dec-us* (*-or-*): Skr. *daśas-yá-ti* 'he honours, is at the service of, is obliging'. *Ven-us* (*-er-*), originally n. 'love's enticement': Skr. *ván-as-* 'charm, sweetness'. *scel-us* (*-er-*). *temp-us* (*-or-*). *terg-us* (*-or-*): Gr. *στέρφ-ος τέρφ-ος* 'leather, skin', esp. 'the hard hide on an animal's back', *corp-us (-or-).* *pondus* and *foedus*, like *modes-tu-s*, have exchanged their *e* for *o* (**pend-os *feid-os*, the latter still appearing in *fīdus-tu-s*), through the influence of parallel stems in *-o-* (abl. *pondō*), cp. Gr. *ὄχος* above, p. 417, O.H.G. *fahs* p. 420.

Lat. infin. in *-er-e* for **es-i* (loc.), as *vīvere* (Skr. *jīvás-ē*), *agere, minuere*; *ferre velle esse* are discussed in § 162. *fierī* is a new formation for (O.Lat.) *fiere*, modelled on *agī, sequī*, see ib.

vol-nus, mū-nus, fū-nus, pīg-nus, facinus; *mi-nus* must also be classed here; see § 135. *pectus.*

The vowel-gradation which belonged to the *-es*-suffix in the pre-Italic period (preserved e. g. in *gen-us -er-is*) was superseded in many words in favour of the form *-os-* which prevailed over the other forms. This is seen in *tempus -oris* etc.; yet

1) See Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 405.

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we have also *-es-* in the adverb *temper-ī*, *tempes-tu-s*, and *temper-āre*. Similarly we have *penus -oris* etc., whilst the loc. sing. *penes* (cp. αἰές), which had become a preposition (or postposition), retained the form *-es-*. *-os-* is also found in derivatives, e. g. *rōbus-tu-s* (gen. *rōbor-is*) *onus-tu-s* (gen. *oner-is*), *corpus-culu-m* (gen. *corpor-is*) *opus-culu-m* (gen. *oper-is*) cp. O.C.Sl. *-os-tĭ* p. 422.

Adj. *pūbēs* and *pūber*, gen. *pūberis*. Further *dē-gener*, *bi-corpor*, both of them probably fairly modern formations having no direct connexion with the original Indo-Germanic type. Similarly the use of *vetus* (also *veter*) as an adjective was of recent date; cp. *vetus-tu-s* like *onus-tu-s*, *veter-ātu-s* like *sceler-ātu-s*. Here we have a repetition of the process by which adjectives of this kind were formed in the original language.

Old Irish. *tech teg*, gen. *tige*, 'house': Gr. στέγ-ος τέγ-ος 'roof, house'. *nem* 'heaven', which we may either compare at once with Skr. *nám-as* 'obeisance, reverence', so that the original sense was 'object of reverence', or suppose to stand for **neb-os* = Skr. *nábh-as* O.C.Sl. *neb-o*, its form having been influenced by words containing the √*nem-* like Gall. νεμητον Ir. *nemed* 'sacred thing or place'. *leth* 'side': Skr. *práthas* etc., see above p. 415. *au ō* (Mid.Ir.), gen. *aue*, 'ear': O.C.Sl. *ucho* 'ear'; should we add Gr. οὖς Dor. ὦς 'ear'? (see § 114 p. 347). *mag* 'level tract of country', Gall. *Οὐινδό-μαγος* = O.Ir. *Find-mag*. *lōg luach* 'price, hire'.

With *-nes-*: *dū-n* 'stronghold'; even as early as in Gallic we have *Λουγυ-δουνος* beside *Λουγου-δουνον*. *glū-n* 'knee'.

In Germanic the old inflexion suffered great changes.

The transference of these nouns to the *o*-declension, which appears so frequently in Gothic and Norse, seems to have taken place in proethnic Germanic, and to have been partly due to the analogy of forms like Skr. *vats-á-* (beside Gr. Ϝέτος), p. 413. Goth. *áis* (gen. *áizis*) O.H.G. *ēr* n. 'ore' pr. Germ. **aiz-a-* (Goth. *áiza-smiþa* O.H.G. *ēr-smid*, § 40 p. 73): Skr. *áy-as* etc., see p. 418 above. O.H.G. *lefs* m. 'lip' beside A. S. *lippa* m. 'lip' (cp. I § 337 p. 267 f.) for pre-Germ. **lebes-* **leps-*. Goth. *ahs*

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(gen. *ahsis*) O.Icel. *ax* n. O.H.G. *ahir ehir* n. 'ear of corn' : Lat. *ac-us*. O.H.G. *fahs* O.Icel. *fax* m. 'hair', no doubt due to contamination of a form **pek-os* n. with **pok-o-s* m. (Gr. πόκο-ς) (cp. Gr. ὄχος p. 417, Lat. *modestu-s* p. 418). Goth. *veihs* (gen. *veihsis*) n. 'borough, vicus': cp. Skr. *vīśás-* m. 'neighbour, vassal'. Goth. *þeihs* (gen. *þeihsis*) n. 'time' beside *þeihan* 'to thrive, grow', √*teŋq-* (I § 214 p. 181); it is usual to compare Lat. *tempus*, but I cannot think it proved that Lat. *p* is ever = Idg. *q*. Goth. *þlahs-jan* 'to fear', a denominative: Lat. *locusta* for **tlocus-tā* (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 412 f.). Goth. *rimis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'rest', √*rem-*. Goth. *agis* (gen. *-isis*) n. 'fear', O.H.G. *egis-līh* 'terrible' *egis-o* m. (A.S. *eǯes-a* m.) 'fear' *egisōn* 'to terrify': Gr. ἄχ-ος 'pain at heart, grief'. Goth. *sigis* n. O.Icel. *sigr* (gen. *sigrs*) m. A.S. *siǯor* m. 'victory' O.H.G. *sigir-ōn* 'to conquer', Goth. *sigis-láun* § 40 p. 73: Skr. *sáhas*; see above, p. 415. Goth. *hatis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *hatr* n. 'hate', Goth. *hatizōn* 'to hate'. Goth. *riqis* (gen. *-izis*) n. O.Icel. *røkkr* n. 'darkness': Skr. *rájas* etc., see above p. 414. Goth. *ga-digis* n. 'building, work': Gr. τεῖχ-ος 'wall', with vowel-gradation in the root-syllable (p. 413). Goth. *bariz-ein-s* adj. 'of barley' O.Icel. *barr* n. 'barley': Lat. *farr-* for **far-s-*; see above, p. 413. Goth. *skaþis* n. 'harm', O.Icel. *setr* (gen. *setrs*) n. 'seat': Skr. *sád-as* etc., see p. 414 above.

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the variation between *-s-* and *-z-*, as Goth. gen. *agis-is* beside *riqiz-is*, Goth. *valvis-ōn* 'to roll oneself, wallow' O.H.G. *egis-ōn* beside Goth. *hatiz-ōn* O.H.G. *sigir-ōn*.

Remark 1. Possibly it may be connected with the fact that in certain isolated uses some of the cases retained *-és-*, e. g. in the Skr. inf. in *-ás-ē* (p. 413). Furthermore side by side with the neuter substantives there may have been adjectives with the accent upon the formative suffix, say **aǯés-* 'fearing' beside **áǯes-* 'fear', like Gr. ψευδής beside ψεῦδος, and the *-s-* may have been taken from them; compare further § 133 Rem. p. 424. Lastly in certain instances where the word was used as the first member of compound, *-s-* may have remained regularly voiceless even when the suffix *-es-* was unaccented. See von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 55.

In West-Germanic we find beside this another entirely different modification of the original declension, due to the

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syncope in final syllables. After a long root-syllable, the nom. acc. -*oz* was dropped (I § 661, 2 p. 517). This loss coupled with the influence of the *o*-declension, first established a paradigm such as O.H.G. sing. nom. acc. *kalb* ('calf') gen. *kalbires* dat. *kalbire*, pl. nom. acc. *kalbir* gen. *kalbiro* dat. *kalbirum*. Then in the gen. dat. sing. -*ir*- was dropped, *kalbes kalbe* being formed on the analogy of *'wortes worte* from nom. *wort*; hence -*ir*- naturally became the mark of the plural, especially in the nom. and acc. which had no other distinguishing sign. (A more remote consequence was that -*ir*-, Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. -*er*-, was used for the sign of the plural in a multitude of words with which it had originally no connexion whetever). In the oldest period of West-Germanic this style of inflexion *(kalb* gen. *kalbes*, pl. *kalbir)* is commonest in animal names; cp. besides *kalb* e. g. O.H.G. *lamb* (A.S. *lomb*) 'lamb', and outside of this category *ei* 'egg' pl. *eigir* (A.S. *ǣʒ* pl. *ǣʒru*), *rīs* 'sprout, twig', and other forms. Compare the use of these words as the initial members of compounds, § 40 p. 73. Other words however, through the same phonetic change in the form of the nom. acc. sing., entirely lost their *ir*-inflexion, e. g. O.H.G. *mast* n. 'mast, food, fattening': Skr. *méd-as* n. 'fat' (I § 591 p. 447 f.).

Remark 2. Certain substantives which follow the *i*- and the *u*-declension have also been regarded as representing original -*es*-stems; as O.H.G. *sigi* A.S. *siʒe* m. 'victory', O.Sax. *heti* A.S. *hete* m. 'hate' A.S. *eʒe* m. 'fear', A.S. *sife* n. 'sieve' and O.H.G. *sigu sigo* m. = *sigi*, *situ sito* m. 'custom' (Gr. ἔθος). The nom. *sigi* is said to stand for **siʒiz*, -*os* -*az* having been replaced by -*es* -*iz* because of the other cases, and the analogy of the m. f. *i*-stems having then come into play. This transference must have been complete before the beginning of the Christian era; for the *i*-stem appears in Strabo's Σεγί-μηρος (cp. *Segi-mēru-s Segi-mundu-s* in Tacitus, O.H.G. *sigi-nomo*). But I can see no satisfactory reason for the displacement of -*az* by -*iz* in these words and these only, and it seems more reasonable to assume that they are original *i*-stems; in fact we have such parallel forms as Skr. *van-i-ṣ* beside *ván-as*. It is perhaps less improbable that -*os* under certain conditions should have become -*uz* in proethnic Germanic, whence the form *sigu* (cp. O.H.G. *august* § 101 p. 307); see Paul in his and Braune's Beitr. VI 187, and Bremer ibid. XI 3, who remarks: 'I see in -*uz* the representative of an Idg. sonant *s* (*z*), a subject which I hope to discuss in a systematic form at some future time'.

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-nes- *-tes-*: O.H.G. *lēhan* n. 'loan', see above p. 415; A.S. *hrō̆-dor* n. beside *hrē-d* (m.?) 'glory'. Cp. also A.S. *hǣl* O.Icel. *heill* n. 'favourable omen, happiness' for **hailiz-* beside the adj. Goth. *hái-l-s* 'healthy' (§ 76 p. 206), A.S. *hlǣw* n. 'grave-mound' for **hlaiwiz-* beside Goth. *hlái-v* 'grave-mound' ground-form **klo̯i-u̯o-* (§ 64 p. 137) and the like.

Adjectives like Gr. *ψευδής δυσ-μενής* do not seem to occur. It is a question whether they can be inferred from the appearance of *-s-* side by side with *-z-* in the oblique cases of the substantives and in derivatives. See Rem. 1 p. 420 above. O.H.G. *mast* 'mast, food' has also a secondary use as adj. 'fattened'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here we find only Substantives. In Lithuanian they have become masc. or fem. *i-* or *i̯o*-stems: *-es-i-* and *-es-i̯a-*.

Lith. *dẽbes-ì-s* m. and f. 'cloud' (but we have the consonantal stem preserved in the gen. pl. *debes-ũ*) O.C.Sl. *nebo* 'heaven': Skr. *náhh-as* etc.; see above, p. 414.

Lith. *ẽdes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'food (for animals)': cp. Lat. *eder-e*. *kalbes-i-s*, gen. *-io*, m. 'phrase, proverb', beside which we have *kalbes-ė* f. 'speech'. Gen. *mẽnes-io* and *mẽnes-ẽs* 'of a month'; see above, p. 415. The original *-es-* is also seen in *kalbes-ni-s* 'talk', *mõkes-ti-s* 'payment' and the like: see § 101 p. 307.

O.C.Sl. *slov-o* 'word': Skr. *śráv-as* etc., see above p. 414. *uch-o* 'ear': Mid.Ir. *au*; see above, p. 419. *ok-o* 'eye'. *tělo* 'body'. Gen. *liče-s-e* 'of the face'; the nom. sing. **liko*, is wanting, its place being taken by *lice*. In consequence of their similar termination in the nom. acc. sing. *es*-stems were often inflected like neuter *o*-stems; e. g. gen. *slova* instead of *sloves-e*. On the other hand some of the Slavonic *es*-stems were perhaps *o*-stems originally, and became *es*-stems only because of this same similarity of form, e. g. *drěv-o* 'tree', *dělo* 'work'. The suffix *-os-* is no doubt also to be traced in abstract nouns like *ązos-ti* ‚strait', cp. Lat. *angus-tu-s*; see § 101 p. 307.

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§ 133. 2. Substantives, masculine and feminine, with the suffix in the form *-os-*. Side by side with the neuters in *-os-* there existed in the original language a certain number of masculine and feminine substantives with *-os-* in the strong cases, *-ōs* in the nom. sing., *-es -es-i* in the loc. sing., and *-s-* in the weakest cases. It is only in Italic that this formation is at all fertile; and there the *ō* of the nom. sing. was carried through all the cases. The masculine or feminine form and the neuter form often appeared side by side, as Lat. *decor*: *decus* (cp. p. 411 f.).

Skr. *uš-ás-* f. Gr. *ἠώς* f. (for **āu̯s-ōs*)[1]) Lat. *aur-ōr-a* 'dawn'. The acc. sing. was originally **-os-m̥*: Skr. *uṣás-am* Avest. *ušå̊ŋh-em*, Gr. *ἠῶ* for **ἠόα*; Skr. *uṣás-am* and *uṣā́m* were re-formations, the latter modelled on the nom. *uṣás*. Loc. *-es-i*: Skr. *uṣás-i*; Gr. *ἠοῖ* was a re-formation. Gen. Skr. Ved. *uṣás* instead of **uṣ-ṣ-ás*, instead of which we find later *uṣás-as*, and a similar re-formation in Greek, *ἠοῦς* i. e. **ἠόος*. Does the accent of the Att. *ἕως* (acc. *ἕω*) indicate that the original accent was **āu̯sōs*?

**āi̯u̯os- *āi̯u̯es- *āi̯us-* (cp. **āi̯u̯en- *āi̯un-* § 116 p. 362 f.): Gr. acc. *αἰῶ*, a by-form of *αἰῶνά*, for **αἰϝόα*, loc. *αἰεί* adv. 'always'; the weakest form of the stem is found in Sanskrit only as a neuter noun, *āyuṣ-* 'life'. Cp. also Ir. *ais aes* m. 'age' Mod.Cymr. *oes* § 108 p. 329.

Gr. *αἰδώς* f. 'shame, modesty', acc. *αἰδῶ*, and parallel to it *αἰδεσ-*, in *αἰδέομαι* fut. *αἰδέσ-σομαι* and *ἀν-αιδής*.

Latin. Masculines. *decor* beside *decus* Skr. *daśas-yá-ti* 'honours, is at the service of'; *tenor* beside *tenus* Skr. *tánas* 'offspring' Gr. *τένος* 'sinew, bond'; *angor* beside *anguṣ-tu-s ānx-iu-s* Skr. *áṃhas* 'distress'; *tepor* beside Skr. *tápas* 'heat' and many other similar words. *honōs honor (hones-tu-s)*, *sūdor*, *ador*, *amor* etc. Compare also *rūmi-ficō* beside *rūmor* § 34 p. 60. In the nom. sing. *-ōr* (*-or*) took the place of *-ōs* on the analogy of the other cases, where *-r-* regularly represented *-s-* between vowels

1) *ἠώς* proves that the law of vowel-shortening discussed in I § 611 p. 461 did not come into operation until after the loss of intervocalic *u̯*.

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(J. § 569 Rem. 2 p. 426 f.). *aurōr-a* (see above), like *Flōr-a* beside *flōs*, cp. § 60 p. 110.

Remark. It is possible that all these nouns, excepting the word for 'dawn', were originally masculine; if so they kept their original gender in Latin, whilst Gr. αἰδώς became feminine, in the same way as the *-tu-* stems (§ 108 p. 323. 327).

It is uncertain how we ought to regard the Sanskrit masculine abstract substantives *jarás-* 'weakness of age' *bhiyás-* 'fear' *tavás-* 'strength'. They belong to this section if their acc. in *-ásam* is a re-formation like *uṣ́ásam*. Further: were such Latin substantives as *sēdēs mōlēs plēbēs pūbēs* really, as is usually assumed, originally *s*-stems? Possibly we should assume a double class of masculine and feminine substantives in the parent language, corresponding to the two classes appearing, e. g. in Greek, ἄκ-μων contrasted with ποι-μήν, δώ-τωρ contrasted with δο-τήρ, distinguished by a difference of accent and of vocalism in the suffix. The accent of ἠώς αἰδώς would then have been shifted just as that of the forms in -ών -μών. Adjectives like Gr. ψευδής (§ 132 p. 412 f.) would then bear a nearer relation to these m. and f. substantives in *-ḗs* than to the neuters in *-os*.

§ 134. The Suffix -s- (-ə-s-, -i-s-, -u-s-).

Side by side with the nouns formed with *-es-* (*-os-*), which have been discussed in §§ 131—133, we find nouns which have the same *s*-sound in the suffix, but which cannot be shewn with certainty to have ever had an *e* (*o*) before the *s*. And we must remember that although *-es-* was certainly used as a single and independent suffix at the time of the dissolution of the proethnic community, it may nevertheless have arisen from the fusion of two distinct elements (*-e-s-*, or rather perhaps as in **ĝene-s-*, see p. 20).

The nouns here to be discused may be arranged in four groups.

1. Skr. *bhā́s-* n. 'light, brilliancy' (nom. acc. *bhā́s* instr. *bhāsā́*), Lat. *fās* n. (indecl.) originally 'utterance', √ *bhā-* (Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 19 compares Att. φῶς with Skr. *bhā́s*). Ar. **dās-* 'gift' in Skr. *ḍā́s-vant-* 'rich in gifts' *su-dā́s-* 'giving richly' (acc. *-dā́s-am-* gen. *-dā́s-as-*) Avest. *vaŋhu-đāh-* 'giving good' (acc. *-đåŋh-em* gen. *-đåŋh-ō*), √ *dō-*. Skr. *jñā́s-* m. 'relative', cp. *jñā-tí-ṣ*. Lat. *flōs flōr-is*, *Flōr-a* Osc. Fluusaí dat. Lat. *spē-r-āre* O.Lat. pl. *spē-r-ēs spē-r-ibus* beside *spē-s*. Should we class here the Greek **κρᾱς- *καρᾱς-* in κρᾱ́ατ- καρήατ-

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'head' (for *κρᾱσ-ᾱ- *καρᾱσ-ᾱ-, cp. § 114 p. 347)? There is nothing to prevent our comparing with these words Skr. *más-* 'moon, month' O.C.Sl. *měs-ęcĭ* 'month' from √ *mē-* 'measure', see § 132 p. 415.

In these words it is possible that the *e* of *-es-* has been contracted with the preceding vowel, so that **dōs-*: **bheres-* = **dōno-m*: **bhereno-m*, see § 65 p. 138. In this case we might regard the Sanskrit stems *draviṇō-dás-* 'giving riches' *vayō-dhás-* 'bestowing life-power' *candrá-mas-* 'moon' (see Lanman, Noun-Infl. p. 555 f.) as the direct representatives of an original formation, and analysing them as **-d-es-* **-dh-es-* **-m-es-*. **-d-es-*: **dōs-* = Gr. *λίπ-ος*: Skr. *rḗp-as* and the like; see § 132 p. 415. Lat. *vī-r-ē-s* beside *vī-s vi-m* cannot have suffered this contraction; but it is perfectly easy to assume that the *s*-inflexion in this word may be due merely to the analogy of older types.

2. *-ə-s-*. Skr. *kravíš-* n. 'raw flesh', Gr. *κρέας* n. 'flesh', cp. Lat. *cruor*. Gr. *κέρας* 'horn' beside Skr. *śíras-* 'head' (originally 'prominent point'); Lat. *cere-brum* may contain either **ḱeres-* or **ḱerəs-*, *γῆρας* 'old age', *γέρας* 'gift of honour', *δέμας* 'bodily frame'. Skr. *támis-rā tamis-ra-m* 'darkness' beside *támas*; Lat. *tenebrae* instead of **temebrae* (I § 570 p. 428 f.) and Mid.Dutch *deemster* 'dark' may contain either **temes-* or **temәs-*. Skr. *rōcíš-* n. 'light' beside *sva-rōcas-* and Avest. *raocah-* n. 'light, clearness', O.Pers. *raucah-* 'day'. Avest. *hadiš-* O.Pers. *hadiš-* n. 'seat' beside Skr. *sádas-*. As regards the Aryan forms, however, it must be borne in mind that *-iš-* may represent Indo-Germanic *-i-s-*.

To this class perhaps also belong Gr. masc. *ἔρως* 'love' and *γέλως* 'laughter'. According to Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), there was the same ablaut-relation between these nominatives and the stems *ἐραϝ- γελαϝ-* seen in Hom. *ἐραϝ-νός ἠράσ-σατο* Pindar. *γελᾱνής* Hom. *ἐγέλασ-σα*, as between *δω-* **dō-* and *δα-* **də-* 'give' (I § 317 p. 255 f.): *γέλως* **γελασ-ος* **γελασ-ι* etc., thence by qualitative assimilation of the vowel **γελο(σ)-ος* **γελο(σ)-ι*; later on they passed into the *o*-declension: acc. *γέλο-ν ἔρο-ν* and so forth.

3. *-i-s-*. Lat. *cinis*, *pulvis*, gen. *cineris* for **cinis-is* cp. *cinis-culu-s* (I § 33 p. 33). Danielsson (Gramm. u. etym. Stud. I

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51) compares, perhaps rightly, *cinis* with Gr. κόνι-ς. The same scholar assumes a stem θέμισ- 'ordinance, right' in θεμισ-κρέων θέμισ-τ- and so forth. Here might also be classed some of the Aryan neuters in -iš- (see under 2); I will add only Skr. *arciš-* 'beam' *jyótiš-* 'light'.

Was this -*is*- ever the weak form of an earlier -*ɟes*-?

4. -*u-s*-. Skr. *dhánuš-* n. 'bow' beside *dhanú-š* m. *dhánvan-* n.; *páruš-* n. 'knot' beside *párvan-* n.; *mádhuš-* n. 'sweetness' beside *mádhu-* n.; *mánuš-* m. 'human being' beside *mánuš* m. Goth. *manin-* for **manu-*. Lat. *pecus* n. beside *pecu*, *genus* m. n. 'knee' beside *genu* can hardly be deemed parallel examples; see § 104 p. 313.

In a few instances we find the ablaut -*us*-: -*ɥes*- (-*ɥos*-). Mention has already been made of Skr. *áyuš-* n. 'life' compared with Gr. αἰές αἰῶ § 133 p. 423. Another example is Skr. *áruš-* n. 'wound' beside O.Icel. *ørr* n. 'scar' for **arɥiz*-.

135. The Suffix -*ɟes*- -*iɟes*-[1].

This is a primary comparative suffix, side by side with the secondary -*ero*- -*tero*- (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). The fact that it is contained in the superlative suffix -*is-to*- (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) indicates that its comparative meaning was wider then that of the sister suffix -*ero*- -*tero*-, which from the earliest period to which we can trace it was used only in comparing two things (e. g. Gr. πο-τερος 'which of two?'). So that originally the combination -*is* + *tero*- in Gr. ἀριστερό-ς Lat. *sin-ister* and the like (§ 75 p. 190 ff.) was probably not a mere pleonasm.

Even in the proethnic language the comparatives and superlatives containing this suffix had been brought into connexion with 'Positives' formed with all manner of suffixes (-*u*-, -*o*-, -*ro*- etc.), and were regarded as being derived from them, e. g. Skr. *svād-īyas*- Gr. ἡδ-ίων 'suavior' beside *svād-ú-š* ἡδ-ύ-ς 'suavis'. Thus -*ɟes*- (-*is-to*-) acquired the character of a secondary suffix, which appears very clearly in the new formations which are so

1) J. Schmidt, Das primäre Comparativsuffix, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 377 ff.

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common in the separate languages, such as Skr. *brâhm-īyas-* Lat. *amīc-ior*. Compare § 58 p. 107, § 81 p. 243.

As regards the ablaut of the root-syllable, the general rule seems to have been that the comparative had the strong grade (*e* in the *e*-series), and the superlative the weak grade. Parallel to this there was always a difference of accent. The corresponding positive was generally a form in which the weak-grade was regular in the root-syllable. Thus **lénəgh-ies-*: **lnghistó-*: **lnghú-* 'brisk, small, little' = Avest. *renj-yah-* Gr. *ἐλάσσων* for **ἐλαγχ-ιων* (I § 459 p. 360, § 497 p. 365, § 618 p. 466) instead of **ἐλεγχ-ιων* through the influence of the form *ἐλαχ-*: Skr. *lágh-iṣṭha-s* Gr. *ἐλάχ-ιστο-ς* (both with the accent shifted, see § 81 p. 243): Skr. *lagh-ú-ṣ* Gr. *ἐλαχ-ύ-ς*; Skr. *práth-īyas-*: *pṛth-ú-ṣ*; Gr. *κρέσσων* : *κράτ-ιστο-ς* instead of **κρατ-ιστό-ς* : *κρατ-ύ-ς*; *ὀλείζων* : *ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς* instead of **ὀλιγ-ιστό-ς* : *ὀλίγ-ο-ς*; O.H.G. *suoz-iro*: Goth. *sut-ista*. These distinctions of ablaut were to a large extent lost through the influence of analogy; particularly as between the comparative and superlative. E. g. Skr. *lághīyas-* instead of **lánəghīyas-* or the true phonetic form **lágh-īyas* (I § 454 p. 335 f.); and conversely *práthiṣṭha-* instead of **pṛthiṣṭhá-*, *báṃhiṣṭha-* instead of **bahiṣṭhá-* (compar. *báṃh-īyas-* posit. *bah-ú-*); Gr. *τάχ-ιον* instead of *θᾶσσον* (*τάχιστα*, *ταχύ-ς*), and conversely *ἐλέγχιστο-ς* instead of *ἐλάχιστο-ς*; in *μάσσων* and *μήκιστο-ς* (*μακ-ρό-ς*) the vowel-grades have exactly changed places; Goth. *sut-iza* instead of **svōt-iza* (O.H.G. *suoz-iro*), but conversely O.H.G. *suōz-isto* instead of **suz-isto* (Goth. *sut-ista*).

In considering all such cases however it must be remembered that in the original paradigm of the comparative besides *-ies-* and *-ios-* the stem also appeared in the form *-is-*, before which the root-syllable must have had the weak-grade; e. g. dat. sing. **lnghis-éi* like the superlative **lnghis-tó-*; and this form of the root may also have appeared before *-iés-* (see below). We have perfect right to assume if we choose that even in the proethnic language the strong form of the root (**lénəgh-ios-*) had prevailed in all cases of the paradigm of the Comparative, so that, e. g. **lnghisái* had dropped out of use in favour of **lenəgh-*

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isái̯; but it is quite as easily conceivable that forms like **lṇ̥gh-isái̯* descended into the separate languages, and there assisted in levelling the forms of the Comparative and the Superlative. The latter assumption would also make it easier to understand such instances as *μάσσων* : *μήκιστο-ς* (Avest. *mas-yah-* O.Pers. *maþ-išta-*).

There are some examples without vowel-gradation in the root: **plē-i̯os-* **plē-i̯s-*: **plē-i̯s-tó-*: **plē-ro-* = Skr. *prā-yas* Gr. *πλέ-ες* for **πληι̯σ-*: Gr. *πλεῖσ-το-ς*: Lat. *plē-ru-s* Gr. *πλή-ρ-ης*.

As regards the different forms assumed by the comparative suffix itself in different languages many points are still obscure. The history of *-i̯es-* is in many ways parallel to that of the participial suffix *-u̯es-* (§ 136).

Remark I. It is absolutely impossible to maintain that *-i̯ens-* was the original form of this suffix. I attacked this view in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 54 ff., and J. Schmidt in the same periodical XXVI 237 ff. has again undertaken its defence. Schmidt imagines that *-i̯ōns* (*-i̯ēns*) in the nom. sing. masc. became *-i̯ōs* (*-i̯ēs*) in the proethnic language by a regular phonetic change (cp. I § 220 p. 188) and that the nasal was dropped in other cases by analogy. To say nothing of the fact that no certain examples of this proethnic phonetic law (*-i̯ōs* coming from *-i̯ōns*) have been adduced (cp. also p. 415)[1], the results which Schmidt's hypothesis involves are altogether incredible and inadmissible: see the Author in Iw. Müller's Hdb. II 55 and Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 83 (Collitz too declares against Schmidt, Bezzenb. Beitr. X 65). I therefore still believe in *-i̯es-* (and in *-u̯es-* also; see p. 439).

-i̯es- and *-ii̯es-* stand side by side, just as *-i̯o-* and *-ii̯o-*; and the form *-īi̯es-* which is represented by Skr. *-īyas-* Gr. Att. *-ιο(σ)-* may be compared with *-īi̯o-*, see § 63 p. 122.

The following conclusions may be considered as adequately established for the parent language (in what follows the parallel forms *-ii̯es-* *-īi̯es-* are disregarded).

1. *-i̯ōs* in the nom. sing. masc., *-i̯os* in the nom. acc. sing. neut.: Avest. *vah-yå vah-yō*, Skr. *vás-yas* (n.), Lat. *ma-jōr* instead of *-jōs* (I § 569 Rem. 2

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1) R. Meringer (Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 134) derives the acc. pl. **gōs* (Skr. *gā́s* Gr. *βῶς*) through **gōns* from **gōu̯ns*. On p. 138, however, he assents to my view that the acc. sing. was **gō(u̯)m* before a sonant, but **gōu̯m̥* before a consonant. I confess I do not see how to reconcile these statemente. I must still regard Meringer's **gōu̯ns* as a monstrosity, and the view that *gās βῶς* are re-formations on the analogy of the acc. sing. as perfectly admissible.

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p. 426 f.) *mā-jus*, O.Ir. *māo* (m.), Goth. *háuhis* (n. adv.) for pr. Germ. *-i̯az*, O.C Sl. *bol-je* (n.) for pr. Slav. *-i̯os*.

2. *-i̯os* in the voc. masc.: Skr. *vás-yas*.

3. *-i̯és-* in the loc. sing.: Skr. *vás-yas-i* (the accent has been shifted). Also in the fem. nom. *-i̯és-ī*, gen. *-is-i̯ḗs* etc.; levelling in different directions produced on the one hand Skr. *vás-yasī vás-yasyās*, on the other Goth. *sut-izei sut-izeins*, and O.C.Sl. *bol-jĭši bol-jĭšę* (instead of **bolješi *bolĭšę*) The suffix has also the *-ies*-form in Lith. *sald-ẽs-ni-s* 'sweeter' with *-es-* for *-i̯es-* (I § 147 p. 131), in the unique Pruss. gen. pl. *muis-ies-on* 'maiorum' and perhaps in Lat. *mā-jes-tās* beside *mā-jor* (this may also be a new formation modelled on *hones-tās*: *honor* and the like) and *pē-jer-āre* beside *pē-jor* (cf. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 115).

4. *-is-* in the weak cases, e. g. dat. sing. *-is-ái̯* loc. pl. *-is-sú*. This form of the suffix has spread through the paradigm, wholly or in part, in Gr. *πλέες πλέας* neut. *πλέα* (**πλει̯ς-*), Goth. *sut-iz-a* gen. *sut-iz-ins*, *máiz-a* gen. *máiz-ins*, O.C.Sl. gen. *boljĭša* 'maioris' for **boljĭs-i̯ā* instead of **bol-ĭs-i̯ā* (see below). There were moreover adverbs in *-is-*: **mə-i̯s* = Osc. *mais* 'magis' Goth. *máis* 'more', Lat. *mag-is*, Goth. *vaírs* for **u̯irs-iz*, Gr. *πρεισ-* = Lat. *prīs-* in *πρεῖσ-γυ-ς πρεῖσ-βυ-ς prīs-cu-s*. Further *-is-* occurred in the fem., gen. *-is-i̯ḗs* etc., see 3. Cp. superl. *-is-tó-*, § 81 p. 242 ff.

Finally I regard it as probable.

5. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had *-i̯os-*: acc. Avest. *vah-yå̄nəh-em* Gr. *ἐλάσσω* for *-i̯o(σ)-α*. The fact that in Greek *-i̯οσ-* is confined to the strong cases (there is no such form as **ἐλάσσο-ος* in the gen., for example) may be regarded as an additional proof that in the other cases another form of the suffix prevailed; for if all the cases had originally had *-i̯οσ-*, they would surely have all been treated in the same way.

In Aryan, *-iš-* was displaced by *-yas-* in the weak cases: dat. sing. Skr. *vā́s-yas-ē* Avest. *vah-yaŋh-ę̄*, gen. sing. Skr. *vás-yas-as* Avest. *vah-yaŋh-ō*. Where *-yas-* is also found in the strong cases in the same group of languages, as Skr. *kanīyas-am* 'iuniorem' Avest. *vaňhaŋh-em* 'meliorem' (*-ňh-* = *-hy-*, I § 558 p. 415), it is not original, but due to a secondary change. Instead of *-yas* in the voc. sing. masc. *-yan* appears in the post-vedic language; this form is doubtless due to the analogy of *-van* (§ 136 p. 441).

In Latin the *-i̯ōs* of the nom. sing. was carried through the whole case-system; later it became *-iōr* following the other cases, where *-s-* regularly became *-r-*; *mā-jor -jōr-em -jōr-is* etc.; cp. *hon-or -ōr-em* and so forth, § 133 p. 423.

The Old Church Slavonic nom. sing. masc. *boljĭjĭ boljijĭ* beside neut. *bolje* is probably not a compound word (*boljĭ* + *jĭ*), but a modification of **bol-ĭjĭ* which had the suffix in the form *-ii̯es-*; beside it we find *nově-jĭ* with *-i̯es-*. *boljĭjĭ* owes its form to the influence of the neuter *bolje*, or of masculines like *dobljĭ-jĭ*, or of both together. The masc. terminations *-ĭjĭ* and *-jĭ* (instead of **-ija *-ja* = Idg. **-ii̯ōs *-i̯ōs*) are due to the influence of the *-i̯o-* stems, such as *dobljĭ*; *nově-jĭ* bears to neut. *nově-je* the same

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relation as *dobljĭ* : *doblje*. From the nom acc. sing. neut. and nom. sing. masc. -*j*- passed on to the other cases which had -*ĭše*- = -*ĭs*-*i̯e*-: gen. *boljĭša* instead of **bolĭša* etc. See 3. above, fem. *boljĭšę* instead of **bolĭšę*.

But what is the origin of the nasal in Skr. *vas-yą̄s*- (nom. *vás-yān* acc. *vás-yą̄s-am*) and of the Greek paradigm ἐλάσσων -ον-ος etc.? In § 63 p. 132 we regarded -*i̯es*- as an extension of the comparative -*i̯o*- by -*es*-; compare Skr. *náv-yas*- Lat. *nov-ior* beside Skr. *náv-ya*- Goth. *niu-ji-s*, Lat. *nim-is* beside *nim-iu-s*. Now in some instances there may have been a form -*i̯en*- parallel to -*i̯o*- and having the same force. The stems formed with this stood in Greek side by side with those which had -*i̯es*-, and were taken into more extended use because they had an easier and clearer inflexion than that of the -*i̯es*- comparatives, which had broken up into very dissimilar groups through the operation of phonetic laws within the case-system; thus arose ἡδ-ίων -ίον-ος like κρον-ίων -ίον-ος (§ 115 p. 359), and χειρό-τερο-ς : χείρων = πιό-τερο-ς : πίων[1]). In Sanskrit however -*yās*- and -*yą̄n*- were contaminated, producing the form -*yą̄ś*-, just as *mahā́nt*- (beside *mahat*-) seems to have arisen from the fusion of an *n*-stem and a *t*-stem. (§ 126 p. 399). Cp. Danielsson, Gramm. and etym. Stud. I 49. Thus we should have side by side e. g. (1) **plē-i̯o*- (Gr. πλέω-ς πλέο-ς Cret. πλίυι, Armen. *li*, gen. *lioy*, 'full', Skr. *prāyēṇa prą̄ya-šaš* 'for the most part, usually, mostly'), (2) **plē-i̯es*- **plē-i̯s*- (Skr. *prā-yas*, Gr. πλείω πλεῖστο-ς etc.) and (3) **plē-i̯en*- **plē-i̯n*- (πλείων -ον-ος, neut. Att. πλεῖν, cp. with the latter Cret. πρείν Hom. πρίν Att. πρίν beside πρεισ-; πλεῖν : πλεῖον πλέον = Goth *máis* : *háuhis*). Compare further (1) Skr. *kan-yā* 'maiden' Gr. καινό-ς 'new' for *καν-ι̯ο-ς: (2) Skr. *kăn-īyas*- 'younger' *kan-iṣṭhá*- 'youngest': (3) Avest. *kain-in*- f. 'girl'; Gr. (1) ῥα-ιο- 'easy' (ῥη-ίδιο-ς, ῥη-ί-τερο-ς): (2) ῥηίω ῥᾴω, ῥήιστο-ς ῥᾷστο-ς: (3) ῥη-ίων ῥᾴων (etymology doubtful, see Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 446 f.)[2]). Compare the parallel forms **āi̯-u̯o*- (Lat. *aevo-m* Goth. *áiv-s*): **āi̯-u̯es*- (Gr. αἰές αἰῶ Skr. *ā́yuṣ*-): **āi̯-u̯en*- (Gr. αἰών αἰέν Skr. *ā́yun*-) § 116 p. 362, § 133 p. 423, Skr. *ṛ́bh-va*- *ṛ́bh-vas*- *ṛ́bh-van*- 'artistic' and other examples.

Indo-Germanic. *leṇgh-(i)i̯os*- beside **lṇ̥gh-ú*-: Skr. *lágh-īyas*- Avest. *renj-yah*- Gr. acc. ἐλάσσω, cp. p. 427 above. **su̯ā́d-(i)i̯os*- beside Skr. *svādú-ṣ* Gr. ἡδύ-ς Goth. *sut-s* 'suavis': Skr. *svā́d-īyas*-, Gr. ἡδ-ίω -ίω, Lat. *suāvior* 'instead of **su̯ād-ior* through the influence of *suāvi-s*, O.H.G. *suoz-iro* Goth. *sut-iza*. **ṓk̑-(i)i̯os*- beside Skr. *āś-ú-ṣ* Gr. ὠκ-ύ-ς Lat. *acu-pediu-s*: Skr. *ā́ś-īyas*-, Gr. ὠκ-ίων (this is not actually found. but may be

1) We find also μαλιώ-τερο-ς (Solon) βελτιώ-τερο-ς (Telesilla) compared with μάλιον βελτίων formed on the same principle as σοφώ-τερο-ς § 75 p. 193.

2) In view of this it may not be rash to see a further group of old -*i̯o*- forms in the Att. gen. sing. of the compar. in -ιου (ἀπὸ τοῦ μείου, ἐχ θάττου, Meisterhaus, Gramm. d. Att. Inschr. p. 67).

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inferred from ὤκ-ιστο-ς), Lat. *ōc-ior*. **plē-i̯os-* (**plēis-* by a pro-ethnic contraction from **plē-is-*; see I § 116 p. 108) beside Lat. *plē-ru-s* Gr. *πλή-ρ-ης*: Skr. adv. *prā-yas* Avest. *frā-yah-*, Gr. *πλείω πλέες*, Lat. *pleōr-ēs* or *plēōr-ēs* and *plīs-ima* carm. Arv., (O.Ir. *lia*, see p. 435), O.Icel. *fleir-e* (re-formed to correspond with *meir-e*). **mō-i̯os- *mə-i̯s-* beside O.Ir. *mā-r* Gall. *-māru-s* (in proper names) 'great' Goth. *-mēr-s* 'great' (cp. § 81 p. 247): Osc. *mais* 'magis', O.Ir. *máo mō*, Goth. *máiz-a* adv. *máis*[1]); perhaps Gr. *Μαίων* should also be classed here.

Aryan. Skr. *vás-yas-* Avest. *vah-yah- vax-yah-* (I § 558 p. 415) beside *vás-u- vaŋh-u-* 'good'. Skr. *áś-īyas-* Avest. *aš-yah-* beside *aś-ú- aš-u-* 'swift': Gr. *ὠκ-ίων* etc., see above. Skr. *máh-īyas-* Avest. *maz-yah-* 'greater': Gr. Ion. *μέζων*, Lat. *mājor* (cp. I § 135 p. 122) *mag-is mag-is-ter* (cp. I § 469, 8 p. 346 f.). Skr. *néd-īyas-* Avest. *nazd-yah-* 'nearer' for pr. Ar. **na-zd-*; see I § 591 p. 447 and II § 4 p. 9.

Skr. *vár-īyas-* beside *ur-ú-* 'wide'. *śrḗ-yas-* beside *śrī-lá-* 'fair, glorious': should we compare Gr. *κρείων* 'noble, princely, ruler' (which has passed into the *-ντ-* declension, like *θεράπων* etc., see § 114 p. 350)? *kšḗp-īyas-* beside *kšip-rá-* 'quick'. *dáv-īyas-* beside *dū-rá-* 'distant'. *tḗj-īyas-* beside *tig-má-* 'sharp'. *srāj-īyas-* beside *srag-vín-* 'crowned'. *náv-yas- náv-īyas-* beside *náv-a-* 'novus': Lat. *nov-ior*, O.H.G. *niw-iro niuw-iro* 'novior'. *prḗ-yas-* beside *priy-á-* 'dear'. *jyā́-yas-* 'mightier'. As regards Skr. *sthḗyas-* instead of **sthā́-yas-* beside *sthi-rá-*, *sphḗyas-* instead of **sphā́-yas-* beside *sphi-rá-*, see § 81 p. 244.

Avest. *mas-yah-* 'greater' beside O.Pers. *maθ-išta-* 'the greatest': Gr. *μάσσων* beside *μακ-ρό-ς* 'long'. Avest. *tąš-yah-* 'more warlike, stronger' ground-form **terəq-i̯es-* (I § 200 p. 168, § 473 p. 350), beside superl. *tanc-išta-*. In Avestic the metre often shows that the reading should be *-iyah-*, as *renjiyah-*, *nazdiyah-*, *masiyah-* (beside *mah-*) *s.ya*

In Sanskrit we find occasionally new formations from noun-

1) In the light of this paragraph what is said about this Gothic word in I § 635 p. 475 should be corrected.

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stems, as *tī́kṣṇ-īyas-* from *tīkṣ-ṇá-* 'sharp', *bráhm-iyas-* like *bráhm-iṣṭha-*, *dráḍh-īyas-* like *dráḍh-iṣṭha-*; see § 81 p. 245.

Greek. -ι̯ο(σ)- -ῐ̄ο-(σ)- occurs only in the acc. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. plur. masc. and neut. By its side we find through all the cases -ι̯ον- -ῐ̄-ον- (-ιν- in πλεῖν, πρείν πρίν πρῐ́ν); in Rem. 1 p. 430 I have stated my conjecture that this form represents Idg. -i̯on- and never contained s. -īο(σ)- -ῑον- occur in Attic.

The examples are given in the form of the acc. sing. masc. in -ι̯ω -ῐ́ω for *-ι̯ο(σ)-α *-ῐ̄ο(σ)-α.

πάσσω and παχ-ίω beside παχ-ύ-ς 'fat, thick'. θᾱ́σσω for *θαγχ-ι̯οσ-α beside ταχ-ύ-ς 'swift' (we must compare Pol. *dążyć* 'to press forward, aspire, hasten', see Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XII 241; the favourite comparison of this with Avest. *tąšyah-* has not been reconciled with phonetic law), cp. ἐλᾱ́σσων p. 427. βραδ-ίω beside βραδ-ύ-ς 'slow': Skr. *mrad-īyas-*. γλυκ-ίω beside γλυκ-ύ-ς 'sweet'. ὀλείζω beside ὀλιγ-ο-ς 'little' ὀλίγ-ιστο-ς, from which ὀλίζω was afterwards formed. κακ-ίω beside κακ-ό-ς 'bad'. ἐχθ-ίω beside ἐχθ-ρό-ς 'hostile'. ἥσσω 'inferiorem' beside ἧκ-α; ἡττᾶσθαι instead of *ἡττοῦσθαι follows νῑκᾶσθαι, and from the verb ἡττᾶσθαι the substantive ἧττα was itself formed (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 299 f.). ἀμείνω for *ἀμεν-ι̯ω 'meliorem'. A form *ἀγχ-ι̯οσ- 'nearer' may be inferred from the adv. ἆσσον for ἀγχ-ι̯ον (beside ἄγχ-ι): Skr. *ąh-īyas-* O.H.G. *eng-ir-o* 'narrower'. μείω 'minorem' for *μει-ι̯ο(σ)-α beside *mi-no- *mi-nu-, Lat. *mi-nus* Goth. *minniza* for *mi-nu̯-is-, see below; the superl. μεῖστο-ς stands for *με(ι̯)-ιστο-ς (for the vowel-grade of the root cp. ἐλέγχ-ιστο-ς and the like p. 427) or else is a new formation in imitation of its opposite πλεῖστο-ς. πλείω πλέω 'more' instead of *πλη-(ι̯)ο(σ)-α has been affected by the form of πλεῖστο-ς (like Skr. *sthḗ-yas-* instead of *sthā́-yas- through the influence of *sthḗṣṭha-*, § 81 p. 244), and perhaps also to some extent by μείω; by the side of it we find a form πλεισ- for *plēi̯s-, belonging properly to the weak cases of the comparative, in Hom. πλέ-ες πλέ-ας Cret. πλί-ες neut. πλί-α (ι for ε, I § 64 p. 51 [1]): Skr. *prā-yas* etc.; see p. 431 above. κρείσσω κρείττω

1) Here for 'in the Doric dialects' read 'in some Doric dialects'.

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beside Ion. κρέσσων (: κράτ-ιστο-ς κρατ-ύ-ς 'strong' and μείζω beside Ion. μέζω (: μέγ-ιστο-ς μέγ-α-ς 'magnus') owe their ει to the analogy of χείρων ἀμείνων ὀλείζω, conversely Ion. ἔσσω beside ἧττω follows κρέσσω, cp. I § 639 Rem. p. 479 and Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1883 p. 193.

In rare instances we find nominal suffixes preceding the comparative -μοσ-, as καλλ-ίω 'pulcriorem' beside κάλλος n., βελ-τ-ίω 'meliorem'. Compare the superlatives, § 81 p. 245.

In Cretan (Gortyn) we find πρείγω (πρείγονα) beside πρεῖγυ-ς πρεῖσγυ-ς and κάρτω (καρτόνανς) instead of *κρέττω = Ion. κρέσσω, beside καρτύ-ς. It remains doubtful whether these forms are regular phonetic representatives of *πρειιγ-μω, *καρτ-μω (cp. Dor. κάρρων for *καρσσων), or new formations with -ω instead of -μω on the model of some one or more forms where the μ had regularly disappeared.

One example of an adverb in -is is πρεισ- ('before') found in the compound Cret. πρεῖσ-γυ-ς (whence πρεῖγυ-ς by assimilation). Thessal. πρεῖσ-βυ-ς (cp. I § 428 p. 316), which corresponds to the *prīs-* of the Lat. *prīs-cu-s* (beside *prior prius*), cp. Rem. 1 p. 429 and for -γν- -βυ-, § 91 Rem. p. 277. Obviously *πρεις is related to Cret. πρείν (Hom. πρίν Att. πρίν) as πλεισ- (in πλέες πλεῖσ-το-ς) to Att. πλεῖν and as πλείους (i. e. *πλειοσ-ες) to πλείον-ες, cp. Rem. 1 p. 430. If we start from an original *préi̯-i̯os- *pri(i̯)-is- (by analogy *pri-i̯os- and *prei̯-is-), Lat. *prīs-* may represent not only *πρεις but also *prii̯-is (cp. πρίν). It must be admitted that the forms πρέσγυ-ς πρέσβυ-ς are still obscure [1]).

Italic. O.Lat. *minerimu-s* for **minis-imo-s* (cp. *plūr-imu-s* etc.), *minis-ter*, Osc. *minstreis mistreis* 'minoris': cp. Goth. *minniza*

1) The student who believes that the doctrine of 'hyphaeresis' (κέσκετο = *κε(i̯)εσκετο, σπέσσι = *σπεεσσι) is not a mere midsummer madness, may find comfort in supposing that *πρεσ- stands for an older form *πρε(i̯)εσ-, an analogical modification of an original loc. *pri-i̯és. It is simpler however to analyse *πρες into πρ + -ες (the genitive ending), and to regard it as a by-form of πάρ-ος Skr. *pur-ás* (I § 294 p. 234): Prellwitz, De dial. Thessalica 1885 p. 11 takes a very similar view, but a different explanation may be found in Per Persson's Studia etymologica, Upsala 1886, p. 95.

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'minor' for **mi-nu̯-is-* O.C.Sl. *mĭnjĭjĭ* 'minor' and the archaic Gr. *μείων* 'minorem' for **μει-ϝοσ-α* (p. 432); *minus* was a neuter like *vol-nus* Gr. *δά-νος* (see § 132 p. 415 and p. 418); it originally meant 'minority', and then like *vetus* came to be used as an adjective; when it had thus become the opposite of *mājus*, *mājōris mājor* etc. gave rise to the analogous formations *minōr-is minor* etc.[1]). Umbr. mes-tru f. 'maior' (cp. § 75 p. 195), Osc. *mais* 'magis': O.Ir. *māo* etc., see p. 431 above. Osc. pústir-is 'posterius'.

Lat. *ōc-ior* beside *acu-pediu-s*: Skr. *áś-iyas-* etc., see p. 430 f. above. *nov-ior* beside *novo-s*: Skr. *náv-yas-* etc., see p. 431 above. *sen-ior* beside *senex*: Skr. *sán-yas-* beside *sán-a-s* 'old', O.Ir. *sin-iu* 'older' *sinser* 'the elder, eldest' for **senis-tero-s* beside *sen*, Lith. *senẽs-ni-s* 'older' beside *sẽn-a-s*, cp. also Goth. *sinista* 'eldest'. *mel-ior. pē-jor. mājor majus* with *magis* beside *māgnu-s*: Skr. *máh-īyas-* etc., see p. 431 above; the evidence of the Gr. *μέγα-ς* and the Goth. *mikil-s* shews that the root originally had *e* and hence it seems necessary to assume that the Latin word has been influenced by the pr. Ital. **maȷ̯s-* = Idg. **mə-ȷ̯s-* (cp. Osc. *mais* beside Lat. *magis*, Umbr. mes-tru beside Lat. *magister*), which belongs to a different root.

pleōrēs and *plīsima*; see p. 431 above. It has not yet been clearly shewn what relation the forms *plous plūs*, *plūr-ēs*, *ploer-a* and *ploirume* (C. I. L. I 32) bear to **plē-ȷ̯os-* which we must assume as the ground-form of the comparative stem.

Remark 2. For a discussion of these latter forms see Stolz (Iw. Müller's Handb. II p. 164), Danielsson (Pauli's Altital. Stud. IV p. 164 and Osthoff (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 445 f.). Danielsson's proposal to assume a form **plō-ȷ̯os-* parallel to **plē-ȷ̯os-* is the simplest from the phonetic standpoint. We should start from a stem **plōȷ̯s-*, whence we should arrive at **ploȷ̯s-* (according to I § 612 p. 462)[2]), and then at *plūs-*. In *plous-* *ou* would be merely a graphic representative of the sound *ū*.

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1) It seems to me less probable that even at the time when *minus* was still a substantive, there was also a masc. form *minor*, like *decor* beside *decus* and the like (§ 133 p. 423).

2) In the third line of this paragraph read 'explosive or spirant' instead of 'sonant'.

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Adverbs in *-is-*. Lat. *mag-is* beside *mājor*. *nimis*. *satis*. *prīs* in *prīs-cu-s* beside *prior*, see p. 433 above; is it also contained in *prīdem*? [1]). Osc. *mais* 'magis': Goth. *máis*.

There was in Latin a very great deal of levelling between the form of the comparative and that of the positive, which converted *-ies-* into a secondary suffix. *suāvior* instead of **suād-ior* follows *suāv-i-s* for **suād-i-s*, cp. Skr. *svád-īyas-*. *tenuior* instead of **ten-ior* follows *ten-u-i-s*, cp. Skr. *tan-īyas-*. *levior* instead of **leg-ior* follows *levi-s* for **legu-i-s*. *sēr-ior* instead of **sē-(i)ōs* follows *sē-ru-s*; in the same way, in old Irish, side by side with the regular *sia* there arose a form *sīriu sīre* on the analogy of the positive *sī-r* 'long'. *jūn-ior juven-ior*, cp. Skr. *yáv-īyas-*. *audāc-ior*. *facil-ior*. *asper-ior*. *doct-ior*. *sapient-ior*. Lat. *super-ior inter-ior dexter-ior* Osc. pústir-is; see § 75 p. 195. Late formations are *plūriōrēs proximior* and the like.

Old Irish. Only the nom. sing. has been kept.

māo mō for **mō-iōs*, beside *mā-r* 'great': Osc. *mais* etc., see p. 431. *sin-iu* beside *sen* 'old': Skr. *sán-yas-* etc., see p. 434. *laig-iu* 'smaller'.

It is often a secondary suffix, as in *sīr-iu* (see above), *foills-iu* from *follus* 'manifest', *uaisl-iu* from *uasal* 'high'.

Sometimes we find *-u* instead of *-iu* after consonants, as *lug-u* beside *laigiu*. This is perhaps a new formation modelled upon those forms in which *i* had been dropped between vowels, such as *māo* (**māu*).

The forms in *-a* have not been explained: examples are with *māa mā* side by side *māo*; *lia* beside *il* 'much': Skr. *prā-yas* etc., see p. 431 above; *sia* beside *sī-r* 'long'; *ōa* beside *ōac ōc* 'young': Skr. *yáv-īyas-*; *nessa* 'nearer'.

-is-tero-: *sinser ōser*, see § 75 p. 196.

Germanic. As a rule, the suffix is extended by *n*-suffixes.

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1) *prīdiē* can only be regarded as **prīs-diē* if it is assumed that *postrīdiē* stands for **postris-diē* (cp. Osc. pústir-is) (Havet's explanation, in Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. IV 229, seems to me untenable). But *postrī* may also be loc. sing. of *postro-*, and *prīdiē* may have been formed later in imitation of *postrīdiē*.

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These are absent only in such adverbs as Goth. *háuh-is* 'higher' *nēhv-is* 'nearer', *hald-is* 'more gladly, potius, rather' *fram-is* 'further on'; the termination *-is* seems to be the original neuter termination *-i̯os* (Rem. p. 428 f.), while such adverbs as Goth. *vaírs* O.H.G. *wirs* 'worse', for pr. Germ. **u̯irs-iz*, Goth. *mins* O.H.G. *min* 'less', for **minu̯-iz* represent Idg. *-is* (see loc. cit.).

Pr. Germ. *-iz-en-* (*-i̯z-en-*) m. n. (f. Goth. *-iz-ein-* O.H.G. *-ir-ōn-*). Goth. *sut-iza* O.H.G. *suoz-iro* 'sweeter': Skr. *svād-īyas-* etc.; see above, p. 430. Goth. *máiza* O.H.G. *mēro* 'greater': Osc. *mais* etc., see above, p. 431. Goth. *hard-iza* O.H.G. *hart-iro hert-iro* beside Goth. *hard-u-s* 'hard': Lith. *kartẽs-ni-s* beside *kart-ù-s* 'bitter'. Goth. *háuh-iza* O.H.G. *hōh-iro* beside Goth. *háuh-s* 'high'. Goth. *bat-iza* O.H.G. *bezz-iro* 'better'. Goth. *vaírs-iza* O.H.G. *wirs-iro* 'worse, wickeder'. The forms have often been levelled to match the positive, and secondary formations have arisen: Goth. *jūh-iza* O.H.G. *jung-iro* and *jūg-iro* beside Goth. *jugg-s* O.H.G. *jung*, as contrasted with Skr. *yáv-īyas-* O.Ir. *ōa*, cp. O.H.G. *jungisto* § 81 p. 248; Goth. *alþ-iza* O.H.G. *alt-iro* beside Goth. *al-þ-ei-s* O.H.G. *al-t* 'old'. The origin of Goth. *minn-iza* O.H.G. *minn-iro* for **mi-nu̯-iz-*, compared with Gr. *μείω* Lat. *minis-ter* O.C.Sl. *mĭnjĭjĭ*, is obscure.

-ōz- -ōz-en- appeared in proethnic Germanic side by side with *-iz- -iz-en-*; see § 81 p. 248. It is used only in the comparatives of *o*-stems in Gothic and (with rare exceptions) in Old High German. Adv. Goth. *sniumundōs* 'more hastily', *aljaleikōs* 'otherwise'. Goth. *frōdōza* from *frōþ-s* 'wise', *svinþōza* from *svinþ-s* 'strong, powerful', O.H.G. *liobōro* from *liob* 'beloved', *liohtōro* from *lioht* 'bright', *gileganōro* from *gi-legan* 'apt, suitable': *hōhōro* (also *hōhiro*) from *hōh* 'high', *hērōro* (also *hēriro*) from *hēr* 'grand, glorious'; this variation is frequent; *tiurōro* (and *tiuriro*) from *tiuri* 'dear, valuable'.

O.H.G. *obarōro (obarōsto)* from *ob-aro* 'upper', *aftrōro (aftrōsto)* from *af-tro* 'later', *fordi̯ōro fordarōro (fordarōsto)* from *for-dro for-daro* 'former'. *mēr-iro* and *mērōro* from *mēro*.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the only form of the suffix is *-i̯es-*, in the combination *-ē-s-n-i-s -ē-s-n-ė*; the origin of

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the second part (*-n-i̯o-*) is difficult to explain (an attempt may be found in Schmidt's paper in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 399 f.). In Slavonic in the nom. acc. sing. neut. *-je* = Idg. *-i̯os*; as regards *-jĭše-* instead of *-ĭše-* = Idg. *-is-i̯o-* and nom. sing. masc. *-jĭjĭ* (later *-jijĭ*, no doubt by the rule in I § 56 p. 37) *-jĭ*, see p. 429 f.

Remark 3. For the Lithuanian comparative adverbs in *-jaus*, such as *saldžiaũs* 'more sweetly', whose suffix has nothing to do with *-ies-*, see § 81 p. 248 f.

Lith. *sald-ẽsni-s* O.C.Sl. *slaždĭjĭ*, neut. *slažde*, beside *sald-ù-s slad-ŭ-kŭ* 'sweet'.

Lith. *gerẽsni-s* beside *gẽra-s* 'good', *didẽsni-s* beside *dìdi-s* 'great'. It is clearly denominative in e. g. *baltẽsni-s* from *bál-ta-s* 'white' *jaunẽsni-s* from *jáu-na-s* 'young'.

In Prussian a solitary example with *-ies-* is preserved (*-ies-* no doubt = Idg. *-i̯es-*): *muis-ies-on* 'maiorum'.

O.C.Sl. *bolĭjĭ bolјijĭ* neut. *bolje* 'greater': Skr. *bál-īyas-* 'stronger, more powerful'. *gorjĭjĭ* 'worse': Skr. *gár-īyas-* 'gravior', *mĭnjĭjĭ* 'smaller': O.Lat. *miner-imu-s minis-ter*, see pp. 433 f. 436 above. *krĕplјĭjĭ* beside *krĕpŭkŭ* 'strong'. *chuždĭjĭ* beside *chudŭ* 'bad'. *vyšĭjĭ* beside *vysokŭ* 'high'. As to the effects produced by the first *j* of *-jĭjĭ* upon preceding consonants, see I § 147 p. 132 ff.

This formation however is not so frequent in Slavonic as that in *-ĕ-jĭs-*: nom. sing. masc. *-ějĭ* nom. acc. sing. neut. *-ěje* gen. *-ějĭša* and so forth. *novějĭ* from *novŭ* 'new'. *silĭnějĭ* from *silĭnŭ* 'strong'. *mŭnožajĭ* from *mŭnogŭ* 'multus', for **mŭnogějĭ* according to the rule given in I § 76 p. 66. As the last example shows, the *ĕ* of *-ějĭ* was Idg. *ē*, and it can scarcely be doubted that this comparative formation arose from the addition of the suffix *-i̯es-* to the instr. sing. in *-ē* of the *o*-stems; compare the Germ. comparative in *-ōz-(en-)*, formed from the instr. sing. in *ō*. From the nom. sing. in *-ĕ-jĭ -ĕ-je*, *j* passed into the other cases; hence the gen. *-ĕ-jĭša* instead of *-ĕ-ĭša* and so forth. The Prussian comparatives with *-ais-* seem to be of the same kind; e. g. *maldais-in* acc. sing. masc., from *malda-* 'young', cp. O.C.Sl.

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mladě-jĭ beside *mladŭ* 'young', *urais-in* beside *ura-* 'old', *massais* adv. 'less' beside Lith. *mãža-s* 'small'. It is doubtful however whether these forms come from the instrumental in *-ē* or from that in *-ō*, whether *-ais-* represents *-ē-is- -ēi̯s-* or *-ō-is- -ōi̯s-*.

§ 136. The Suffix *-ues-*[1]). This served to form the Perfect Participle Active.

In this participle as elsewhere the perfect stem was reduplicated; cp. Skr. *ba-bhū-vás-* Gr. *πε-φυ-ώς* from √ *bheu̯-* 'become'. Even such forms as Goth. pl. masc. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' Lith. fem. *sĕd-us-i* (beside *sĕd-au* 'I sit') contained reduplication, as we shall see when we come to discuss the verb.

Remark 1. It may be assumed that the syllable of reduplication had not come to be regarded as an integral element in the formation of the *-ues-* participle, until the latter had been associated with the perfect system (single forms with *-ues-* may very well have had the reduplicating syllable before that time, see § 52, 2 p. 93 f., and these very forms may have been the chief factors in cementing the connexion of this participle with the perfect-system). It is therefore a question whether the partic. Skr. *vid-vás-* Gr. *Ϝιδώς εἰδώς* has not descended as an unreduplicated form from a period older than the date at which this association had taken place; it is certain that the infinitive Avest. *vīd-vaŋ-ōi* Gr. *εἰδ-έν-αι* (§ 116 p. 363), whose connexion with the verb belongs to a comparatively late period, never had the reduplication. I conjecture that this participle of *u̯eid-* was always unreduplicated, and being a word very frequently used banished the reduplication even in the forms of the finite verb (Skr. *vĕda* Gr. *οἶδε* etc.). Other participles without reduplication must be explained in the same way, e. g. Skr. *sah-vás- viśi-vás-*, Gr. *εἶκ-ώς, ἄγνια* (sc. *ἡ ὁδός*) *αἴθνια* (sc. *ὄρνις*)[2]), Lith. *dēg-ęs* O.C.Sl. *žeg-ŭ*, Lith. *vēž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ŭ*.

The root-syllable has generally the weak-grade of Ablaut; this is regular in Aryan, as Skr. *ri-rik-vás-* beside *ri-rĕc-a* 'he

1) J. Schmidt, Das Suffix des participium perfecti activi, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 329 ff. W. Schulze, Zum participium perfecti activi, ibid. XXVII 547 ff. (with this essay compare Spitzer, Lautl. des arkad. Dialektes, Kiel 1883, p. 11 ff.). F. Miklosich, Beitr. zur altsloven. Gramm., Vienna 1875, p. 5 ff. (das Partic. praet. act. I).

2) Cp. E. Wörner, Die Substantiva auf *νια*, in Sprachwissensch. Abh. aus G. Curtius' gramm. Gesellsch. 1874 p. 111 ff. On p. 114 the author writes of participles like *ἄγνια* that 'either they have lost their reduplication, or else — more probably — they never had any'.

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set free, made empty', *ca-kr̥--vás-* beside *ca-kár-a* 'he made', Gr. *ἰδ-νῖα* f. 'knowing' beside *οἶδε*, Lith. *viĩk-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vlŭk-ŭ* beside the pres. *velk-ù vlĕk-ą* 'I trail'. Certain forms, however, seem to have originally had the strong grade, that is *e* in the *e*-series. *ē* in the *ē*-series and so forth. This is indicated by Gr. *εἰδώς* (: *ἰδνῖα, οἶδε*), *κεκλεβώς* Messen. (: *κέκλοφε*), *ἐρρηγεῖα* Heraci. (: *ἔρρωγε*), *λελητώς* (: *λελακνῖα*), *ἀρηρώς* (*ἀραρνῖα*), *ἑστη-ώς* (: *ἑστᾰ--ώς*) and the like; also by Goth. *veitvōþ-s* 'witness', if, as is probable, its *ei* = Idg. *ei̯* (see below)[1]). It may be assumed, that originally this form of the root was proper to the strong cases of the masc. and neut., where the participial suffix appears in its *-o-* form (*-μŏs-* not *-μĕs-*): nom. sing. masc. **μέi̯d-μος* acc. **μέi̯d-μος-m̥*. Further explanation of the forms assumed by the root-syllable (e. g. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* Lith. *sėd-ęs*) must be reserved for the section dealing with the formation of the perfect-stem.

With respect to the phonetic variation in the character of the participial suffix, our enquiry into its original form or forms is met by the same difficulties as we encountered in dealing with the primary comparative suffix (§ 135). Much has still to be explained.

Rem. 2. In Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 69 ff. I have attacked the view (which J. Schmidt, ibid. XXVI 337 ff., has again undertaken to defend) that this suffix originally contained a nasal (*-μens-*). My criticism (§ 135 Rem. 1 p. 428) of the old view of the comparative suffix, applies equally well to this. It is absolutely untenable. The arguments on either side are on the whole the same, see loc. cit. I therefore still regard *-μes-* as the original form.

There is no record of a form *-uμes-* parallel to *-μes-* (cp. *-iμes-* beside *-i̯es-*). Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 401 ff., endeavours to shew that in Skr. forms like *ōkivás- paptivás-* the termination *-ivas-* took the place of *-uvas-*.

If we disregard this question as to the initial part of the suffix and regard it simply as *-μes-*, the following assumptions may be considered as adequately established for proethnic Indo-Germanic.

1. The nom. sing. masc. ended sometimes in *-μōs*, Gr. *εἰδ-ώς*, sometimes in *-μĕs*, Lith. *dā-vęs* instead of **da-vēs* (see below). The pr. Ar. *-μās*, Avest. *vīδ-vå*, may represent either termination; here we must notice the

1) O.C.Sl. *vlĕkü* and *brĕgü* prove nothing. See O. Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conjugation, 1886. p. 132 f.

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Skr. compounds with *á- dúš- sú-*, as *á-vidvas- sú-vidvas-* beside *vid-vás-*, as favouring the view that *-uōs* and *-uēs* existed side by side in Aryan.

2. *-uos* in nom. acc. sing. neut.: Gr. *εἰδ-ός*. There was probably a parallel form *-ués*, compare the masc. *-uēs*. It remains uncertain whether the Lat. neuter forms *cadāver* and *papāver* contained this suffix (*-ver* would have taken the place of the phonetically regular **-ves*).

3. *-uos*, or (under other conditions) *-ues*, in the voc. sing. m.: Skr. *vid-vas*.

4. *-ués-* in the loc. sing.: Skr. **-vas-i* (there is unfortunately not a single example of this case in our text of the Veda). We may again directly compare with this the feminine formation (cp. § 135 p. 429): nom. *-uéš-ī* gen. *-us-iēs*: Gr. *-εῖα* beside *-νῖα*; an original *γεγονεῖα*: **γεγον-νιᾶς* became, by levelling, on the one hand *γεγονεῖα*: *γεγονείας*, on the other *γεγονῦῖα*: *γεγονυίας*; cp. also Laced. *βίδεοι* beside *βίδυοι ἰδυῖοι ἰδῦοι* name of an official ('inspectors').

5. *-us-* in the weak cases: dat. sing. Skr. *vid-úš-ē* Avest. *vīd-uš-ē*, gen. sing. Skr. *-úš-as* Avest. *-uš-ō*, gen. pl. Skr. *-úš-ām* Avest. *-uš-ąm*, instr. pl. Avest. *-ūž-bīš*. Further in the fem. suffix *-us-iē-* and the corresponding masc. neut. *-us-io-*: gen. sing. f. Skr. *vid-úš-yās* Gr. *ἰδ-υῖας*, Gr. pl. *ἰδυῖοι βίδυοι* (see 4), Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* m. 'parents', gen. sing. f. Lith. *vil̃k-us-ios* O.C.Sl. *vlŭk-ŭš-ę* gen. sing. m. Lith. *vil̃k-us-io* O.C.Sl. *vlŭk-ŭša*. Cp. further the Ar. nom. sing. in *-uš*: Skr. *vid-úš* Avest. *vīd-uš maman-uš* and other like forms, compare perhaps Osc. *sipus* 'sciens' and O.C.Sl. *vlŭkŭ* (see below), and again the comparative formation Skr. *vidúš-tara-* Avest. *jāger°-buš-tara-*.

Lastly, I regard it as probable

6. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had *-uos-*, where the tense-stem bore the accent: acc. sing. Avest. *vīd-vå̄nh-em*.

It will be remembered that we have regarded *-ies-* as an extension of *-io-*, and assumed the existence, side by side with *-ies-*, of a form *-ien-* with the force of a comparative suffix (§ 135 p. 430). In the same way, I regard *-ues-* as an extension of *-uo-* (cp. Skr. *pak-vá-* Lat. *ar-vo-s pascuo-s perspicuo-s residuo-s* and the like, see G. Curtius, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1885, p. 432)[1]), and I assume the existence of a parallel form *-uet-*, made by the addition of the *-t-* (*-et- -ot-*) discussed in § 123 p. 389 ff. This *-uet-* appears in Greek and Gothic: Gr. acc. sing. *εἰδ-ότ-α* gen. sing. *εἰδ-ότ-ος* etc., Hom. *τεθνη-ῶτ-α*, Goth. *veit-vōd-* 'witness'; *veit-vōd-*: **uid-ues-* = Goth. *mē-nōþ-*: **mē-nes-* (Lith. gen. *mẽnes-io*), see § 123 p. 393 f. The form *-uōt-* was originally proper to the nom. sing. masc., and the phonetic coincidence of *-uōs* and *-uōt-s* in Greek produced there the contaminated declension. I doubt, however, whether this was also the origin of the Skr. *-vat-* in loc. pl. *vid-vát-su* instr. pl. *vid-vád-bhiš* nom. acc. neut. *vid-vát*. We saw in § 127 n. 405 that in proethnic Aryan these participles

1) We have the two side by side in **āi̯-ues- *āi̯-uo-* § 116 p. 362 f. § 133 p. 423.

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coincided with the *vant*-stems in the formation of the nom. and voc. sing. masc.: *-ɥās* and *-ɥas*. Now pr. Ar. **-uš-šu* loc. pl. and **-už-bhiš* instr. pl. (Avest. *vīđ-ūž-bīš*) must have regularly become in Sanskrit **-uṭ̌ṣu* and **-uḍ̌bhiṣ̌*, and similarly, **-ɥas-su* and **-ɥaz-bhiš* (if *-ɥas-* had taken the place of *-uš-* before the phonetic change of *š* and *ž* came into operation) must have become *-vatsu* and *-vadbhiṣ̌* (I § 557 p. 412, § 591 p. 448). In either case, especially in the latter, a new and closer phonetic relation to the *vant*-stems was established. If **-uṭ̌ṣu *-uḍ̌bhiṣ̌* arose first, then it must have been just the association with the *vant*-stems that superseded these terminations by *-vat-su -vadbhiṣ̌*[1]). The neuter form *vid-vát* and the post-Vedic *vidvattara* 'wiser' *vidvattā- vidvattva-m* 'erudition' were further results of this connexion.

Now whence comes the nasal in Skr. *-vāṣ-*? To explain this as we explained the nasal in Skr. *-yāṣ-* (p. 431) as being derived from a form *ɥen-* parallel to *-ɥes-*, is hardly probable, because there are no participial forms corresponding to the Greek comparative *μείζων -ονος* and the like. I conjecture that in early Sanskrit the nasal passed from *-vant-am -vant-as* to the nom. sing. in **-vās* (see § 127 p. 405), **agni-vā̆s* becoming *agni-vā̆ṣ* (*-vā̆n*), and thence passed on to the participles, first *vid-vā̆ṣ*, then *vid-vā̆ṣ-am* and so forth; it is possible also that *-vant-am* had a direct influence upon **-vās-am*.

And lastly, the *vant*-stems may have given rise to the later formation of the voc. sing. in *-van* instead of *-vas*, having first exchanged *-vas* for *-van* in their own system.

In Lithuanian we find *vil̃k-ęs* beside *dā-vęs*, Pruss. *laipinn-ons* beside *klantī-wuns*, O.C.Sl. *vlŭk-ŭ* beside *da-vŭ*, similarly gen. *vil̃k-us-io* beside *dā-vus-io*, *vlŭk-ŭša* beside *da-vŭša*. In the nom. sing. the consistent absence of *v* after the consonant may have been caused by the fact that this sound regularly disappeared after certain consonants (cp. I § 184 p. 160 f.)[2]); the form which the suffix took in these instances was then applied generally to all tense-stems that ended in a consonant. At the same time the absence of the *v* in the other cases (*vil̃k-us-io vlŭk-ŭša* etc.) may have helped in forming the type. In the case of Slavonic however, we have further to take into account the possibility that there existed a nom. in **-us* (cp. Skr. *vid-úṣ̌* etc. p. 440): *-ŭ* may be the regular phonetic representative of this ending. Lith. *-vens -ens*, *-vęs -ęs* replaced **-vēs *-ēs* through the influence of the present form *-ans -ąs* (*-ens* probably arose first, on the model of *-ans*, then *-vens* likewise); and a further consequence was that the neuter of the preterite in *-vę -ę* was formed upon the neuter of the present in *-ą*. The Prussian *-wuns -ons* (*-uns -ons*) is a similar analogical formation; but it remains an open question whether the original

1) This association prevented the developement of forms parallel to the loc. pl. *mahīyassu* and the instr. pl. *máhīyōbhiṣ̌* (see I § 557 Rem. p. 412, § 591 Rem. 2 p. 448).

2) In l. 18 of this page read 'after initial *s-* (*sz-*)' instead of 'before'.

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form here was *-u̯ēs, whose *e*-vowel, after the insertion of the nasal, became *o (u)* because of the preceding u̯-sound, or whether we should take Idg. *-u̯ōs as our starting-point. In Slavonic we have masc *-vŭ -ŭ* and neut. *-vŭ -ŭ*, just as in the present *-y* serves for both genders: as here *-y* passed from the masc. to the neut., so probably did *-vŭ -ŭ* in the preterite, the old neuter form falling out of use. If now *-ŭ* = Idg. *-*us*, it is a very natural suggestion that *-vŭ* arose from a contamination of *-*us* and *-u̯ēs or *-u̯ōs. But *-vŭ* may have arisen in the same way as *-jĭ* (p. 429 f.): if so, there once existed side by side masc. *-vū* = Idg. *-u̯ōs* and neut. *-vo* = Idg. *-u̯os; *-vo* produced the masc. *-vŭ* and was itself afterwards driven out of the field by *-vŭ*. Gen. Lith. *dū-vus-io* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭša* owe their *v* to the nom. (we should expect **d-us-io* **d-ŭša*); Lith. *bùvusio* O.C.Sl. *byvŭša* (beside *bū-vęs by-vŭ*) are to be analysed as *bùv-usio byv-ŭša* (instead of **bŭv-ŭša*), and thus these forms may have helped to give currency to the formations *dāvusio* etc. O.C.Sl. *chvaljĭ chvaljĭša* for **chvaljŭ* **chvaljŭša* (later *chvalivŭ chvalivŭša*) follow the type of the non-derivative verbs, cp. part. pret. pass. *chvaljenŭ* like *vedenŭ* (Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conjug. 134).

It is to be hoped that the explanations advanced here and on p. 429 ff. will not meet with the fate which has befallen J. Schmidt's attempt to elucidate the same difficult theme, and be regarded as 'final'. We are still, I think, some distance, perhaps a very considerable distance, from a final conclusion.

Idg. Skr. *ri-rik-vás-* Gr. *λε-λοιπ-ώς* Lith. *lìk-ęs*, √*leiq-* 'leave at liberty, leave'. Skr. *bu-bhuj-vás-* Gr. *πε-φευγ-ώς* Lith. *búg-ęs*, √*bheu̯g-* 'bend, (bend aside, extricate oneself, fear)'. Skr. *ba-bhū-vás-* Gr. *πεφυ-ώς* Lith. *bù-vęs* O.C.Sl. *by-vŭ*, √*bheu̯-* 'become'. Skr. *ma-mṛ-vás- (ma-mr-úš-)* Lith. *mìr-ęs* O.C.Sl. *mĭr-ŭ*, √*mer-* 'die'. Skr. *ādi-vás- (ād-úš-)* Gr. *ἐδ-ηδ-ώς* Lith. *ėd-ęs* O.C.Sl. *jad-ŭ*, √*ed-* 'eat, devour'. Skr. *da-d-vás- da-di-vás- da dā-vás- (da-d-úš-)* Lith. *dā-vęs* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ*, √*dō-* 'give'. Skr. *ta-sthi-vás- (ta-sth-úš-)* Gr. *ἑ-στα-ώς ἑ-στώς, ἑ-στη-ώς ἑ-στεώς* O.C.Sl. *sta-vŭ*, √*stā-* 'stand'.

Aryan. Skr. *ci-kit-vás- ci-kit-úš-* Avest. *ci-kiϑ-wah- ci-ciϑuš-* (a re-formation in place of **cicit-uš-*) beside Skr. perf. *ci-kēt-a* 'he knows, discerns', cp. *ci-kit-* instead of *ci-cit-*, I § 448 Rem. p. 333. Skr. *bu-budh-vás- bu-budh-úš-* beside *bu-bŏdh-a* 'he awoke, noticed, marked': Lith. *pa-bùdęs* 'awake', √*bheu̯dh-*. Skr. *ūci-vás- ūc-úš-* Avest. *vaoĸ-uš-* beside Skr. *u-vāc-a va-vāc-a* 'he spoke', √*u̯eq-*. Skr. *va-vṛt-vás- va-vṛt-úš-* beside *va-várt-a* 'he turned': Lith. *vir̃t-ęs* 'overturned, having altered oneself', √*u̯ert-*. Avest. *vā-vərəz-uš-* from *varəz-* 'perform, execute':

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Gr. *ἐ-οργ-ώς, √μεργ-. Skr. *ca-kr̥-vás- ca-kr-úš-* beside *ca-kár-a* 'he made', √*qer-*. Skr. *va-van-vás- va-vn-úš-* Avest. *va-van-vah- vaon-uš-* from Ar. *van-* 'gain', ground-form *με-μη-μες- *με-μν-us-* (I § 229 p. 195). Skr. *ja-ghan-vás-* (later also *ja-ghni-vás-*) *ja-ghn-úš-* from *han-* 'strike, slay': Lith. *gìn-ęs* 'having driven (cattle)' O.C.Sl. *žĭn-ŭ* 'having cut off, harvested', √*ghen-*. Skr. *ja-gan-vás-* (later also *ja-gmi-vás*) *ja-gm-úš-* Avest. *ja-γm-uš-* (cp. I § 199 Rem. 2 p. 168, § 225 p. 192 f.): Gr. *βε-βα-ώς* no doubt instead of *βεβαν-(F)ως* (cp. the last-mentioned passage, and the Greek section below), Lith. *gìm-ęs* 'having come into the world' (I § 249 p. 204), √*gem-*. Skr. *bi-bhī-vás- bi-bhy-úš-* Avest. *bi-wi-vah-* beside Skr. *bi-bháy-a* 'he was afraid', √*bheiĝ-*. Skr. *šu-šru-vás- šu-šruv-úš-* beside *šu-šráv-a* 'he heard', √*k̂leu̯-*. Skr. *pa-pti-vás- pa-pt-úš-* beside *pa-pát-a* 'he shot through the air, flew': Gr. *πεπτώς* for *πε-πτα-ώς (πε-πτηώς πε-πτεώς* are later formations following the perfect of *στᾱ*), √*pet-*. Skr. *sēdi-vás- sēd-úš-* beside *sa-sád-a* 'sat', *sēd-* = Avest. *hazd-* I § 591 p. 447: Lith. *sėd-ęs* 'having seated oneself', √*sed-*. Avest. *ta-p̄k-uš-* beside *tac-* 'run' (I § 473 p. 349): O.C.Sl. *tek-ŭ* 'having run, flowed'. Skr. *da-d-vás-* (*da-di-vás- da-dā-vás-*) *da-d-úš-* Avest. *da-ð-vah- da-p̄-uš-* 'δεδωκώς': Lith. *dā-vęs* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ*, √*dō-* 'give'. Skr. *ja-jñi-vás- ja-jñ-úš-* and *jān-úš-* beside *ja-jñaú* 'he knew' pres. *jā-nā-ti*: O.C.Sl. *zna-vŭ* beside *zna-ti* 'to know'.

Greek. *δεῖ-ώς δεῖ-νῖα ἰδ-νῖα* beside *οἶδ-ε* 'he knows': Skr. *vid-vás- vid-úš-* beside *véd-a* 'he knows', √*μειδ-*; cp. also Goth. *veit-vōp̄-s* 'witness' p. 440. *εἰκ-ώς οἰκ-ώς ἐ-οικ-ώς* beside *ἔ-οικ-ε οἶκ-ε* 'it is like, resembles, appears', *τε-τευχ-ώς* 'prepared, made, ready' beside *τέ-τυκ-ται τε-τεύχ-αται*. *ἐληλουθ-ώς εἰληλουθ-ώς* beside *εἰλήλουθ-ε ἀπ-ελήλυθ-ε* 'is come'. *πε-πονθ-ώς πε-παθ-νῖα* beside *πέ-πονθ-ε* 'he has suffered', *πενθ-*. *τε-τροφ-ώς τε-τραφ-ώς* beside *τέ-τροφ-ε, τέ-τραφ-ε*, pres. *τρέπω* 'I turn'. *δε-δορκ-ώς* beside *δέ-δορκ-ε*, pres. *δέρκ-ο-μαι* 'I see': Skr. *da-dr̥ś-vás- da-dr̥ś-úš-*, √*derk-* 'see'. *πε-πορδ-ώς* beside *πέ-πορδ-ε* 'pepedit': Lith. *pérd-ęs* Lett. *pi'rd-is*, √*perd-*. *δι-εφθορ-ώς* beside *δι-έφθορε*, pres. *δια-φθείρω* 'I destroy'. *γε-γον-ώς* beside *γέ-γον-ε* pl. *γέ-γα-μεν*, aor

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ἐ-γέν-ε-το 'arose, became'; the parallel form γε-γα-ώς γεγώς γε-γα-υῖα, like με-μα-ώς (√ men-) and βε-βα-ώς (√ gem-), was a new formation suggested by γέ-γα-μεν (μέ-μα-μεν βέ-βα-μεν) etc. and modelled upon ἑ-στα-ώς : ἕ-στα-μεν. δε-δι-ώς beside δέ-δι-μεν 'we feared' 1. sing. δείδω i. e. δέδϝω for *δέ-δϝο(ι̯)-α, √ du̯-ei̯-πε-φυ-ώς: Skr. *ba-bhū-vás-* etc., see p. 442 above. τε-τοκ-ώς beside ἔ-τεκ-ε 'he begat'. ἑ-στα-ώς ἑ-στώς and ἑ-στη-ώς ἑ-στεώς beside ἕ-στα-μεν 'we stand': Skr. *ta-sthi-vás-* etc., see p. 442 above. πε-πηγ-ώς beside πέ-πηγ-ε 'is fitted, fixed', √ *pāk̑- pāĝ-*. στε-σηρ-ώς σε-σαρ-υῖα beside σαίρω 'I sweep'.

The suffix is sometimes found in derivative verbs, as Hom. κεχαρη-ώς beside κεχάρη-μαι (aor. ἐ-χάρ-ην, pres. χαίρω 'I rejoice'), βεβαρη-ώς 'gravatus' beside pres. βαρέω, Boeot. inscr. ϝε-ϝῡκονο-μειόντων = Att. ᾠκονομηκότων beside οἰκονομέω 'I govern' (for -όντων instead of -ότων see below), all following the formation of τεθνη-ώς κε-κμη-ώς and the like. Cp. O.C.Sl. *želě-vŭ*.

It was further extended to the κ-perfect: δεδωκ-ώς beside δέ-δωκ-ε 'has given', ἑ-στηκ-ώς beside ἕ-στηκ-ε 'stands', τετῑμηκ-ώς beside τε-τῑ́μηκ-ε 'has honoured' and so forth.

The femine forms in -εῖα -είας (see p. 440) appear in Doric dialects and in Attic: e. g. Heracl. ἐρρηγ-εῖα Ther. ἑστᾱκ-εῖα, Att. γεγον-εῖα.

It occurs in Homeric forms with -(ϝ)ωτ- instead of -(ϝ)οτς, whose ω was taken from the nom. sing. masc., e. g. πε-φυ-ῶτ-α-, με-μα-ῶτ-ες -ῶτ-ος, τε-θνη-ῶτ-α. Cp. μήσ-τωρ-α formed on the pattern of μήσ-τωρ § 120 Rem. p. 380, § 122 p. 386.

These perfect participles, like the other forms of the perfect stem, were remodelled on the analogy of the presents in -ω in different dialects, especially in those of the Aeolic group: e. g. Lesb. πεπληρώκοντα εὐεργετήκοισαν, Thess. ἐν-οικο-δομεικόντεσσι, Boeot. ϝεϝῡκονομειόντων (see above), Hom. κεκλήγοντες, Hesiod. ἐρρῑ́γοντι, Pind. πεφρῑ́κοντας, Delph. τετελευκᾱκούσᾱς. Here it was a purely syntactic consideration, viz- the similarity of meaning (the Greek Perfect being a Present in point of time) that suggested this transfer to the system of the present-inflexion; the new feminine formations, on the other hand, such as Hom.

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Att. βεβᾶσα, Att. ἑστῶσα τεθειῶσα, Herod. ἑστειῶσα, with precisely the same endings as the pres. part. τιμῶσα and the like, were in part also determined by the contracted forms in -ωτ- (ἑστῶτ- for ἑστάοτ-, τεθνεῶτ- for τεθνηότ-) of the corresponding masc. and neut.; the -ω- of these feminines in -ῶσα was taken from the corresponding masc. and neut., the -σα from the pres. part. fem. I do not believe that ἑστῶσα is derived from a hypothetical *ἑστάουσα.

Italic. An attempt has been made to trace this suffix in Lat. *cadāver* and *papāver*, the former being regarded as 'that which has fallen' (*cadō cadā-bundu-s*, cp. πτῶμα 'corpse') or 'that which has been destroyed' (*cadamitās cassu-s* Skr. *kad-*, see Bersu Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit *v* im Lat. p. 170), the latter as 'that which is inflated' (*papula pampinu-s*), and both compared with participles like Gr. κεκαρηώς (Curtius, Das Verb der gr. Spr. II² 250). The suffix has also been traced in Lat. perfects like *sē-vī strā-vī amā-vī*, which have been regarded as examples of a crystallised periphrastic formation of the same kind as the Skr. fut. *dātásmi* 'I will give' ('dator sum, daturus sum') (Curtius, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 1855, p. 421 ff., Schulze, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 266 ff.). Lastly, the same suggestion has been made for Osc. *sipus* 'sciens' (*ī*), as compared with a Lat. perf. **sēp-ī* equivalent to *sapuī* (J. Schmidt, XXVI 372 ff.); its termination might have come from either ibid. Idg. **-us* or **-μōs* (cp. p. 440).

This suggestion is most plausible as applied to *sip-us*, least as applied to *sē-vī*.

In Germanic only a few isolated examples have survived. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* pl. m. 'parents' ('they that have brought forth'), √*bher-*, cp. indic. 1. pl. *bērum* 1. sing. *bar*. A.S. *ēʒesa ēʒsa* O.Sax. *ēcso* m. 'owner' = Goth. **áig-us-ja* m., beside Goth. *áigan* 'to have, possess'. The suffix is *-us-i̯o-* as in the Gr. pl. ἰδυῖοι, gen. sing. Lith. *vilkusio* O.C.Sl. *vlŭkŭša* (p. 440).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *geĩd-ęs* beside *geidžiù* 'I long for, desire', O.C.Sl. *žid-ŭ* beside *židą žīdą* 'I wait, await'. O.C.Sl. *čit-ŭ* beside *čīt-ą* 'I reckon, esteem, honour'. Lith. *kir̃t-ęs* beside

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kertù 'I hew, strike', O.C.Sl. *črĭt-ą* 'I cut': Skr. *ca-kṛt-vás-* beside *kṛnt-á-ti* 'cuts, splits', ✓*qert-*. Lith. *mìlž-ęs* beside *mélžu* 'I milk', O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ŭ* beside *mlŭzą* 'I milk', ✓*melĝ-*. Lith. *liñk-ęs* beside *linkstù* 'I bend myself', *leñk-ęs* beside *lenkiù* 'I bend', O.C.Sl. *lęk-ŭ* beside *lęką* 'I bend'. Lith. *mìn-ęs* beside *menù* 'I bethink me': Avest. *ma-ṃan-uš* (p. 440) ✓*men-*. Lith. *pìn-ęs* beside *pinù* 'I plait', O.C.Sl. *pĭn-ŭ* beside *pĭną* 'I stretch, hang', ✓*(s)pen-*. Lith. *vėm-ęs* beside *vemiù* 'I vomit' Skr. *vēmi-vás-* beside Skr. *va-vám-a* 'he vomited', ✓*ŗem-*. Lith. *mìr-ęs* O.C.Sl. *mĭr-ŭ* 'dead', see p. 442 above. Lith. *vėr-ęs* beside *veriù* 'I open or shut the door' (Pruss. *et-wiriuns*) O.C.Sl. *vĭr-ŭ* beside *vĭrą* 'I open or shut the door', ✓*ŗer-*. Lith. *gėr-ęs* beside *geriù* 'I drink' O.C.Sl. *žĭr-ŭ* beside *žĭrą* 'I swallow', ✓*ger-*. O.C.Sl. *stĭr-ŭ* and *pro-strĭvŭ* (originally **stŗr-us-* : **stŗ-ŗes-*) beside *stĭrą* 'I stretch', ✓*ster-*. Lith. *vėž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ŭ* beside *vežù vezą* 'veho': Skr. *ūhi-vás-* *ūh-úṣ-* beside indic. *ŭ-váh-a* 'vexit', ✓*ŭeĝh-*. Lith. *dėg-ęs* O.C.Sl. *žeg-ŭ* beside *degù žegą* 'I burn'. O.C.Sl. *pek-ŭ* beside *pek-ą* 'I bake': Skr. *pēci-vás-* *pēc-úṣ-* beside indic. *pa-pác-a* 'coxit', ✓*peq-*. Lith. *sėd-ęs* beside *sėdu* 'I sit': Skr. *sēdi-vás-*, see p. 443 above. Lith. *dã-vęs* O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ* beside *dŭ-ti da-ti* 'to give': Skr. *da-d-vás-*, see p. 443 above. O.C.Sl. *dě-vŭ* beside *dě-ti* 'to lay', ✓*dhē-*; Lith. *dėjęs dėjusio*, following the pret. *dėjau*, inf. *dė-ti* 'to lay'. O.C.Sl. *sta-vŭ* beside *sta-ti* 'to place oneself', see p. 442 above, and compar. the Pruss. *po-stāuns* i. e. *-stāwuns* (cp. below, *klantīwuns* beside *klantīuns*); Lith. *stójęs stójusio*, following the pret. *stójau*, inf. *stó-ti* 'to place oneself, step'. Lith. *saũs-ęs* Lett. *sus-is* beside Lith. *saũstù* 'I become dry', O.C.Sl. *sŭch-ŭ* beside *sŭchną* 'I become dry': Skr. *śu-śuṣ-vás-* beside indic. *śu-śóṣ-a* 'he became dry', ✓*saŭs-* (cp. I § 557 p. 413).

Just as the Lithuanian participles *dėjęs* and *stójęs* follow the preterite in *-jau*, so do the forms *mãtęs mãcziusio* (: pret. *macziaũ* pres. *matúoũ* inf. *matýti* 'to see'), *válgęs válgiusio* (: pret. *válgiau* pres. *válgau* inf. *valgy-ti* 'to eat'); where it should be observed, that *mãtęs válgęs*, earlier *mãtens válgens*, according to the regular phonetic laws must be referred to **matiens *valgiens*

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(I § 147 p. 131). Further examples of the same sort are *penějęs* beside *penějau* 'I nourished, fattened', *jěskójęs* beside *jěskójau* 'I sought'. On the other hand we find *ų* in the Pruss. *klantī--wuns* 'having condemned' (*klantī-t* 'to condemn'), less correctly written *klantīuns*; and similarly *signāuns* (*signā-t* 'to bless'), *teikūuns* (*teiku-t* 'to form, make') as well as the form *postāuns* quoted above must have had the termination *-ųuns*.

O.C.Sl. *bužděi* for **būd-jŭ* beside pres. *buždą* inf. *budi-ti* 'to wake' *chvaljĭ* beside pres. *chvalją* inf. *chvali-ti* 'to praise' etc., are like Lith. *mātęs māczĭusio*; later we have *-ivŭ*, as *budivŭ chvalivŭ*. Cp. p. 442. *dĕla-vŭ* beside *dĕla-ją dĕla-ti* 'to work'. *želě-vŭ* beside *želĕją želě-ti* 'wish'.

MEANING CONVEYED BY THE SUFFIXES: NOUNS CLASSIFIED FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW.

§ 137. In the foregoing account of the formation of noun-stems (§ 59—136) our classification has been based upon the phonetic character of the formative suffixes. It will be useful to re-arrange the facts of this chapter in the history of noun-formation from the point of view of their meaning.

Considered in this respect the different suffixes have many points in common and are connected in many ways; all of which can be exhibited more clearly and studied more directly by a fresh survey.

The original meaning of the proethnic Indo-Germanic formative suffixes is unknown; accordingly the method by which we are to consider them must be based upon the logical categories which they generally serve to denote. We need not concern ourselves with the question whether any given suffix in its very oldest usage was, or was not, capable of fully expressing the idea which it helps to represent in those periods of the history of language which we are able to observe.

It is only a small proportion of the formative suffixes in which we can trace from the beginning a simple and clearly

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defined function; as, for example, in the comparative *-tero-*. Most of them serve several purposes, and it is often impossible to reconcile the meanings of a particular suffix. It must be admitted, however, that it is far from certain whether in such cases we have really to recognise only one formative element. The same group of sounds may have more than one etymological origin, e. g. *-mo-* as a suffix of comparison (Lat. *summu-s* for **sup-mo-*) may have a different origin from *-mo-* in substantives like Lat. *fū-mu-s ani-mu-s* (§ 72 p. 170 ff.).

In the following sections there is no need to do more than emphasise the most important points. I have not attempted to make the survey absolutely comprehensive from any point of view.

Adjectives.

§ 138. Variation according to gender (masc. neut. fem.), and the formation of derivatives to denote comparison (degrees of comparison), are usually assigned as the chief characteristics of adjectives as such in the Indo-Germanic languages. However these types of inflexion are all found in substantives also, so that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two groups.

The suffixes which appear in adjectives in the proethnic and later periods are all found in substantives as well. The question then arises, whether the substantival or the adjectival use is the older. In some cases the latter is undoubtedly earlier, e. g. Lat. *caprīna* in *pellis caprīna* and the like, compared with *caprīna* 'goat's flesh' (§ 154). In another group of forms, however, the substantival meaning seems to have been the older e. g. Skr. *máhas-* 'greatness' compared with *mahás-* 'great', Gr. *ψεῦδεσ-* 'deceit' compared with *ψευδέσ-* 'deceitful' (§ 155). In other instances again, no distinction is possible *a priori*, e. g. in Avest. *pərənā-* f. 'plena' and 'plenitudo, plenitas' (§ 158).

Many Indo-Germanic adjectival suffixes have no definite meaning to distinguish their own class of adjectives from others. The most sharply defined are those with a comparative meaning. These we will consider first.

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§ 139. Adjectives with Comparative meaning. The elements of meaning which are really distinctive of this class are first the idea of contrast by comparison, and secondly the idea that what is predicated by the adjective is only true in a relative and limited sense.

-i̯o- in **al-i̯o-s* 'alius', **medh-i̯o-s* 'medius' **me-i̯o-s* 'meus' and the like simply helps to express the idea of contrast by comparison, which is given by the root itself. See § 63, 3 p. 132 f. It may be conjectured that *-i̯o-* had etymologically nothing to do with the notion of comparison, but that in the earliest or some of the earliest of these adjectives the suffix came to participate in this idea, which was really expressed by the root of the word (cp. § 57 p. 104 f.); and that it was then used independently in other words with the same force.

-i̯es- (*-i̯en-*) which is probably an extension of *-i̯o-*, expresses primarily contrast by comparison in the widest sense. The adjectives formed with this suffix came into close connexion with other adjectives of the same root and the same root-meaning, where the idea of relativity was wanting; hence they were applied to express not so much absolute contrast (as that of 'new' : 'old') as limited contrast ('new in comparison with something else which must also be called new') A further limitation of meaning appeared with the *to* derivative *-is-to-* (§ 81 p. 242 ff.). A distinction in usage sprang up between *-i̯es-* (*-is-*) and *-is-to-*, which is analogous to that between *-ero-* *-tero-* and *-mo-* (*-mmo-*) *-tmmo-*: whilst *-is-to-* denotes comparison with several other objects, *-i̯es-* (*-is-*) is confined to comparison with one other. E. g. comparative Skr. *lágh-īyas-* Avest. *renj-yah-* Gr. *ἐλάσσων* and superlative Skr. *lágh-iṣ-ṭha-s* Gr. *ἐλάχ-ισ-το-ς* beside Skr. *lagh-ú-ṣ* Gr. *ἐλαχ-ύ-ς* ('agile, small, little'). In formations like Gr. *ἀρ-ισ-τερό-ς* 'left', as contrasted with 'right' (§ 75 p. 190 ff.), the notion of contrast with a single other thing is still further expressed by the addition of *-tero-*; for this suffix, as we shall see, was especially used in the Indo-Germanic period and later to express ideas which are contrasted absolutely. See § 135 p. 427 ff.

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-ero- and *-tero-* seem to have been first used only in words expressing conceptions of space and time, and in certain pronouns of a different meaning. In these the comparison contains only one notion, that of strong contrast, like 'below': 'above'. **ndh-ero-* 'lower': Skr. *ádhara-*, O.H.G. *undaro*; **en-tero-* 'inner': Skr. *ántara-*, Armen. *ender-k'*, Gr. ἔντερο-ν, Lat. *inter-ior*, O.C.Sl. *jętro*. **qo-tero-* 'which (of two)?': Skr. *katará-* Gr. πότερο-ς, Umbr. *podruh-pei*, Goth. *hvaþar*, Lith. *katrà-s*. Add certain examples found in single languages, as Armen. *mer* O.Ir. *ar n-* Goth. *unsar* 'our', Gr. ἡμέ-τερο-ς Lat. *nos-ter* 'our' (contrasted with 'your'), Gr. ἀγρό-τερο-ς 'dwelling in the open fields, wild', thus having the sense of ἄγριο-ς, but originally distinguished from it by the reference to its opposite ἄστυ. In Aryan and Greek *-tero-* then became a common comparative suffix for adjectives of any formation and meaning, like Skr. *āmá-tara-* Gr. ὠμό-τερο-ς compared with *āmá-* ὠμό-ς 'raw', and here there was comparison no longer with the absolutely opposite idea, but with the notion expressed by the so-called positive; probably this process was completed partly through association with the other group of comparatives formed with *-ies-*, such as Skr. *svâd-īyas-* Gr. ἡδ-ίω (acc. sing.). In the older stratum of comparatives, like **en-tero-* **ni-tero-*, it is seldom that the idea of relative contrast appears, as in Gr. πρότερον ἤ 'before that' Osc. *pruter-pan* 'prius quam'. See § 75 p. 188 ff.

-to- -is-to- -mo- (*-ṃmo-*) *-t-ṃmo-*. *-to-* and *-mo-* are found first in numerals, where they were used to express position in a numerical series, e. g. **dekṃto-* 'decimus': Gr. δέκατο-ς Goth. *taihunda* Lith. *desziñta-s* O.C.Sl. *desętŭ*, **septmo-* **septṃmo-* 'septimus': Skr. *saptamá-* Gr. ἕβδομο-ς Lat. *septimu-s* O.Ir. *sechtm-ad* Lith. *sẽkma-s* O.C.Sl. *sedmy-jĭ*. Thus these suffixes were suited to set one particular idea in comparison with several others separately. Hence *-is-to-* was formed beside *-ies- -is-*, to express comparison with a number of objects, cp. e. g. Gr. μέγιστος ἐγὼ ὑμῶν 'I am greater than any one of you' (μείζων ἐγὼ ὑμῶν 'I am greater than you', ὑμεῖς being regarded as a single notion), πόλεμον ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων

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'more remarkable than any one of the preceding wars' (Thucyd I 1). *-mo-* passed from the numerals to those stems which expressed ideas of space and time and contained the suffix of contrast *-ero-*, forming either (in contrast to *-ero-*) the true superlative, as **up-mo-* **up-mmo-* 'uppermost, highest' (Skr. *upamá-* Lat. *summu-s*) beside **upero-*, or, as in Gothic, a general expression of comparison, e. g. Phil. 2, 3 *sis aúhuman* 'se superiorem' (from which was derived the normal superlative *aúhum-ist-s*). In the same way, *-tmmo-* ranged itself beside *-tero-*, and in Aryan it proved quite as fertile a suffix. See § 72 p. 166 ff., § 73 p. 177 ff., § 81 p. 242 ff.

In Lettish *-āka-* became the usual suffix of comparison; *sa'ld-ák-s* 'sweeter'. See § 89 p. 273 f.

§ 140. Verbal Adjectives. Under this head I include all such adjectives as have a more or less participial character, cp. § 144. Here we may make several subdivisions.

1. Forms with Active Meaning.

-nt-. **bhero-nt-* 'bearing': Skr. *bhárant-* Gr. *φέρων* Lat. *ferēns* Goth. *baírand-s* O.C.Sl. *bery*. See § 126 p. 396 ff.

-ues-, with the implied idea of a completed action (cp. 3 below). Skr. *ririk-vás-* Gr. *λελοιπ-ώς* Lith. *lìk-ęs* 'having let free, left'. Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' ('those who have brought us into the world'). See § 136 p. 438 ff.

Other forms, found in single languages, are: Skr. *-vant-*, in *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, having done', see § 127 p. 406. Slav. *-lo-* in *bi-lŭ* 'having smitten', see § 76 p. 212 ff.

2. Forms with Medial and Passive Meaning.

-mno- *-meno-* *-mono-* had from the earliest period the same meaning as the medial personal-endings. Skr. *yája-māna-* Avest. *yaza-mna-* Gr. *ἀζό-μενο-ς* partic. of *yája-tē* *yazāi-tę* *ἄζεται* 'he honours'. See § 71 p. 163 ff.

-mo- has the same meaning as *-mno-* in Umbro-Samnitic and Balto-Slavonic. Umbr. persnih-mu 'precamino' Osc. *censa-mu-r* 'censemino', Lith. *vẽža-ma-s* 'being carried, fit to be carried'. See § 72 p. 166.

Ar. *-āna-* is used as a medio-passive suffix, as in Skr.

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dúh-ana-s dúgh-ana-s, beside the act. indic. *dógdhi* 'he milks'. See § 67 p. 151 f.

3. Forms expressing completed action and hence a state, chiefly passive.

-to-. **klŭ-tó-* 'heard, famed': Skr. *śrutá-* Gr. *κλυτό-ς* Lat. *in-clutu-s* O.Ir. *cloth* O.H.G. *Hlot-hari* ('Lothair') *hlūt* ('loud'). **gm̥-tó-*: Skr. *gatá-* 'gone, gone forth, come' *á-gata-* 'untrodden', Gr. *βατό-ς* 'trodden, passable', Lat. *circum-ventu-s*. See § 79 p. 218 ff.

-nó- -m̥no- and in some of the languages also *-eno- -ono-*. **pl̥-nó- *pl̥-nó-* 'filled, full': Skr. *pūrṇá-* Avest. *per°na-* O.Ir. *lān* Goth. *full-s* Lith. *pìlna-s* O.C.Sl. *plŭnŭ*; Gr. *στυγ-νό-ς* 'hated'; Lith. *kil-na-s* 'exalted'. Goth. *fulg-in-s* 'hidden'; O.C.Sl. *vez-enŭ* 'carried'. Goth. *vaúrþ-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-wort-an* 'become'. See § 65 p. 138 ff.

-m̥es-, with active sense, see 1 p. 451.

4. Forms expressing the feasibility, possibility, or necessity of the action; passive.

-i̯o- -ii̯o-. Skr. *yáj-ya-s* Gr. *ἄγ-ιο-ς* 'venerandus'. Skr. *dṛ́ś-ya-s dárś-iya-s* 'visible, worth seeing'. Gr. *στύγ-ιο-ς* 'abominable, detested'. Lat. *ex-im-iu-s* 'eximendus, distinguished'. Goth. *brūk-s* (stem *brūk-ja-*) O.H.G. *prūchi* 'useful'. See § 63, 1 p. 123 ff.

-tno- -tm̥no-. Lat. *dandu-s* 'who is to be given'. Lith. *sùk-tina-s* 'torquendus'. See § 69, 2 p. 161 ff.

Further the words formed with *-to-* (3) seem to have sometimes implied this secondary meaning even in Indo-Germanic, primarily however in negative usages. It is found especially in Greek, as *λυ-τό-ς* 'that may be freed or loosed'. See § 79, 1 p. 220.

Forms peculiar to single groups of languages: Skr. *-tva-*, *kár-tva-s* 'faciendus', see § 61 p. 116. Skr. *-tav-ya-*, *kar-tavyà-s* 'faciendus' see § 63 p. 126 f. Gr. *-τεο-* clearly for *-τε-Fο-*, *διωκ-τέο-ς* 'who is to be pursued', see § 64 p. 135 with Rem. 1. Occasionally this meaning can be seen in the *no-* adjectives (3), as Gr. *ἁγ-νό-ς* 'venerandus, deserving of honour, holy', *σμερδ-νό-ς*

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'timendus, terrible', *ĕδανό-ς* 'eatable'; similarly in Lith. *-ma-* (2), as *vẽža-ma-s* 'fit to be carried, transportable', *sùka-ma-s* 'capable of being twisted'.

§ 141. **Denominative Adjectives.** The relation to the noun from which they are derived may be any one of many different kinds: the word may mean 'made of the same material', 'belonging to the same species', 'derived from', possessing', 'being provided with' etc.

-ino- -īno- -aⁿino-. This is especially used with the meaning 'made or consisting of', 'arising from', 'belonging to the same kind as' that which the original noun expresses. Gr. *φήγ-ινο-ς* 'beechen' (*φηγό-ς*). Lith. *áuks-ina-s* 'golden' *(áuksa-s)*. Avest. *bawr-aęni-š* Lith. *bebr-ìn-i-s* Lat. *fibr-īnu-s* 'coming from the beaver' (e. g. fur). Skr. *sat-īná-s* (*sánt-*) Gr. *ἀληθ-ινό-ς* (*ἀληθής*) O.H.G. *wār-īn (wār)* 'trùthful'. See § 68 p. 155 ff.

-ęent-. The chief meaning is 'provided with' that which the original word denotes; more rarely it means, 'of the same kind'. Skr. *višá-vant-* 'poisoned, poisonous' Lat. *vīrōsu-s* 'poisonous' (*višá-m vīru-s* 'poison'). Gr. *οἰνό-εις* 'made from or with wine', Lat. *vīnōsu-s* 'full of wine, like wine' (*oĭvo-ς vīnu-m* 'wine'). Skr. *putrá-vant-* 'having a son or sons' (*putrá-s* 'son'). Gr. *χαρί-εις* 'graceful, gracious' (*χάρι-ς* 'grace'). Lat. *verbōsu-s* 'full of words, diffuse' (*verbu-m* 'word'). See § 127 p. 404 ff.

-tno- -tęno-. This is found in adjectives formed from temporal adverbs. Skr. *pra-tná-s* 'ancient, old', *nú-tna-s nú--tana-s* 'present'. Lat. *diū-tinu-s, crās-tinu-s*, Lith. *dabar-tina-s* 'present'. See § 69, 1 p. 160.

-qo- occurs in adjectives derived from adverbs, which chiefly express ideas of space. Skr. *nī-ca-* 'low, going downwards', O.C.Sl. *ni-c-ĭ* 'pronus'. Lat. *reci-procu-s* orig. 'turned backwards and forwards'. Besides these, *-qo-* and also *-iqo-* are found in adjectives formed from substantives; the relation to the original word varies very widely. Skr. *sūcī-ka-s* 'pricking' (*sūcí-* 'needle'), *sindhu-ka-s* 'arising from the Indus *(sindhu-š)*', Lat. *amni-cu-s (amni-s)*, O.Ir. *sūile-ch* 'oculeus' (*sūil* n. 'oculus'), Goth. *stáina-h-s* O.H.G. *ste̯ina-g* 'stony' (Goth. *stáin-s* O.H.G. *stein* 'stone'). Skr.

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paryāy-ikā-s 'strophic' (*paryāyā-s* 'strophe'), Gr. *νυμφ-ικό-ς* 'bridal' (*νύμφη* 'bride'), Lat. *bell-icu-s (bellu-m)*, O.Ir. *cuimn-ech* 'mindful' (*cuman* 'remembrance, memory'), O.H.G. *wuot-ig* 'furious' (*wuot* 'fury'). See § 86 p. 255 ff., § 87 p. 260 ff.

The following examples of the proethnic methods of forming adjectives will further serve to shew how widely the relation of the derived to the original word may vary in different cases.

-i̯o- -ii̯o-. **pətr-ii̯o-s* 'relating to one's father, fatherly' (**pətér-* 'father'): Skr. *pítriya-s* Gr. *πάτριο-ς* Lat. *patriu-s*. Skr. *uṣas-ya-s* 'dedicated to the dawn' Gr. *ἠοῖο-ς* 'early, eastern' (*uṣás- ἠώς* 'early light, dawn'). Skr. *nāv-íya-s* 'navigable', Gr. *νήιο-ς* 'belonging to a ship, consisting of ships' (*nāv- νη(F)-* 'ship'). The adjectival usage is seen with special clearness in compounds like Gr. *ὁμο-πάτρ-ιο-ς* O.Icel. *sam-feðr* 'having the same father' compared with the Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ* O.Pers. *hama-pitar-*, with the same meaning. See § 63, 2 p. 125 ff.

-no-. Skr. *strāí-ṇa-s* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'). Gr. *ἀλγεινό-ς* 'paining, painful' (*ἄλγος* 'pain'), Hom. *ἐραννό-ς* 'lovely' (*ἔρως* 'love'). Lat. *aēnu-s (aes)*, *īlīgnu-s (īlex)*, *paternu-s (pater)*. Skr. *purā-ṇá-* 'ancient' (*purā* 'earlier, before'): Umbr. Osc. **kom-no-* n. *'τὸ κοινόν'* (*kom* 'cum'); Lith. *jáu-na-s* O.C.Sl. *ju-nŭ* 'young' (*jaū ju* 'already, by this time'). See § 66 p. 139 ff.

-ro-. Avest. *taŋ-ra* (cp. § 74 p. 182 footnote). Mid.Dutch *deemster* O.H.G. *dinstar* 'dark' Lith. *tìms-ra-s* 'bay-coloured' (Skr. *támas-* n. 'darkness'). Gr. *οἰζυ-ρό-ς* 'mournful' (*οἰζύς* 'mourning'), *φοβε-ρό-ς* 'fearful' (*φόβο-ς* 'fear'), *δροσε-ρό-ς* 'dewy' (*δρόσο-ς* 'dew'). See § 74 p. 179 ff.

Particular uses in the separate groups of languages: Ar. *-a-* is especially frequent with the meaning of origin, as Skr. *sāvitr-á-s* 'sprung from savitar', but also denoting every kind of relation, e. g. Skr. *mānas-á-s* 'mental' (*mánas-* n. 'mind'), see § 60 p. 112 f. Ar. *-in-*: Skr. *cittín-* 'intelligent' (*cittí-ṣ* 'intelligence'), *parṇín-* Avest. *per*nin-* 'winged'. (Skr. *parṇá-m* 'wing'), O.Pers. *vīθin-* 'belonging to a clan (*vīθ-*)', see § 115 p. 357 f. Skr. *-nu-*: *rōciṣ -ṇú-ṣ* 'shining' (*rōciṣ-* 'light'), *kraviṣ-ṇúṣ* 'greedy of raw flesh' *(kraviṣ-)*, see § 106 p. 320 f. Gr. *-ιμο-*, especially with the

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meaning 'proportioned, suited to' that which the original word denotes; as *νόμ-ιμο-ς* 'suited to law, legal' (*νόμο-ς* 'law'), see § 72, 3 p. 174. Gr. *-συνο-*: *δουλό-συνο-ς* 'subject, in service' (*δοῦλο-ς* 'servant'), see § 70 p. 163. Lat. *-āli- -ēli- -īli- -ūli*: *vītāli-s*, *fidēli-s*, *hostīli-s*, *īdūli-s*, see § 98 p. 292. Kelt. *-āko-*, as O.Ir. *marc-ach* 'equester' (*marc* 'horse'), see § 89 p. 273. Germ. *-iska-* Lith. *-iszka-* O.C.Sl. *-ĭsko-*: Goth. *judaiv-isk-s* 'Jewish' (*Judaiu-s* 'Jew') *gud-isk-s* 'divine' (*guþ* 'god') O.H.G. *ird-isc* 'earthly' (*erda* 'earth'). Lith. *prús-iszka-s* 'Prussian' (*Prúsa-s* 'a Prussian'), *dĕv-iszka-s* 'divine' (*dĕva-s* 'God'), O.C.Sl. *kŭnęž-ĭskŭ* 'princely' (*kŭnęgŭ* 'prince'), *dĕt-ĭskŭ* 'childish' (*dĕti* f. pl. 'children'), see § 90 p. 276.

§ 142. Amongst denominative adjectives, those with a diminutival meaning form a special group: they denote what merely approximates to the description given by the original adjective, what is only similar to it. This meaning has often disappeared, so that the derived adjective has acquired the meaning of the word from which it was formed.

-lo-. Gr. *παχυ-λό-ς* 'somewhat thick' (*παχύ-ς* 'thick'), *ἡδύ-λο-ς* 'sweetish' (*ἡδύ-ς* 'sweet'). Skr. *bahu-lá-* beside *bahú-* 'thick'. See § 76 p. 198 ff.

-qo-. **sene-qo-* orig. 'oldish', beside **seno-* 'old': Skr. *sanaká-* Lat. *senex* (Goth. *sineig-s*). Skr. *aṇīyas-ka-* beside *áṇīyas-* 'thinner, finer', Lat. *prīs-cu-s* compared with *prior*, *melius-c-ulu-s* with *melior*, *nigri-cāre* with *niger*. **aŋ̑ghu-qo-* orig. 'somewhat narrow', from **aŋ̑ghú-* 'narrow': Armen. *ancuk anjuk-* O.C.Sl. *ązŭkŭ* 'narrow'. See § 84 p. 252 f., § 88 p. 262 ff. Cp. also Lith. *-oka-*, as *saldóka-s* 'sweetish, fairly sweet', see § 89 p. 273.

With this must perhaps be classed *-go-*, Skr. *árbha-ga-* 'youthful' beside *árbha-* 'small, young', O.H.G. *alti-h* 'old' O.Sax. *luttic* 'small'. See § 91 p. 276 f.

Compare the substantival diminutives, § 153.

§ 143. Adjectives formed with primary suffixes whose original function cannot be clearly defined.

-o- **neu-o-s* 'new': Skr. *náva-s*, Gr. *νέο-ς*, Lat. *novo-s*, O.C.Sl.

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novŭ. **saɥs-o-s*: Skr. *śō-śa-s* 'drying, parching', Gr. Ion. *αὕο-ς* Lith. *saũsa-s* O.C.Sl. *suchŭ* 'dry'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

-u-. **gʒr-u-s (*gr-u-s)*: Skr. *gurú-ś* 'heavy, violent, hard', Gr. *βαρύ-ς* Lat. *grav-i-s* Goth. *kaúru-s* 'heavy'. **aŋ̃gh-u-ɛ* narrow': Skr. *ąhú-ś* Armen. *ancu-k anju-k* Goth. *aggvu-s* O.C.Sl. *ązŭ-kŭ*. **sɥād-u-s (*sud-u-s)* 'sweet, pleasant': Skr. *svādú-ś* Gr. *ἡδύ-ς* Lat. *suāv-i-s* Goth. *sut-s*. See § 104 p. 312 ff.

-ro- -ʒro-. **rudh-ró-s -ʒró-s* 'red': Skr. *rudh-irá-s* Gr. *ἐρυθ-ρό-ς* Lat. *rub-er* O.C.Sl. *rŭd-rŭ*. **spə-ró-s*: Skr. *sphirá-s* 'fat, large, rich', Lat. *pro-sper*, O.C.Sl. *sporŭ* 'rich'. Skr. *cit-rá-s* 'shining, glorious, wonderful' O.H.G. *heit-ar* 'shining, clear, bright'. See § 74 p. 180 ff.

-mo-, excluding its participial function. (§ 140, 2). Avest. *gar*-ma-* Lat. *for-mu-s* O.H.G. *war-m* 'warm', Armen. *jer-m* Gr. *θερ-μό-ς* 'warm'. Skr. *tū-tu-má-* Avest. *tū-ma-* 'strong'; Skr. *tig-má-* 'sharp', O.Ir. *lua-m* 'celox'. Goth. *rū-m-s* 'roomy'. Lith. *sziẽ-ma-s* 'gray'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-ɥo-: **gĕ-ɥo-s* 'living': Skr. *jīvá-s* Lat. *vīvo-s* Mod.Cymr. *byw* Goth. *qiu-s* Lith. *gývа-s* O.C.Sl. *živŭ*. **ǯdh-ɥo-s*: Skr. *ūrdhvá-s* Gr. *ὀρθό-ς* 'upright', Lat. *arduo-s* 'steep', O.Ir. *ard* 'high, great, noble'. Skr. *pū́r-va-s* 'former, earlier', Gr. **πρω-ϝο-* in Dor. *πρᾶν* 'of yore', and other words, O.C.Sl. *prĭ-vy-jĭ* 'primus'. See § 64 p. 133 ff. In Latin and Germanic this suffix is used in a considerable number of adjectives denoting colour; which must be explained as due to the influence of a few examples (as **ghel-ɥo-*: Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*), cp. § 57 p. 104 f.

The Relation of Adjectives to Participles.

§ 144. An adjective can be used to denote not only a quality inherent in the nature of a thing, but a transitory attribute, defined in regard to time according to the standpoint of the speaker; thus it comes to have somewhat of a verbal character, in other words it becomes a participle (*μετοχή*). Its verbal nature may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing different epochs of time, different kinds of action (momentary, continuous, inceptive), and Voice *(diathesis, genus verbi)*. See § 140 p. 451 f.

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In general the existence of adjectives as a class must necessarily precede that of participles. Where however we find purely nominal and purely participial values side by side in any one word, it would be incorrect to regard the former as in every case the older; for the participle may be again gradually reduced to a simple noun.

In many cases it is impossible to determine whether the nominal character of any given form dates from a time before the corresponding adjectival form had developed verbal uses, or whether a participle has been re-converted into a noun; e. g. in the case of Skr. *śá-śvant-* Gr. *ἅ-παζ* 'complete, whole, every' Skr. *bṛhánt-* 'exalted, high, great' (§ 126 p. 397 f.), Skr. *vid-vás-* 'heedful, full of knowledge' compar. *vidúṣṭara- vidvattara-* (§ 136 p. 438), and in the Skr. and Lith. *-to*-participles constructed with an adnominal genitive, as Skr. *ánuspaṣṭō íd bhavaty ēṣṓ asya* 'conspectus est ille ab eo' (lit. 'eius'), Lith. *arklỹs suĕstas vil̃ko* 'equus devoratus a lupo' (lit. 'lupi'), cp. also *Διόσ-δοτοζ* (§ 79 p. 218 ff.).

The former transition, from a purely nominal to a participial use, may be assumed with certainty in a few instances in the separate languages; e. g. in the Sanskrit participles with *-vant-*, like *kṛtá-vant-* 'having done' (§ 127 p. 406), and in the Slavonic participles in *-lo-*, as *bi-lŭ* 'having smitten' (§ 76 p. 212). The connexion with the verbal system was established by the influence exerted on the meaning and usage of the adjectival forms in question by verbal forms derived from the same root, either those of the finite verb, or, sometimes, other participles previously formed. The process of transition was complete when analogous forms of the same kind could be made at will from other verbs in actual use.

Undoubted examples of the change from a participial to a purely nominal character are of frequent occurrence in later periods. Such are e. g. Gr. *ἑκών* 'willing' *μέλλων* 'future' Lat. *ē-loquēns sapiēns* Mod.H.G. *reizend* 'charming' (§ 126 p. 396 ff.), and the Gr. compar. *ἁσμεν-έστερο-ς* 'more glad' *ἐῤῥωμεν-έστερο-ς* 'stouter, stronger' (§ 71 p. 163 ff., § 75 p. 194).

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Substantives denoting material things or persons (Concrete Substantives).

§ 145. Distinction of Sex. The *o*-suffixes served to indicate male creatures, e. g. **ekᵘo-s* 'horse, stallion': Skr. *áśva-s* Gr. ἵππο-ς Lat. *equo-s* O.Ir. *ech*. Female creatures were distinguished by the *ā*-suffixes and by *-i̯ē- -ī-*, e. g. **ekᵘā-* 'female horse, mare': Skr. *áśvā* Lat. *equa* Lith. *aszva*; **ulq-i̯ē- *ulq-ī-* 'she-wolf': Skr. *vṛkī́* O.Icel. *ylg-r* O.H.G. *wulpa*. See § 59 ff. p. 107 ff., § 109 ff. p. 332 ff. It must, I think, be assumed, as I have already observed (in § 57 Rem. p. 104, cp. my essay on Gender there cited), that originally neither the *o*- and *ā*-suffixes nor even *-i̯ē-* (*-ī-*) had any connexion with animal sex; it is far more probable that in one or two words, perhaps in **genā-* 'woman' **mămā-* 'mother' **s-tr-i̯ē- *s-tr-ī-* 'woman', the idea of female nature contained in the root of the word was imparted to the suffix, and that this led to the creation of such forms as **ekᵘā-* beside **ekᵘo-*, **ulqi̯ē-* beside **ulqo-*, to describe the female as distinct from the male animal. It was only through being contrasted with *-ā-* and *-i̯ē-* that the *o*-formation afterwards came to denote male sex. And it was still constantly and indeed primarily used to denote any given creature without reference to gender, e. g. ἵππο-ς 'horse'. See § 158.

§ 146. Names of kindred. The suffix most frequently used is *-er- -ter-*, as in **dai̯uér-* 'husband's brother-in-law' (Skr. *dēvár-* etc.), **su̯ésor-* 'sister' (Skr. *svásar-* etc.), **pə-tér-* 'father' (Skr. *pitár-* etc.). See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff. This suffix in its origin had certainly nothing to do with the notion of kinship. From its accidental use in one or other of these nouns it was taken to form a series of words in which its function was to denote that idea. **pə-tér-* seems to have been originally a nomen agentis: 'protector'.

§ 147. Names of Animals. The use of *-bho-* in one or other of the words denoting animals, which had come down from the earliest times, led the Indians and the Greeks to employ

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this suffix in other instances to form animal-names; e. g. Skr. *śarabhá-s* a fabulous eight-legged creature, Gr. *ἔλαφο-ς* 'stag'. See § 78 p. 216 f.

In Germanic are found bird-names with Idg. *-go-*, as Goth. *ahak-s* 'dove' O.H.G. *habuh* 'hawk', which follows *cranuh* 'crane' (Armen. *krun-k*). See § 91 p. 277 and Kluge Nom. Stammb. p. 29.

§ 148. Names of parts of the body. *-en-* is found in a large number of proethnic names for parts of the body, though to begin with the suffix had no such meaning. It follows however that this use of it must have developed in the proethnic period, although we cannot tell which of the words containing it, e. g. Skr. *údh-an-* Gr. *οὖθ-α-(τo-)* 'udder' Skr. *yak-án-* Gr. *ἧπ-α-(τo-)* 'liver', formed the type for the rest. It was still a living suffix with the same sense in the separate languages, e. g. Skr. *dōš-án-* 'forearm', Avest. *nåŋh-an-* 'nose'. See § 114 p. 344 ff.

§ 149. Nomina agentis:

-en-. Skr. *tákš-an-* Gr. *τέκτ-ων* 'carpenter, artificer'. Avest. *spas-an-* 'watchman', O.H.G. *speh-o* spy'. Lat. *ed-ō* O.H.G. *ezz-o* 'glutton'. Gr. *κραγ-ών* 'screamer, wood-pecker'. Goth. *nut-a* 'fisher', O.H.G. *bot-o* 'messenger'. See § 114 p. 344 ff.

-ter-. Skr. *dā-tár- dă-tar-* Gr. *δο-τήρ δω-τήρ δώ-τωρ* Lat. *da-tor* O.C.Sl. *da-tel-ĭ* 'giver'. Skr. *pā-tár- pă-tar-* 'drinker', Gr. *οἰνο-ποτήρ* 'wine-drinker', Lat. *pō-tor* 'drinker, drunkard'. See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff.

-lo-. Gr. *κάπηλο-ς* 'huckster' *δείκηλο-ς* 'actor'. Lat. *figulu-s* 'potter' *legulu-s* 'gatherer, gleaner'. O.H.G. *putil* 'beadle' ('summoner') *brūt-pitil* 'a wooer's best man, suitor's advocate', *tregil* 'bearer'. Lith. *tekẽla-s* 'grindstone turning about an axle' (lit. 'runner'). See § 76 p. 198 ff.

We have an example of a suffix of this meaning occurring only in one group of languages in the Lith. *-ika-*, as *szẽrìka-s* 'feeder' *tupìka-s* 'sheaf-binder', see § 87 p. 262.

Many *nomina agentis* in the Indo-Germanic languages arose

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through the metaphorical use of *nomina actionis* for the doer of the action. Thus Skr. *dhúti-ṣ* m. 'shaker' (as f. 'a shaking', cp. Gr. *θῦσι-ς* f. 'a raging, roaring'), Avest. *rāiti-š* m. 'bestower' (as f. 'bestowal, alms', cp. Skr. *rāti-ṣ* f. 'alms, gift'), O.Ir. *tāid* m. O.C.Sl. *tatĭ* m. 'thief' (orig. 'concealment, theft'), see § 99 f. p. 293 ff. Skr. *mán-tu-ṣ* 'counsellor' as well as 'counsel, advice', see § 108 p. 323 ff. Cp. § 157.

The *nomina agentis* may be used to denote an activity limited in point of time as well as one constantly repeated. It is especially in the former use that, like the participles, they have developed verbal constructions; for example those in *-ter-*, as Skr. *vásūni dātā* 'bona dator' beside *vásūnāṃ dātā* 'bonorum dator' (cp. p. 378 f.), Lat. (rarely) *dator dīvitiās, jūsta ōrātor* beside *dator dīvitiārum, jūstōrum ōrātor*, Gr. (Aesch. Prom. 612) *πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὁρᾷς Προμηθέα* 'thou seest Prometheus, the bestower of fire upon men'. If the connexion between the substantive and the verbal meaning is relaxed, the former may by degrees lose the character of a *nomen agentis* altogether; there then remains only the notion of a concrete thing or person. Thus **pə-ter-* at the time of the separation of the Indo-Germanic races had ceased to mean 'protector', which seems to have been its orginal signification, and meant simply 'father' (cp. § 146). **uksen-* (Skr. *ukṣán-* Mod.Cymr. *ych* Goth. *aúhsa*) did not mean 'sower, begetter', but 'bull'. Gr. *τρυγών* 'turtle dove' orig. 'cooer' (*τρύζω* 'I coo'), Lat. *praetor* orig. 'qui praeit', O.H.G. *heri-zogo* 'duke' orig. 'leader of a host'.

§ 150. Nomina instrumenti.

-tro- -tlo-. Skr. *ari-tra-m ari-tra-s* O.H.G. *ruo-dar* Lith. *ìr-kla-s* 'rowing implement, oar'. Skr. *kár-tra-m* 'magic charm'. Gr. *φέρε-τρο-ν φέρ-τρο-ν* Lat. *fer-culu-m* 'framework for carrying, litter, bier'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Avest. *pata-ra-* 'wing', Gr. *πτε-ρό-ν* 'feather, wing' ('means of flying', √*pet-* 'fly'). Lat. *scalp-ru-m* 'cutting instrument, knife', *caelu-m* 'chisel' for **caed-lo-m*, *prēlu-m* 'press' for **prem-s-lo-m*. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198 ff.

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-dhro- -dhlo- in the European languages. Lat. *sū-bula in-sūbulu-m* Czech *ší-dlo* 'punch, awl' (Lat. *suere*). Gr. *κήλη-θρο-ν* 'magic charm', *ἐπι-βάθρᾱ* 'means of climbing, ladder'. Lat. *crē-bru-m*, *tere-bra*, *suscitā-bulu-m*. Czech *běli-dlo* 'means of colouring white, white paint'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. *-τηριο-* Lat. *-tōrio-* in neuter nouns. Gr. *θελκ-τήριο-ν* 'means of enchantment or delight' *κρι-τήριο-ν* 'means or ground of decision' *καλλυν-τήριο-ν* 'means of adornment, ornament' *καυστήριο-ν* 'branding iron' *σημαν-τήριο-ν* 'seal, stamp', Lat. *liquā-tōriu-m* 'filtering vessel, strainer' *scalp-tōriu-m* 'instrument for scratching' *circum-cīsōriu-m* 'lancet'. See § 63 p. 128 f.

Lith. *-tuva-*: *kosz-tùva-s* 'strainer, sieve', *min-tuvaĩ* 'tool for tearing flax' and other examples see § 61 p. 117.

Nomina agentis (§ 149) are often used to denote an instrument, this being regarded as if it were a living performer of the action: cp. Mod.H.G. *träger* used both for the person who carries and for the means of carrying (beams and the like), *feld-messer* 'surveyor's instrument' and *gas-messer* 'gasometer' [Eng. *shutter*, *fender* etc.] and the like. Thus Skr. *sē-tár-* 'fetter, bonds' (*si-* 'enchain, bind'), Gr. *ῥαιστήρ* 'hammer' (*ῥαίω* 'I shatter, crush') *ζευκ-τήρ* 'yoke-strap' (*ζεύγνῡμι* 'I yoke') *ἀρυ-τήρ* 'ladle, spoon, scoop' (*ἀρύω* 'I draw water, ladle') just like *δο-τήρ* 'giver'; Lat. *runcō*, *-ōn-is* 'hoe' like *edō -ōn-is*; O.H.G. *meizil* 'chisel' (Goth. *máita* 'I hew') *sluzzil* 'key' (lit. 'he who closes') *slegil* 'mallet' ('beater') just like *putil* 'beadle'.

We find also *nomina actionis* becoming names of instruments, see § 155.

§ 151. Nomina loci. The suffixes chiefly used to form names of places were those which also formed *nomina instrumenti* (§ 150). A locality may often be regarded as the means for the performance of an action, e. g. a hiding-place is a means of concealment. When a suffix has so acquired this function in a few words, it may then be used directly in other words as a suffix denoting locality.

-tro- -tlo-. Skr. *kṣĕ-tra-m* 'place of settlement, field' Avest. *šōi-θre-m* 'place of settlement, dwelling-place'. Skr. *sthā-trá-m*

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'standing-place, position', *jani-tra-m* 'birthplace, home'. Gr. *λέκ--τρο-ν* 'lying-place, bed', *θέᾱ-τρο-ν* 'place of exhibition, theatre'. Lat. *cubi-culu-m*, *spectā-culu-m*, *hospitā-culu-m*, *ambulā-cru-m*. Lith. *bū-klà* 'home', *bu-kla-s* (*ū*?) 'lair of an animal'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Skr. *mand-irá-m* housing, chamber, house', Gr. *μάνδ-ρᾱ* 'fold, pen, stall'. Skr. *aj-irá-m* 'arena, courtyard'. Gr. *ἕδ-ρᾱ* O.Icel. *set-r* n. 'seat'. Gr.Lac. *ἕλλᾱ* for **ἕδ-λᾱ* Lat. *sella* for **sed-lā* Goth. *sit-l-s* 'seat', O.C.Sl. *selo* 'fundus, habitaculum' Upper Sorb. *sy-dło* 'dwelling-place'. Here no doubt should be classed Idg. **aǧ-ro-s* 'common, meadow, field' (Skr. *ájra-s*, Gr. *ἀγ-ρό-ς* Lat. *ag-er* Goth. *ak-r-s*) as denoting 'a place for driving cattle', √ *aǧ-* 'agere', cp. Skr. *ajirá-m*; the word acquired the meaning 'arable land' only when pasturing gave way to tillage, and the greater part of the land was cultivated by the plough. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198.

-dhro- -dhlo-. Gr. *ἀλινδή-θρᾱ*, 'wallowing-place', *γενέ-θλη* 'birthplace' *ἕδε-θλο-ν* 'seat, site'. Lat. *volūtā-bru-m* 'wallowing-place for swine', *sta-bulu-m*, *natā-bulu-m*, *conciliā-bulu-m*, *lati--bulu-m*, *late-bra*. Czech *by-dło* 'dwelling'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. *-τηριο-* Lat. *-tōrio-*. Gr. *ἀγωνισ-τήριο-ν* 'place of battle', *ἀκροᾱ-τήριο-ν* 'hall of audience', *ἐργασ-τήριο-ν* 'place of work', *βουλευ-τήριο-ν* 'council hall'. Lat. *audī-tōriu-m dēversōriu-m condi-tōriu-m*.

Other suffixes came in other ways to denote locality. Thus *-ϝεν-* in Greek, as *οἰνεών οἰνών* 'wine-bin', *παρθενεών παρθενών* 'maidens' apartment', *ἱππών* 'stable', *λασιών* 'place thick with bushes', see § 116 p. 364. *-to-* in Lat., as *arbus-tu-m* 'plantation' (something provided with trees'), *filic-tu-m* 'place full of ferns', *cārec-tu-m* 'place full of reeds', see § 79 p. 231 f. and cp. § 152. Cp. further the *nomina actionis* which have become names of place, § 155.

§ 152. Collective Nouns. Under this head there is little to notice. The chief means which the Indo-Germanic languages possess of denoting groups of things collectively in the singular

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is the use of the neuter (e. g. Gr. *ὑπήκοο-ν* 'dependencies' compared with *ὑπήκοο-ς* 'subject, dependent') which cannot be properly considered in this section, although indeed the view of the distinctively neuter case-suffixes as having been originally used to form the stem of the noun to which they were added is one which has nothing against it and a good deal in its favour. Nor are we here concerned with the collective use of the singular in names of peoples and the like (e. g. Gr. *ὁ Πέρσης* = 'the Persians' O.Pers. *māda* = 'the Medes collectively, Media'), or with the later use of compounds in which the final member had become a kind of suffix, (e. g. O.H.G. *liut-scaf* 'natio' Mid.H.G. *heiden-schaft* 'heathendom, the Saracens and their country').

Notice first that denominative adjectives, denoting connexion with the word from which they are derived, are a very common means of representing the collective idea. It will be found, I believe, that the neuter is regular in all the cases which occur frequently, and this was a factor of importance in expressing the collective meaning. E. g. Gr. *-ικό-ν*: *ἱππικό-ν* 'body of horsemen', *ὁπλῖτικό-ν* 'body of heavyarmed troops', *συμμαχικό-ν* 'alliance, host of allies', see § 87 p. 260. The Lithuanian collectives in *-ýna-s* also, such as *aužůl-ýna-s* 'a number of oaks standing together, grove of oaks', *krūm-ýna-s* 'thick underwood', *akmen-ýna-s* 'heap of stones', appear to have been originally neuter, see § 68 p. 159.

We must further observe that sometimes suffixes used in substantives denoting a quality are also used collectively; e. g. Skr. *janá-tā* 'company of people, community', Little-Russ. *bidota* 'proletariate' *temnota* 'ignorant people' (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), Gr. *φρᾱτρίᾱ* O.C.Sl. *bratrĭja* 'brotherhood' (§ 63 p. 125 ff.).

The collective nouns cannot always be clearly distinguished from the *nomina loci* (§ 151). A few of the group of Latin neuters in *-tu-m* mentioned in the previous section may be repeated here; e. g. *arbus-tu-m* 'plantation', *virgul-tu-m* 'bushes', *salic-tu-m* 'willow plantation, undergrowth of willows'.

§ 153. Diminutives and Pet Names. The sense of diminution (depreciation, detraction, endearment and so forth)

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often disappeared, partly even in prehistoric periods. Compare the diminutive adjectives in § 142.

-lo-. Skr. *vṛ̥ša-lá-s* 'mannikin, small man', *śalāka-lā́* 'little shaving'. Gr. *ἀρκτύλο-ς* 'young bear'. Lat. *porc-ulu-s porcil-ia* O.H.G. *farhel-i* Lith. *parszẽ-l-i-s* 'little pig, sucking pig'. Lat. *rot-ula* Lith. *ratẽ-l-i-s* 'small wheel'. O.H.G. *bendil* 'little band'. See § 76 p. 198 ff.

-qo-. Skr. *marya-ká-s* 'mannikin', Gr. *μεῖρα-ξ* 'girl' *μειρά-κ-ιο-ν* 'boy'. Skr. *aśva-ká-s* 'small horse'. Gr. *βῶμα-ξ* 'small altar'. Lat. *homun-c-iō* 'mannikin' (in the sense of a weak creature), *ovi-c-ula* 'little sheep'. Lith. *parszùka-s* 'little sucking pig', *tėvùka-s* 'little father', O.C.Sl. *synŭ-kŭ* 'little son'. See § 84 p. 252 f., § 88 p. 262 ff.

Usages confined to single groups of languages: Gr. neuters in *-ιο-ν*: *ὀρνίθ-ιο-ν* 'small bird', *ἑταιρίδ-ιο-ν* 'little mistress', *ἀσπίδ-ιο-ν* 'small shield', *ἀδελφ-ίδιο-ν* 'little brother', see § 63 p. 128. Germanic neuters with *-īna-*: Goth. *gáit-ein* O.H.G. *geiz-īn* 'little goat', Goth. *gum-ein* 'little man', see § 68 p. 158. In both these instances the intermediate stage was the idea of belonging to a species, which suggested that of incompleteness and inferiority. The developement was perhaps the same in the case of the suffix *-i̯en-* in Avest. *kain-in-* f. 'girl', Lat. *pūs-iō* 'little boy' *pūmil-iō* 'dwarf' *senec-iō* 'little old man' *homunc-iō* and others of the same sort, see § 115 p. 358. 359. Mention should also be made of the Germanic diminutives with Idg. *-go-*, such as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula' *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', see § 91 p. 277.

Diminutive suffixes were often combined, as Gr. *-κ-ιο-*, Lat. *-c-ulo- -l-ulo-*, Germ. *-l-ina-*, Lith. *-lė-la-* (nom. *-lė-l-i-s*) This was done partly to give a fuller and more emphatic expression to the idea of diminution, e. g. Lat. *agellulu-s* beside *agellu-s*, from *ager* 'field', Lith. *mergelẽle* beside *mergẽlė*, from *mergà* 'girl', partly in consequence of a complete loss of the diminutival sense in the first suffix, e. g. Lat. *mus-c-ulu-s*, Mod.H.G. *ferk-el-chen*.

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-lo- and *-go-* were frequently employed in the proethnic and later periods in names of persons, especially to form 'pet names'. How far indeed the suffix retained its proper sense, is often hard to determine in any particular instance. Skr. *bhānu-la-s*, Gr. *Θρασύ-λο-ς*, O.Ir. *Tuathal*, Goth. *Vulfi-la*, Pruss. *Butil*. Skr. *dēva-ka-s dēvika-s*, Gall. *Dīvico Dīvic-ia*, Skr. *śuna-ka-s* Gr. *Κύναξ*, Skr. *sana-ka-s* Gall. *Senicco Seneca* O.H.G. *Sinigu-s* (the termination is Latin), O.H.G. *Berhtung Berhting*, Pruss. *Tewiko Banduke*.

Relation of Adjectives to Concrete Substantives.

§ 154. No distinction in form has ever been made in the Indo-Germanic languages between the adjective or participle on the one hand and the concrete substantive on the other.

Adjectives were used without change as substantives, just as substantives were often used without change as adjectives. Thanks to this usage the original adjectival or substantival character was often completely lost; thus Idg. **dont-* 'tooth' (Skr. *dánt-* etc.), originally a verbal adjective meaning 'eating', became a simple substantive, perhaps even in the proethnic period (§ 126 p. 394. 398). The original character of a particular word however often appears side by side with the new sense, e. g. Lat. *nātu-s* 'born' and 'son', *über* 'udder, exuberant fulness, abundance' and 'fertile, rich'.

The process of the change from adjective to substantive was frequently that the meaning of the adjective came to include the idea of some substantive to which the adjective was especially often applied. Thus *ναῦς* 'ship' was often left unexpressed Greek, as in the phrases *ἡ τριήρης, ἡ πρύμνη*. In many instances the different languages show a remarkable agreement, and there the usages in question may date from the Indo-Germanic period. Thus we have fem. Gr. *δεξιᾱ* (sc. *χειρ*) Lat. *dextra* (sc. *manus*) 'the right hand', O.Ir. *for deis* (sc. *laim*) 'on the right', Goth. *taíhsva* (sc. *handu-s*), Lith. *deszinẽ* (sc. *rankà*) 'the right hand', but on the contrary masc. Skr. *dákšiṇa-s* (sc. *hásta-s*) 'right hand'. Lat. *capr-īna*

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'goat's flesh' Lith. *ož-ẽnà* 'flesh of a he-goat' O.C.Sl. *bŭbrov-ina* 'beaver's flesh'; Lat. *rāp-īna* 'turnip-field' Lith. *aviž-ėnà* 'oat-field' O.C.Sl. *nov-ina* 'newly ploughed land, fallow land', see § 68 p. 156 ff.

But some formative suffixes acquired the special function of converting adjectives into substantives, being used as denominative suffixes to form names of persons or things possessing the attribute or quality which was expressed by the original word. *-en-* is very commonly so used, especially in Germanic; e. g. Avest. *mar^{e}t-an-* 'a mortal' beside *mar^{e}ta-* 'mortal', Gr. *στράβ-ων* 'squinter' beside *στραβό-ς* 'spinting', Lat. *Rūf-ō* beside *rūfu-s* Goth. *ráuđ-a* 'red one' beside *ráuþ-s* 'red', Lith. *rud-ẽ* 'autumn' beside *rùda-s* 'reddish-brown'. See § 114 p. 344 ff. Other suffixes of this kind are found only in single groups of languages, as *-āgo-* in Balt.-Slav., e. g. Lith. *naujõka-s* O.C.Sl. *novakŭ* 'novice' beside *naūje-s novŭ* 'new' (§ 89 p. 274), and Germ. *-inga-*, e. g. O.H.G. *arming* 'poor man, poor fellow' beside *arm* 'poor' (§ 88 p. 267).

Substantives denoting an activity or state (*nomina actionis*, verbal abstract nouns).

§ 155. To denote an activity or a state is in general the function of the verb. Substantives which express an action or a state owe their existence to a metaphor, as do those which denote a quality (§ 157), — action and state being regarded as belonging to the category of material objects.

It often happens that the *nomen actionis* does not express its own idea simply, but represents also, by a confusion, the notion of a person or thing that is in some way connected with the action; thus such substantives come to denote material objects. The designation of the action may be applied to its (grammatical) subject: e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *rat* (properly 'advice') = 'adviser, counsellor', *strom strömung* (properly 'a streaming') = 'streaming water', *verzierung* (properly 'an adorning') = 'something which adorns'. [Cp. Eng. *counsel* (in e. g. *Queen's Counsel*), *a grief* = 'something which grieves', *a hindrance* = 'something

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which hinders'.]. Or it may be further extended to denote the external (direct) object of the action, that which is in any way affected by the action, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *saat* (properly 'a sowing') = 'what is sown', *wohnung* (properly 'the act of inhabiting') = 'the house a man inhabits' [cp. Eng. *contrivance* = 'what is contrived', *belief* = 'what is believed']. Or to the internal ('cognate') object, thus giving rise to a term for the result of the action, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *riss* (properly 'a rending') = 'a rent', *wuchs* (properly 'a growing') = 'the result of growing, growth, figure', *vereinigung* (properly 'a uniting') = 'the result of uniting, a united body' [cp. Eng. *growth*, *union*, *a spelling* = 'the method or result of spelling a word']. In the same way we have such words used as *nomina instrumenti*, e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *verzierung* = 'means of adornment', *lösung* (properly 'a setting free') = 'means of setting free, redemption-money' [cp. Eng. *distinction* = 'means of distinguishing', *influence* (*'he will use his influence for me'*) = 'means of influencing', *relief* = 'means of relieving']; or as *nomina loci* e. g. Mod.H.Germ. *wohnung* = 'a dwelling-place', *trift* (properly 'a driving') = 'pasture-land' [cp. Eng. *dwelling*, *pasture*] etc. Cp. Paul Princ.^{2} p. 81 f.

These various developements are generally difficult to separate clearly, and hence in what follows we shall not confine our attention to the *nomina actionis* in the strict sense but consider along with them those which show the secondary variations of meaning that have just been enumerated.

We will begin with the suffix which seems to retain the simple meaning of an action or state most regularly.

-ti-: **sru-ti-s* 'a flowing, stream': Skr. *sruti-ṣ* Gr. *ῥῖσι-ς*. **qi-ti-s*: Skr. *ápa-citi-ṣ* 'requital, punishment' Gr. *τίσι-ς* 'valuation, fine, punishment'. Skr. *ma-ti-ṣ* 'thought, mind', Gr. *μάν-τι-ς* (m.) 'one inspired, seer', Lat. *mēns* 'mind', Goth. *ga-mund-s* 'remembrance' *ana-mind-s* 'conjecture', Lith. *at-mintì-s* 'memory', O.C.Sl. *pa-mętĭ* 'remembrance'. Skr. *śru-ti-ṣ* 'hearing, sound, news, tale', *syū-ti-ṣ* 'sewing, sack', *prá-jñāti-ṣ* 'perception' *jñā-ti-ṣ* m. 'relative', Gr. *χύ-σι-ς* 'outpouring, gush, libation', *ῥῆ-σι-ς* 'speaking, word'.

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ὄψι-ς 'sight, countenance', *μάρπ-τι-ς* (m.) 'seizer, robber'. Lat. *mors, tussi-s, ves-ti-s, cōs, hos-ti-s.* O.Ir. *buith* 'existence', *bli-th* 'painting'. Goth. *us-taúht-s* 'perfection, completion', *fra-lust-s* 'loss, destruction', *saúh-t-s* 'sickness, illness', *ga-skaft-s* 'creation, created thing', O.H.G. *sih-t* 'sight, power of sight', Mid.H.G. *trift* 'driving, common (cattle-drive), meadow'. Lith. *dů-ti-s* O.C.Sl. *da-tĭ* 'gift'. Lith. *gir-ti-s* 'feast', *skìlsti-s* 'cleft in the hoof of cattle', *pir-tì-s* 'bath-room', *pri-eitì-s* 'suburb'. O.C.Sl. *po-znatĭ* 'cognitio', *vrĭstĭ* 'state, condition, position', *sĕ-tĭ* 'string'. See § 100 p. 294 ff.

-ni-. Skr. *lū-ni-ṣ* 'a tearing loose, severance', Goth. *lū-n-s* 'means of deliverance, ransom money'. Skr. *gīr-ṇi-ṣ* 'a swallowing', *jūr-ṇi-ṣ* 'heat'. O.Ir. *tāin* 'a driving forth, booty', *buain* 'harvesting, harvest'. Goth. *ana-busn-s* 'bidding, injunction, order', *ga-rēhn-s* 'intention, plan', *siun-s* 'a seeing, power of sight, countenance, appearance'. Lith. *bar-nì-s* 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. *bra-nĭ* 'battle' Lith. *žinksnì-s* 'step'. O.C.Sl. *stĭg-nĭ* 'way, road'. See § 95 p. 285 ff.

-tu-. Skr. *gán-tu-ṣ* 'course, way', Lat. *ad-ventu-s*. Avest. *vī-dātu-š* 'decomposition of the body, dissolution, death'. Gr. *κτιστύ-ς* 'a founding', *ἀκοντιστύ-ς* 'javelin-throwing, fight with javelins'. Lat. *ad-itu-s, or-tu-s, gemi-tu-s.* O.Ir. *mess* 'deciding, sentence'. Goth. *kus-tu-s* 'trial, proof', *vahs-tu-s* 'growth'. Lith. *lytù-s lĕtu-s* 'rain'. See § 108 p. 323 ff.

-mo- -mā-. **dhū-mo-s* 'ebullition': Gr. *θῡμό-ς* 'ebullition of temper, passion, courage', Skr. *dhūmá-s* Lat. *fūmu-s* Lith. *dúmai* O.C.Sl. *dymŭ* 'smoke'. Skr. *sár-ma-s* 'a flowing', Gr. *ὁρ-μή* 'impulse'. Skr. *bhá-ṃa-s* 'light, brightness'. Gr. *πταρ-μό-ς* 'sneezing', *ἰῡγ-μό-ς* 'shrieking', *ἁρπαγ-μό-ς* 'plundering, booty', *δασμό-ς* 'partition, division', *τῑ-μή* 'estimation, honour', *γνώ-μη* 'intention, opinion'. Lat. *ani-mu-s ani-ma, fā-ma.* Goth. *dō-m-s* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'sentence, judgment, position, worth', O.H.G. *strō-m* 'stream'. Lith. *lañksma-s* 'bending', *rĕksma-s* 'roar', *sukìma-s* 'a turning', *sākyma-s* 'a saying'. O.C.Sl. *u-mŭ* 'mind, understanding'. See § 72, 3 p. 170 ff.

-men-. Skr. *dhá-man-* 'statute, operation, seat, dwelling-

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place'. Avest. *dąman-* 'creation, created thing', Gr. *ἀνά-θημα* 'a setting up, that which is set up, votive offering' *θέ-μα* 'a storing up, deposit'. Skr. *dā-man-* 'a giving', Gr. *δό-μα* 'gift'. Gr. *ῥῦ-μα ῥύ-μα* O.Ir. *sruaim* 'a streaming, stream'. Skr. *bhár--man-* 'support, fostering care', Gr. *φέρ-μα* 'fruit of the womb', O.C.Sl. *brĕ-mę* 'burden'. Skr. *hávī-man-* 'a summoning', *é-man-* 'a going', *dhár-man-* 'prop, support'. Gr. *ἧ-μα* 'a throwing', *νόη-μα* thought', *ὄρᾱ-μα* 'sight', *ζεῦγ-μα* 'bond, bridge of boats'. Lat. *nū-men, lū-men, āgmen, certā-men.* O.Ir. *cēim* 'a stepping, step', *bēim* 'a striking, stroke', *gairm* 'call, cry'. Goth. *hliu-ma* 'hearing', *skei-ma* 'a light' O.H.G. *scî-mo* 'brightness, gleam'. Lith. *rë-mů* 'heart-burn', *aug-mů* 'excrescence'. See § 117 p. 365 ff.

-o-, -ā-. Skr. *jān-a-m* 'birth, origin', Gr. *γόν-ο-ς* 'birth, offspring'. Gr. *χρόμ-ο-ς* 'noise, murmur, neighing', O.C.Sl. *grom-ŭ* 'thunder'. Skr. *ghóṣ-a-s* 'sound, din' Avest. *gaoš-a-* m. 'ear'. Gr. *ὁλκ-ό-ς* 'dragging, that which drags', *τόμ-ο-ς* 'cut, slice'. Goth. *ga-fāh-s* 'capture', *dragk* 'drink'. Lith. *úž-valka-s* 'outside covering, bed-covering' O.C.Sl. *oblakŭ* 'cloud'. Gr. *ῥο-ή* 'flood', Lith. *srav-à* 'flowing, bleeding'. Gr. *φυγ-ή* Lat. *fug-a* 'flight'. Skr. *bhid-á* 'split, division'. Goth. *gib-a* 'gift'. See § 60 p. 109 ff.

-es- -os- -s-. Skr. *dáṣas* 'glorious deed', Gr. *δήνεα* 'counsels, wiles'. Skr. *ápas ápas* 'work, religious performance', Lat. *opus.* Gr. *ῥῖγος* Lat. *frīgus* 'cold'. Skr. *dṓhas* 'milking', *námas* 'obeisance, reverence', Avest. *tacō* 'course'. Gr. *ἦδος* 'pleasure', *αἶθος* 'brand', *δέος* 'fear'. Goth. *hatis* 'hate', *agis* 'fear'. Gr. *αἰδώς* 'shame, modesty'. Lat. *tepor, amor.* See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

-i̯en- -ti̯en- in some European languages. Lat. *cap-iō, religiō*, Goth. *ga-runjō* 'overflow', *sakjō* 'strife'. Lat. *ra-tiō*, Goth. *ra-þjō* 'ratio'. Lat. *men-tiō*, O.Ir. *er-mitiu* 'honor'. See § 100 p. 294 ff., § 112 p. 341 f., § 115 p. 357 ff.

Other suffixes used in the formation of *nomina actionis* will be discussed in §§ 156 and 158.

When the *nomina actionis* had come to denote material objects, they were liable a still further extension of meaning, namely to be used as adjectives (cp. § 154). Here perhaps should

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be classed e. g. Skr. *pū-ti-ṣ* 'stinking' and *tapya-tū-ṣ* 'hot, glowing', originally 'stench' and 'heat, glow'.

Relation of the *nomina actionis* to the Infinitive (Supine)[1].

§ 156. Since the *nomina actionis* denote not merely a continuous activity but also one which may be defined in point of time, they sometimes come to be used in verbal constructions. Here, as in the case of the adjective (§ 144), the connexion with the verb may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing differences of time, different kinds of action (such as momentary, continuous, inceptive) and Voice (*diathesis*, *genus verbi*).

This kind of assimilation to the character and construction of the verb appears e. g. in Gr. *τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν* (Plat.) 'the gift of God to you', *περὶ δὲ σφίσι καταδουλώσεως* (Thuc.) = *περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῖς καταδουλωθῆναι* (*τοὺς Ἕλληνας*), Lat. *reditus Rōmam*. But a still more complete identification is seen in what are called infinitives (and supines), which are crystallised cases (generally acc., dat., loc.) of *nomina actionis*. An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun; this is true, for example, of Gr. *δόμεναι δοῦναι* Lat. *dare*, at the earliest period of which we have record. Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system,

1) E. Wilhelm, De infinitivi linguarum Sansor. Bactr. Pers. Graec. Osc. Umbr. Lat. Got. forma et usu, 1873. J. Jolly, Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen, 1873. A. Ludwig, Der Infinitiv im Veda, 1871. M. Müller, Grammatical forms in Sanskrit corresponding to the so-called Infinitives in Greek and Latin, Essays IV 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, Über Dialectspuren im vedischen Gebrauche der Infinitivformen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 329 ff. Chr. Bartholomae, Die Infinitivbildung im Dialect der Gāthā's, ibid. XXVIII 17 ff. L. Meyer, Der Infinitiv der homer. Sprache, Gött. 1856. E. Windisch, Zum ir. Infinitiv, Bezzenberger's Beitr. II 72 ff. A Denecke, Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. u. 9. Jahrh., Leipz. 1880. W. Müller, Über den letto-slavischen Infinitiv, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VIII 186 ff.

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they passed through a number of intermediate stages, and hence it is often hard to say whether any particular form should be called an infinitive in the strict sense of the word[1]). The infinitives that least deserve the name are the Irish, because the *nomina actionis* used in Irish where other languages use the infinitive retained the construction of nouns, e. g. *ar-dot--chuibdig fri sechem na m-bria-thar sin* 'pledge thyself to obey these words' (literally 'to the obeying of these words'). In this latter respect (the power of governing an acc.) even the language of the Veda shews a further degree of developement; e. g. we find not only *ándhasaḥ pītáyē* 'for the drinking of the soma-juice', but also *ándhāṣi pītáyē;* the same double construction is found in the Avesta (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 12 f.). The infinitive reached its most characteristic developement in Greek and Latin, the only languages in which we find a special expression for differences of voice.

The following formative suffixes are distributed amongst the infinitival forms (we may omit the Keltic infinitives). *-tu-* in Ar., Lat., Balt.-Slav., see § 108 p. 323 ff. *-ti-* in Ar., Balt.-Slav., see § 99 f. p. 293. *-men-* in Ar., Gr., see § 117 p. 365 ff. *-ϝen-* in Ar., Gr., see § 116 p. 362 ff. *-es-* in Ar., Lat., see § 131 f. p. 411 ff. In single groups of languages: *-i-* in Ar., see § 93 p. 279 f.; *-lo-* in Armen., see § 76 p. 202; *-o-* in Umbr.-Samn., see § 60 p. 114; *-ono-* in Germ., see § 67 p. 153. 154.

As the participle might again become a simple noun (§ 144), so also could the infinitive. In this case, however, the process was more difficult because it was not inflected. The approximation to the noun was easiest where there was least necessity for expressing its relations by means of inflexion, that is, in its use as subject or object; e. g. Gr. *πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ἠὲ βιῶναι* (Hom. *K.* 173), *πειρήσω ἀλαλκεῖν* (Id. T. 30), Lat. *habēre ēripitur, habuissè nun-*

1) Hence e. g. the objection urged by Brunnhofer against Ludwig and Wilhelm, that they had adduced as infinitives Vedic forms which were nothing but *nomina actionis* (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 330).

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quam (Sen.), *hic verērī* (= *verēcundiam*) *perdidit* (Plaut.). This led on to such constructions as Gr. *τὸ λέγειν*, Lat. *tuom amāre* (Plaut.), *nostrum istud vīvere triste* (Pers.), *nīl praeter plōrāre* (Hor.), *quid hūius vīvere est?* (Sen.) [1]) and so forth. See Paul Princ.[2] 311 f.

Substantives denoting a quality (Abstract Substantives in the strict sense).

§ 157. Substantives which denote a quality, owe their existence to a metaphor just as do the *nomina actionis*: an attribute or natural quality was regarded as belonging to the class of material objects.

Substantives denoting a quality often come to designate the person to whom the quality belongs, e.g. Mod.H.G. *Jugend* = 'youthful persons, young folk (collectively)' or 'a single youthful person', [Eng. *youth*]. But it is difficult to maintain any sharp distinction between the separate uses, and therefore the words which show this secondary developement of meaning will be treated along with the rest. It is important also to recognise the fact that no hard and fast line can be drawn between this class of nouns and the *nomina actionis* with their secondary shades of meaning It is natural enough that the two divisions should often overlap

The suffixes that most frequently appear in these abstract nouns are the following.

-tā-. Avest. *cista-* 'wisdom'. Gr. *πινυτή* 'prudence, understanding'. Lith. *geltà* 'yellowness'. Lat. *juventa* Goth. *junda* 'youth'. Skr. *pūrṇatā-* O.H.G. *fullida* O.C.Sl. *plŭnota* 'fulness'. Skr. *ghōratā-* 'awfulness' Goth. *gáuriþa* 'trouble'. Skr. *dīrghatā-* O.C.Sl. *dlŭgota* 'length'. In Greek and Slavonic are found concrete nouns like *ἀγρότη-ς* 'countrymen' *junota* 'youth'. See § 79 p. 220 ff., § 80 p. 238 ff.

-tāti- -tāt- and *-tūti- -tūṭ-*. Skr. *sarvátāti-ṣ sarvátāt-* 'completeness' Avest. *haurvatāt-* 'safety' Gr. *ὁλότης* 'totality, entirety'. Gr. *νεότης* 'youth', Lat. *novitās* 'novelty, strangeness'.

1) Cp. Wölfflin, Der substantivierte Infinitiv [im Latein], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. III 70 ff.

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Lat. *juventās* and *juventūs*. O.Ir. *oentu* 'unitas'. Goth. *gamáindūþ-s* 'communitas'. See § 102 p. 308 ff.

-nā-. Avest. *per^{e}nā-* Goth. *fullō* 'fulness'. Skr. *jaraṇá* 'decrepitude, age'. See § 65 ff. p. 138 ff.

-i̯o- -i̯ā-. Skr. *pálitya-m* 'greyness', *śrāiṣṭhya-m* 'excellence'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'fitness, usefulness'. Lith. *ilgi-s* 'length', O.C.Sl. *ostrĭje* 'sharpness'. Gr. *ἀγηνορίη* 'manliness', *ἀναρχίᾱ* 'anarchy'. Lat. *audācia* 'boldness', *modestia* 'moderation', *sapientia* 'wisdom' See § 63 p. 122 ff.

-tu̯o- -tu̯ā-. Skr. *dēvatvá-m* 'divinity', *śucitvá-m* 'purity', *sātmatvá-m* 'inspiration, possession by a deity'. Goth. *þivadv* 'servitude', *fijaþva* 'enmity'. O.C.Sl. *zělĭstvo* 'violence'. See § 61 p. 116 f.

-ti-. **pəŋqti-s* 'fivefold character; pentad, the number five': Skr. *paṅktí-ṣ* O.Icel. *fimt* O.C.Sl. *pętĭ*. Skr. *yuvatí-ṣ* 'maiden' (orig. 'youth' (abstr.) O.H.G. *jugund* 'youth'. O.C.Sl. *dlŭgostĭ* 'length', *ązostĭ* 'narrowness'. See § 99 p. 293, § 101 p. 306 ff.

-es- -os-. **reges-* 'gloom, darkness': Skr. *rájas* (Armen. *erek*) Gr. *ἔρεβος* Goth. *riqis*. Skr. *máhas-* 'greatness, size', *yáśas-* 'glory', Gr. *εὖρος* 'breadth', *μῆκος* 'length', *βένθος* 'depth', *μέγεθος* size, greatness'. Lat. *Venus* 'charm of love', *languor* 'weariness', *lēvor* 'smoothness', *dulcor* 'sweetness'. See § 131 ff. p. 411 ff.

In single groups of languages: e. g. Lat. *-tūdin-*, *fortitūdō* 'fearlessness', *lassitūdō* 'weariness' (cp. § 128 p. 409), Lith. *-ybė-*, *auksztўbė* 'height, highness', O.C.Sl. *-ba-*, *zŭloba* 'wickedness' (§ 78 p. 217 f.).

The Relation of Adjectives to Abstract Substantives (*nomina actionis* and substantives denoting a quality) formed with the same suffixes.

§ 158. In conclusion we have to discuss another question which bears upon the origin of the substantives denoting an action or a quality and the general relation between adjectives and substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Many nouns formed with *o*-suffixes act both as adjectives and as abstract substantives; as a rule it happens that the

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feminine or neuter form, more rarely that the masculine form is the one which is used substantivally If the adjective is a *nomen agentis*, we have a corresponding *nomen actionis*, e. g. Skr. *srutá-s* 'flowing': *srutá-m* n. 'a flowing, flood'. Or if it predicates an attribute, then the corresponding substantive denotes the attribute, e. g. Lith. *geĺta-s* 'yellow': *geltà* f. 'yellowness'.

The following are examples.

-to- -tā-.

Feminine. Avest. *cistā-* 'wisdom': Skr. *cittá-* partc., in the neut. 'observation, thought, intent, spirit'. Gr. *πιντή* 'intelligence, wisdom': *πιντό-ς* 'intelligent'; *γενετή* 'birth, origin': Lat. *genitu-s*; *βροντή* 'thunder'. Lat. *offēnsa* 'a stricking against, offence': *offēnsu-s*; *repulsa* 'rejection': *repulsu-s*; *impēnsa* 'expenditure': *impēnsu-s*; *multa* 'punishment': *mulsu-s* instead of **mol(c)tu-s* (the isolation of the substantive from the participle preserved it from the analogical change which affected the latter), Skr. *mr̥ṣṭá-* 'grasped, touched'. O.Ir. *ed-part ed-bart* 'oblatio': *do-breth* Mid.Ir. 'datum est', (Skr. *bhr̥tá-s* Gr. *φερτό-ς*); *loth* 'filth': compare this and the Lat. *lutu-m lutu-s* 'mud' with Lat. *-lūtu-s (ab-lūtu-s* etc.) 'besprinkled, soiled'. Goth. *skanda* O.H.G. *scanta* 'disgrace': O.H.G. *scant* 'shamed'; O.H.G. *forahta* 'fear': Goth. *faúrht-s* 'fearful'; A.S. *ʒuđ* 'battle': Skr. *hatá-* 'smitten'. Lith. *geltà-* 'yellowness': *geĺta-s* 'yellow'; *banktos* pl. 'boisterousness, storm': *bankta-s* 'boisterous'. O.C.Sl. *vrĭsta* 'condition, state, position, stage': Skr. *vr̥ttá-* 'versus'. The secondary Idg. suffix *-tā-* in Lat. *juventa* Skr. *pūrṇatā* etc. should be added here, see p. 238 ff.

Neuter. Skr. *mr̥tá-m* 'death' O.H.G. *mord* 'murder': Skr. *mr̥tá-s* 'dead'. Skr. *matá-m* 'meaning, opinion, intent' Lat. *com-mentu-m* 'idea, invention, design' O.Ir. *der-met* 'forgetfulness': Skr. *matá-* 'thought, intended'. Idg. **klеu-to-m* 'faculty of hearing' Avest. *sraote-m* Goth. *hliuþ*: Skr. *śrutá-s* 'heard'. Skr. *srutá-m* 'flowing, flood, stream': *srutá-s* 'flowing'; *stutá-m* 'laudation, praise': *stutá-s* 'praised, lauded'; *mānita-m* 'a doing of honour': *mānita-s* 'to whom honour is done, honoured'; Avest.

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fra-dāte-m 'help, success': *fra-dāta-* 'helped, made'. O.H.G. *ferid* 'navigium'. O.C.Sl. *pato* 'fetter': partic. *pętŭ*. Here we must also class Idg. *-mn̥-to-*, as in Skr. *śrōmata-m* 'a listening to' O.H.G. *hliumunt* 'repute, character', Lat. *cōgnōmentu-m*, see p. 249.

Masculine. Skr. *ghā-ta-s* 'blow, slaying'. Avest. *stutō* 'laudation, prayer', cp. Skr. n. *stutá-m*. Gr. *κονι-ορτό-ς* 'raising of the dust, cloud of dust': *νέ-ορτο-ς* 'newly arisen' Lat. *ortu-s*; *ἔμετο-ς* 'vomiting': *ἐμετό-ς* Skr. *vamita-s* 'vomited'; *στρατό-ς* 'encamped host': Skr. *stŕtá-s* Gr. *στρωτό-ς* 'outspread, outstretched'; *οἶτο-ς* 'fate': Skr. *ēta-s* 'hasting' Lat. *-itu-s*; *φόρτο-ς* 'burden': *φερτό-ς* 'bearable' Skr. *bhŕtá-s* 'borne'; *θάνατο-ς* 'death': *θνητό-ς* 'mortal'; *κωκῡτό-ς* 'wailing', *κοῖτο-ς* 'couch' (with *κοίτη*) and other exx. Lat. *lectu-s* (and *lectu-m*) 'couch', *lutu-s* (and *lutu-m* 'mud', cp. O.Ir. *loth* f. above. A.S. O.Icel. *sess* 'seat' (cp. Lat. *sub-sessa* f. 'ambush'): Skr. *sattá-s* 'sitting' Lat. *ob-sessu-s*; O.H.G. *giwaht* 'mention, fame': Skr. *uktá-s* 'spoken'; Goth. *mōþ-s* 'wrath' O.H.G. *muot* 'spirit, temper, courage' beside O.C.Sl. *mé-ti* 'to dare'; O.H.G. *frost* (and O.Icel. *frost* n.) 'frost' beside *friosan* 'to freeze'. Lith. *bùta-s* 'dwelling, house': Skr. *bhūtá-s* 'become, been', cp. O.Ir. *both* f. 'dwelling-place, hut' Skr. *bhūtá-m* 'existence with power, welfare, prosperity'; *maīszta-s* (and *maiszta*) 'uproar': Gr. *μῖκτό-ς* 'mixed'; *tvárta-s* 'enclosure': *tvérta-s* 'grasped, enclosed'; of course these Lithuanian masculine forms may once have been neuter. O.C.Sl. *čĭtŭ* 'number' *po-čĭtŭ* 'enumeration': Skr. *citá-s* 'arranged in rows or layers', cp. Skr. *citā* 'layer'; *podŭ-jętŭ* 'grasp, support' *podŭ-jętŭ* 'grasped, undertaken'.

Remark. With regard to the relation of the forms with vocalism of the strong grade to those with that of the weak grade (e. g. O.C.Sl. *pato pęto*) see p. 221 above.

-no- -nā-, -eno- -enā-, -ono- -onā-.

Fem. Avest. *per^{e}nā-* Goth. *fullō* 'fulness': Avest. *per^{e}na-* Goth. *full-s* 'full'. Skr. *jaraṇá* 'old age': Skr. *jaraṇá-* 'decrepit'. O.H.G. *stulina* 'theft': O.Icel. *stolenn* 'stolen'.

Neut. O.H.G. *zorn* A.S. *torn* 'anger, wrath', orig. 'a torn or rent condition of the temper': Skr. *dīrṇá-s* 'torn to pieces';

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O.H.G. *mein* 'falsehood, mischief' : *mein* 'false, deceitful'. Skr. *váhana-m* 'a carrying' : *vahana-s* 'carrying' O.C.Sl. *vezenŭ* 'carried'; *vártana-m* 'turning, motion' : *vartana-s* 'setting in motion'; *mána-m* 'measuring, measurement' : *vi-mána-s* 'measuring out'. Goth. *bairan* inf. 'bear' : *baúran-s* 'borne'.

Masc. Skr. *uṣṇa-s* (also *uṣṇa-m uṣṇā*) 'heat' : *uṣṇá-s* 'hot'. Skr. *yajñá-s* 'reverence' : Gr. *ἁγνό-ς* 'worthy of reverence, sacred, pure'. Gr. *θῡνο-ς* 'onset, fight' : Skr. *dhūna-s* 'violent, agitated'. O.H.G. *scīn* 'visibility, brightness, gleam' : *scīn* 'visible'.

-i̯o- -i̯ā-.

Fem. Skr. *kṛtyá-* 'infliction, bewitchment' : *kṛ́tya-s* 'faciendus'. Gr. *φρᾱτρίᾱ* O.C.Sl. *bratrĭja* 'brotherhood' : Gr. *φρᾰ́τριο-ς* orig. 'brotherly'. Gr. *ἡσυχίᾱ* 'peace' : *ἡσύχιο-ς* 'peaceful'; *ξενίᾱ* 'hospitality' : *ξένιο-ς* 'hospitable'. Lat. *noxia* 'guilt, crime' : *noxius* 'guilty, criminal'. O.H.G. *lugī* (which implies a preceding **luz-i̯ō-*) O.C.Sl. *lŭža* 'lie' : O.H.G. *lugĝi lukki* O.C.Sl. *lŭžĭ* 'lying, false'. A.S. *nyt* O.Icel. *nyt-r* 'use, advantage' : A.S. *nyt* O.H.G. *nuzzi* 'useful, serviceable'. O.C.Sl. feminines like *suša* 'dryness' *ąrožda* 'folly', see p. 131.

Neut. Skr. *vácya-m* 'speaking, word, blame' : *vācya-s* 'dicendus'; *kṣatríya-m* 'lordship, supremacy' : *kṣatríya-s* 'possessing lordship, ruler'. Gr. *σφάγιο-ν* 'offering, beast of offering' : *σφάγιο-ς* 'striking, killing'; *θελκτήριο-ν* 'delight, enchantment' : *θελκτήριο-ς* 'delighting, enchanting'. Lat. *auguriu-m* 'act of divination, prophecy' : *auguriu-s* 'prophetic'. O.H.G. *gi-fuori* 'suitability, usefulness' : *gi-fuori* 'suitable, useful'. Furthermore forms like Lith. *kir̃ti-s* 'cut, blow' (: Skr. *kartya-s* 'to be hewn or cut off') etc. no doubt represent original neuters; see p. 124 f.

-tno- tn̥o-. Examples of neuter forms are O.Pers. *cartana-* 'action', loc. *cartanaiy* used as infinitive, Lat. gen. *dandī* 'of giving' : Lat. *dandu-s* 'to be given', Lith. *sùktina-s* 'torquendus'. See p. 161 ff.

-tu̯o- -tu̯ā-. Neut.: Skr. *kártva-m* 'task' : *kártva-s* 'faciendus'. Fem.: O.C.Sl. *žętva* 'harvest' : Skr. *hántva-s* 'feriendus'.

-mo- -mā-. Fem.: Gr. *θέρμη* 'warmth' : *θερμό-ς* Armen. *jerm* 'warm'. Goth. *miduma* 'midst' : O.H.G. *metamo metemo*

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'mediocris' Avest. *maδema-* 'medioximus', cp. p. 167. O.C.Sl. *tŭma* 'great number', orig. 'strength': Avest. *tūma-* Skr. *tū-tumá-* 'strong', cp. p. 171. Neut.: Avest. *gar^{e}me-m* 'warmth': *gar^{e}ma-* 'warm'. Masc.: Skr. *gharmá-s* 'warmth, heat': Avest. *gar^{e}ma-* Lat. *formu-s* O.H.G. *warm* 'warm'. Goth. *rūms* O.H.G. *rūm* 'room': Goth. *rūm-s* 'roomy'; Mid.H.G. *stīm* 'turmoil, confused masses': Skr. *stīma-s* 'lazy, crawling' *pra-stīma-s* 'thronged, heaped'.

-ro- -rā-. Fem. Skr. *támisrā-* Lat. *tenebrae* 'darkness': Mid.Dutch *deemster* O.H.G. *dinstar* 'dark'. Gr. *ἄκρᾱ* 'point, peak': *ἄκρο-ς* 'pointed' O.C.Sl. *ostrŭ* 'sharp'. Neut. Skr. *tamisra-m* beside *támisrā-*, Gr. *ἄκρο-ν* beside *ἄκρᾱ*. Skr. *chidrá-m* 'perforation, hole, interruption': *chidrá-s* 'perforated'. O.C.Sl. *vedro* 'good weather': *vedrŭ* 'clear, bright'.

This brief list of examples is enough to justify the conclusion that the fluctuation between the adjectival and substantival value in the *o*-nouns dates from the proethnic period[1]). Now in the case of the double usage of the *es*-stems (such as Skr. *máhas-* 'greatness': *mahŭ́s-* 'great', Gr. *ψεῦδος* 'lie': *ψευδής* 'lying, false'), which is also proethnic, it can scarcely be doubted that the substantival value is the older, and it would be natural to adopt the same view in the present instance. But no decision is possible until the original meaning of the *ā*-suffixes as opposed to the *o*-suffixes has been established. In discussing these (p. 106, 458) we were led to the conclusion that except in a comparatively small group of words (e. g. Lat. *equo-s equa*), they had no connexion whatever with the distinction of animal sex. A further consideration may now perhaps be suggested. Is it not precisely in the variation of meaning we have just noticed that we must look for light on the original function of the *o*-and *ā*- suffixes?

1) It is still a question for investigation how far this use has been extended in the separate families of languages apart from the direct influence of the original variation of meaning in similar cases which came down from Indo-Germanic (cp. e. g. B. H. Balser, De linguae Graecae participis in neutro genere substantive posito, Lips. 1878, p. 29 ff.).

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NOUNS WITHOUT FORMATIVE SUFFIXES (ROOT-NOUNS)[1].

§ 159. The term Root-nouns is applied to those nouns which do not admit of analysis into root and formative suffix, in the termination of whose stem no element can be recognised which is similarly used elsewhere to form noun stems. Whether, however, all the nouns that fall under this definition were from the beginning absolutely simple forms, must be left an open question. Many of them, e. g. Skr. *div-* 'heaven' and Lat. *hiem-* (see below), may have been originally compound forms.

Root-nouns are found in all divisions of Indo-Germanic; they have been preserved most frequently in Aryan and the classical languages. In many instances they lost the special character of their formation and passed into the analogy of some vowel declension (cp. § 56 p. 102 f.), and we may regard this change of declension as the chief cause of their comparatively rare appearance in Armenian and in Germanic[2]), and of their almost complete disappearance in Balto-Slavonic. Here however we are bound to discuss all the nouns of this kind which occur in the separate languages, when the change of declension has made no difference in their meaning.

The Root-nouns have no simple, clearly marked function (such as that of denoting material things, actions or any other special idea). Even those which are demonstrably proethnic have meanings of different kinds. The uncompounded examples are mostly substantives, and amongst these the nouns denoting an action (fem.) and those denoting the agent preponderate; and in the former group we must include those that are used as

1) Leo Meyer, Die einsilbigen Nomina im Griech. und Lat., Kuhn's Ztschr. V 366 ff.

2) As far as the Germanic is concerned, this exchange of declension has been thoroughly discussed by B. Kahle, Zur Entwickelung der consonantischen Declination im Germanischen, Berlin 1887.

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infinitives in Aryan, Greek and Latin. When they are the second members of compounds these nouns usually denote an agent.

This method of forming noun-stems was still in active use in the separate developement of Aryan, Greek and Italic.

§ 160. Root-nouns uncompounded.

We will begin with such examples as appear simultaneously in more than one group of languages.

1. Forms showing vowel-gradation.

**u̯oi̯k̂- *u̯ik̂-* (√ *u̯ei̯k̂-* 'enter'): Skr. *viś-* f. 'settlement, house, community, stock', Avest. *vīs-* O Pers. *viþ-* f. 'village community, clan'; Gr. *οἴκαδε*, better written, *οἰκά-δε*, 'homewards' (compare Hom. *τριχᾱ́-ῑκ-ες*?); O.C.Sl. *vĭs-ĭ* 'village', which follows the *i*-declension. With Skr. acc. *víś-am* cp. *dív-am* Gr. *Δία* beside *dyā́m Ζῆν* (see p. 481).

**dork̂- *dr̥k̂* (√ *derk̂-* 'see'): Skr. *dŕ̥ś-* f. 'seeing, perception, eye', adj. 'seeing, beholding', inf. *dr̥ś-ḗ* 'to see' (§ 162); Gr. *δόρξ δορκ-ός* f. 'roe, gazelle' (named from its eye).

Avest. *barᵉz- berᵉz-* f. 'height', adj. 'high'. O.Ir. *bri*, gen. *breg*, 'mountain' (I § 288 p. 230, § 298 p. 236). Goth. *baúrg-*, gen. *baúrg-s*, 'fortress, city'. Avest. *barᵉz-* may stand for **bhr̥ĝh- *bhorĝh-* or **bherĝh-*; all the other forms represent **bhr̥ĝh-*.

**sem-, sm- sm̥-*. Gr. *εἷς* Cret. *ἕν-ς*, gen. *ἑν-ός*, 'unus', *ἕν* 'unum' (*ἑν-ός* substituted for **ἑμ-ος*, see I § 204 p. 170); *μῶνυξ* 'with undivided hoof' for **σμ-ωνυξ*, fem. *μία* for **σμ-ια*; *ἅμ-α* 'simul' instr. sing., see I § 236 p. 199. Lat. *sem-per* 'in one unbroken sequence, always'; for *-per* see I § 658, 7 p. 504.

**k̂red- (*k̂erd-)* and **k̂r̥d-* 'heart'. Skr. *śrád dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' Lat. *crēdō* for **crezdō* (I § 507 Rem. p. 372) O.Ir. *cretim* 'credo' (I § 521 p. 379), from the pr. Idg. phrase **k̂red dhē-*. Lat. *cor cord-is* O.Lith. gen. pl. *szird-u* (now *szirdžiũ*) from **k̂r̥d-*, cp. Gr. *καρδ-ίᾱ* Ion. *κραδ-ίη* etc., where the root has the same vowel-grade (I § 292 p. 234). Gr. *κῆρ* no doubt for **κηρδ*[1]).

1) This shews that the law of vowel shortening discussed in I § 611 p. 461 f was later than the loss of the *d̥*. Cp. p. 423 footnote.

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Remark 1. Armen. *sirt* and Goth. *hairtō* 'heart' represent **ḱerd-* or **ḱērd-* (the ē being shortened, cp. I § 614 p. 464 f.). What relation does this form bear to *ḱred-*? In view of this difference and of others, such as Lat. *grex*: Gr. γέργερα (§ 52 p. 94), Gr. *βρέφος*: O.C.Sl. *žrěbę* for **žerbę*, Gr. *φλέγω* O.H.G. *blechen* Skr. *bhrājatē*: Skr. *bhárgas* (cp. also Skr. *drakšyāmi* and the like I § 259 p. 212), we may perhaps suppose that the metathesis — under certain conditions — occurred in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

**ped-* m. 'foot'. Ar. *pad-*: Skr. acc. sing. *pād-am* dat. sing. *pad-ē* loc. pl. *patsú*, Avest. acc. sing. *pād-em pāð-em* dat. pl. *paðᵉbyō* instr. sing. *pād-a*. Armen. pl. *ot-ḳ*; by its side we find ting. *otn* gen. *otin*. Gr.Dor. *πῶς* (*πώς*?) *πός* Att. *ποῦς* (the *ου* has not been explained), gen. *ποδ-ός* etc., instr. sing. Lesb. Boeot. etc. *πεδ-ά* 'after, with', Heracl. *Fικατί-πεδ-ο-ς* 'amounting so 20 feet'. Lat. *pēs ped-is*, Umbr. peři *persi* 'pede' *du-purs-us* 'bipedibus'. In Germanic **ped-* occurs in O.Icel. *fet* n. 'step', **pod-* in A.S. *fœt* 'step'; elsewhere **pōd-*: nom. pl. O.Icel. *fœtr* A.S. *fēt* = pr. Germ. **fōt-iz*, loc. sing. A.S. *fēt* = pr. Germ. **fōt-i*; Goth. acc. *fōt-u fōt-uns* (pr. Germ. *-un -uns* = *-m -ns*, I § 244 p. 203), on the pattern of which was formed nom. sing. *fōt-u-s* etc. (thus the correspondence of the Gothic word with Skr. *pād-ú-š* would be purely accidental). For the ablaut cp. I § 311 p. 249.

Skr. *vāc-* f. 'voice, speech', without vowel gradation (acc. *vāc-am* dat. *vāc-ē*), Avest. *vāc- vac-* m. 'speech, word, prayer' (nom. *vāxš* acc. *vāc-em* instr. *vac-a*). Gr. *ὄψ* f. 'voice'. Lat. *vōx* f. 'voice, word', all from √*u̯eq-* 'speak'. The original paradigm is uncertain, perhaps nom. **u̯ṓq(-s)* acc. **u̯óq-m* loc. **u̯éq-i* dat. **uq-éi̯*. Cp. I § 314 p. 252 f.

Skr. *bhrāj-* f. 'brightness, gleam' instr. *bhrāj-á* (cp. pres. *bhrāj-a-tē*). Gr. *φλόξ φλογ-ός* f. 'flame' (cp. pres. *φλέγ-ω*). The root is *bhleg- (bhelg-)*, cp. Rem. 1 above; the original paradigm of the noun is not clear.

**nās- *nas-* 'nose'. Skr. du. *nás-ā* instr. sing. *nas-á*, O.Pers. acc. *nāh-am*. Lat. *nār-em*, which has become an *i*-stem (*nārium* etc.). Cp. also A.S. *næs-ðyrlu*, Lith. *nas-rai̯* *nós-i-s*. Originally it formed acc. **nás-m* dat. **nas-éi̯*. Cp. I § 318 p. 257. We

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cannot regard as certain the often repeated conjecture that the *-s-* in Lat. *nās-u-s* O.C.Sl. *nos-ŭ* is explained by supposing **nās(s)* to be the original form of the nominative, cp. I § 569 Rem. 3 p. 427.

2. Forms showing vowel-gradation, and the loss of the final consonant of the root before the *-m* which appears in the acc. sing. when a sonant follows. (Cp. I § 188 p. 162, § 192 p. 164).

**di̯eu̯-* **dii̯eu̯* m. 'heaven, bright day'. Skr. *dyāú-ṣ̌ diyāú-ṣ̌* acc. sing. *dyā́m diyā́m dív-am* nom. pl. *dyā́v-as diyā́v-as dív-as* loc. sing. *dyáv-i div-í* dat. sing. *div-ḗ* instr. pl. *dyú-bhi-ṣ̌*. Gr. *Ζεύ-ς* for **Ζηu̯-ς* (I § 611 p. 461) voc. *Ζεῦ* acc. *Ζῆν* (whence sprang the forms *Ζῆνα Ζηνός Ζηνί*) *Δί(ϝ)-α* gen. *Διϝ-ός* loc. *Διϝ-ί*. Lat. Umbr. Osc. *Jov-* (for **Di̯ov-*, I § 135 p. 122, § 506 p. 371) and *Di(i̯)ov-*: Lat. *Jov-em Jov-is*, *Jūpiter Juppiter* voc. = *Ζεῦ πάτερ* (I § 612 p. 463), dat. O.Lat. *Diov-ei Diov-e*, Umbr. Iuve Osc. Iuv-eí 'Iovi' Osc. Diúv-eí 'Iovi'; the Ital. *-ov-* may in all the cases = Idg. *eu̯* (I § 65 p. 52)[1]; to these add Lat. *diem* for **diēm*. Germ. gen. sing. in O.H.G. (Alemannic) *Zios-tac* A.S. *Tīwes-daeȝ* O.Icel. *Tȳs-dag-r* (Goth. **Tius-dag-s*) 'day of Tiu (Zio), Tuesday'. The original paradigm seems to have been: nom. **di̯ḗu̯-s* (beside this possibly a parallel form **di̯ḗs* before consonants and when it stood last in a sentence, cp. Gr. *Ζής* Lat. *diēs*) acc. **di̯ḗm* voc. **di̯éu̯* (for the quality of the accent see I § 671 p. 536) loc. **di̯éu̯-i* dat. **diu̯-ái̯* loc. pl. **di̯u-sú*.

Remark 2. The analysis of **diu-* into **di-u-* is no doubt right. **diu-* seems to bear the same relation to **di-* **dei̯-* as *sru-* (Skr. *sru-tá-* 'flowing') bears to *sr-* *ser-* (Skr. *sar-* 'go, flow'), see § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20 f. Then as we speak of a 'root' *sreu̯-*, we may certainly add **di̯eu̯-* to the root-nouns. However, if any scholar, in view of Avest. *bāzāu-š* O.Pers.

1) There is nothing to prevent our claiming for Italic the same double forms **di̯eu̯-* and **dii̯eu̯-* as we find in Sanskrit; cp. also I § 120 p. 111 and § 153 p. 138 f., § 170 p. 150 (*bi-dēns*: *dui-dēns*). I am therefore unable to agree with Danielsson, who would separate etymologically *Jov-* and *Diov-* (Gramm. und etym. Stud. I. 49).

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dahyāu-š and Gr. *βασιλεύ-ς* (for *-ηu̯s*) should prefer to class this word amongst those containing suffixes, I should offer no objection. It is entirely a matter of convention.

**gōu̯-s* m. f. 'ox, cow'. Skr. *gāú-ṣ* acc. sing. *gā́m* and *gāv-aṃ* nom. pl. *gā́v-as* loc. sing. *gáv-i* dat. sing. *gáv-ē* instr. pl. *gṓ-bhiṣ*. Avest. *gāu-š gao-š* acc. *gąm gāum* (i. e. *gāv-em*) *gaom* (i. e. *gav-em*) instr. *gav-a gāv-a*. Armen. *koṽ*, gen. *kovu* (*u*-decl.). Gr. *βοῦ-ς* for **βωu̯-ς* (I § 611 p. 461) acc. Hom. Dor. *βῶν*, gen. *βο(ϝ)-ός*; the acc. *βοῦν* is a new formation following *βοῦς*. Lat. *bōs bov-is* (is this borrowed from some Umbr.-Samn. dialect? see I § 432 Rem. 1 p. 322), Umbr. bum 'bovem' buf 'boves' *bue* 'bove'; Ital. *bov-* may be Idg. **gou̯-* or **geu̯-* (I § 65 p. 52). O.Ir. *bō* gen. *bō*, cp. I § 174 p. 153; kelt. **bov-* may be either Idg. **gou̯-* or **geu̯-* (I § 66 p. 56). O.H.G. *chuo* O.Sax. *kō*, A.S. *cū* O.Icel. *kȳ-r*; the relation of the vowels presents a difficulty; **kō-* (O.H.G. O.Sax.) may perhaps have been developed out of the acc. pr. Germ. **kōn* = Gr. *βῶν*, and **kū-* (A.S. O.Icel.) may perhaps come from an Idg. stem of the form **gŭ-* (cp. Skr. *śata-gu-* 'having a hundred cows' Gr. *ἑκατόμ-βη* = **-gu̯-ā*). The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: nom. sing. **gōu̯-s* (also possibly a parallel form **gṓ-s* like **di̯ē-s*, cp. Gr. *βῶς* beside *βοῦς*) acc. sing. **gōm* nom. pl. **góu̯-es* loc. sing. **géu̯-i* dat. sing. **guu̯-ái̯ *gu̯-ái̯* loc. pl. **gŭ-sú*.

Skr. *rā́s* 'property, treasure, riches' acc. *rā́m* and *rā́y-am* instr. pl. *rābhíṣ* nom. pl. *rā́y-as* dat. sing. *rāy-ḗ*, Avest. nom. pl. *rāy-ō* inst. sing. *ray-a* gen. pl. *ray-ąm*; cp. Skr. *rē-vánt-* 'rich' *ray-í-ṣ* 'property, treasure, riches'. Lat. *rēs rem rēī* 'property, thing'. Cp. I § 150 p. 136.

Skr. *kṣ́ám-* f. 'earth': nom. *kṣ́ā́s* acc. *kṣ́ā́m* nom. pl. *kṣ́ā́m-as* loc. sing. *kṣ́ám-i* gen. abl. sing. *kṣ́m-ás gm-ás jm-ás* instr. sing. *kṣ́am-ā́ jm-ā́*. Avest. *zå* acc. *ząm* gen. *zᵉm-ō* instr. *zᵉm-ā*. Gr. *χθών* f., *χθον-ός* instead of **χθομ-ος* (I § 204 p. 172), *χθαμ-αλό-ς χάμ-αί* (*Μαῖα* for **Χμ-αῖα *Γμ-αῖα*?). Cp. further Lat. *hum-u-s*, *hom-ō* O.Lat. *hem-ō*, *hūm-ānu-s* (probably not for **hūmin-ānu-s*, but formed immediately from **hōm-* and only at a later

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period connected with *homo*), Goth. *gum-a*, Lith. *žm-ũnà* 'wife' (cp. p. 346 footnote 1), O.C.Sl. *zem-lja*. The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: acc. **ĝzhŏm* [1]) nom. pl. **ĝzhóm-es* loc. sing. **ĝzhém-i* dat. sing. **ĝzhm̥m-ái̯* (cp. Skr. *kṣ̣am-á* Gr. *χθαμ-αλό-ς χαμ-αί* Goth. *gum-a*) **ĝhm-ai̯* loc. pl. **ĝzhm̥-sú*.

Avest. *zyå* m. 'winter' acc. *zyąm* gen. *zim-ō*. Gr. *χιών* f. 'snow', gen. *χιόν-ος* instead of **χιομ-ος*, like *χθον-ός* (see p. 482). Lat. *hiem-s hiem-is*. O.Ir. *gam* 'winter' instead of **gi(i̯)am-* O.Cymr. *gaem* for **geam-* **gi(i̯)am-*, see I § 383 p. 288, § 392 p. 293. We may conjecture that the orig. paradigm was acc. **ĝhi̯ŏm* **ĝhi̯ŏm* nom. pl. **ĝhi̯óm-es* **ĝhi̯óm-es* loc. sing. **ĝhi̯ém-i* **ĝhi̯ém-i* dat. sing. **ĝhim-ái̯* loc. pl. **ĝhi̯m̥-sú* **ĝhi̯m̥-sú*. The word may be mentioned here, although it is certainly not a root-noun in the strict sense of the word, cp. Skr. *hḗ-man* Gr. *χει-μών*. But we find nowhere else an Idg. suffix *-em-* [2]).

**dem-* 'house', √ *dem-* 'build'. Gen. Skr. *dán* Avest. *dəng* = pr. Ar. **dam-s*, Avest. loc. *dąm* = pr. Ar. **dām*. Gr. gen. **δενς* = Skr. *dán* in *δεσ-πότης* 'lord of the house' (I § 204 p. 171); *δα-* = **dm̥-* in *δά-πεδο-ν* 'house-floor', then 'ground' in general; here probably must be classed *δάμαρτ-* 'wife', which should be analysed into *δαμ-αρτ-* = Idg. **dm̥m-* (I § 236 p. 199); remarks

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1) As regards the initial part of the word I assume the correctness of Bartholomae's hypothesis, see I § 554 Rem. 1. p. 407.

2) In view of the fact that words of contrasted meaning often influence each other in form (on this point cp. amongst others the Author, Ber. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1883 p. 191 ff., W. Meyer, Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im Romanischen 1883 p. 12, Holthausen in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 590, Wheeler, Analogy and the scope of its application in language, Ithaca N. Y. 1887, p. 19 sq.), it is not a very bold conjecture that there once existed in proethnic Indo-Germanic a form **ĝh(i)i̯-en-*, whose *n* gave place to *m* under the influence of the word **sem-* 'summer' so often joined with it (Avest. *ham-* Armen. *am-aṙn* O.Ir. *sam* O.H.G. *sam-ar*, cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 111 f.). Even during the period of separate developement the words for these two ideas have sometimes influenced one another; cp. e. g. O.Ir. *gam*: *sam* (see I § 392 p. 293), O.H.G. *wintar*: *sumar* (see Kahle, Zur Entwickl. der consonant. Decl. im Germ., 1887, p. 20).

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on further examples from Greek may be found in R. Meringer's paper in the Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 152. Cp. also Avest. *dm-ana-* and Armen. *tun* gen. *tan* for **tm-an-*. We may conjecture therefore that the following was the original paradigm: acc. **dōm*, whence Gr. *δῶμ-α*, nom. pl. **dóm-es*, loc. sing. **dém-i* gen. sing. **dém-s* (cp. gen. Skr. *gṓṣ* Avest. *gaoš*, Skr. *dyṓṣ*), dat. sing. **dm-áy *dm̥m-áy* loc. pl. **dm̥-sú*.

As to the forms **dy̯ēm *gōm *rēm* see I § 150 p. 136, § 188 p. 162. I may now also refer the reader to Johansson, De derivatis verbis contractis (Upsala 1886) p. 117 ff., R. Meringer, Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 132 ff.

Obs. 3. Meringer's welcome 'Hints' shew very clearly that in the question he discusses there is much that still needs explanation. Here I can only add a few remarks (cp. p. 428 footnote). I regard the accusatives also (**ĝhōm *ĝhy̯ōm *dōm*) as regular phonetic developements. What Meringer (in footnote 6 p. 139) offers as 'another possible solution' is distinctly preferable to that which is given in the text itself; for if there had ever been a nom. sing. **dy̯ēs *gōs* without *y̯*, it is certain that the *y̯* would never have been again inserted in these forms (Skr. *dyāúṣ*) without being at the same time restored to the precisely parallel acc. sing. (such a form as **dyāum* is unheard of). Moreover, I do not feel convinced that *y̯* and *y̆* ever disappeared before consonants and at the end of a sentence in the nom. sing. as well as the acc. (Gr. *Ζῆς* Lat. *diēs*, Gr. *βῶς*, Skr. *rās* Lat. *rēs*); in all these we must allow the possibility of a re-formation on the model of the acc. sing. With regard to *kṣ̌ās* I must here emphatically repeat what I have said elsewhere. Meringer's assertion (p. 132. 137), that J. Schmidt has 'demonstrated' the loss of *n* after *ā ē ō* before final *s* in pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic, does not agree with the facts (cp. § 135 Rem. 1 p. 428). Lastly, I would add that we are not justified in assuming the same Indo-Germanic inflexion for all monosyllabic stems of this kind, so as to construct e. g. an acc. **nām* 'navem' simply on the model of **gōm*. It is not necessary to suppose that all these monosyllables arose at the same period of the parent language. For example, **nāy̯-* 'ship' may have been formed at a later stage, and so have been dealt with otherwise than the older stems were at the time when they came into existence.

3. Forms in which vowel-gradation cannot be proved.

**rēĝ-* 'ruler, king'. Skr. *rāj-* 'prince, king', usually found as the second member of compound words. Lat. *rēx rēg-is*. O.Ir. *rī rīg*, Gall. *Cātu-rīg-es* ('battle-lords'). Goth. *reik-* nom. pl. *reik-s*; the *ei* is remarkable (I § 74 p. 64).

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*Skr. *ás-* (instr. *ās-á*) Avest. *āh-* (n.?) 'month'. Lat. *ōs* n., *ōr-is*. Cp. also O.Icel. *ōs-s* 'river-mouth'.

Gr. *φώρ* Lat. *fūr* 'thief'. √ *bher-* 'carry'.

Gr. *χήρ* 'hedgehog', Lat. *ēr hēr*.

**nāu̯-* f. 'ship'. Skr. *nāú-ṣ* acc. *náv-am* dat. *nāv-é*. Gr. *ναῦς* for **νᾱυ̯-ς*, *ναυσί* for **νᾱυ̯-σι* (Ion. *νηῦς νηυσί* are new formations), nom. pl. *νῆ-ες* gen. sing. *νη-ός νεώς* (I § 611 p. 464). Lat. *nāv-em*, which has become an *i*-stem, nom. *nāv-i-s*. Cp. also O.Icel. *nōr* (gen. *nōs*) m. from pr. Germ. **nōu̯-a-z*.

**mūs-* 'mouse'. Skr. *mūṣ-*, nom. pl. *múṣ-as*. Gr. *μῦς* loc. pl. *μυσί*; *μῦν μυός* instead of **μῡ̆(σ)-α* **μῡ(σ)-ός* follow *ὀφρῦν -ύος* and the like; *μυός* then produced *μυσί* beside *μῡσί*. Lat. *mūs- mūr-is* Germ. *mūs-* is kept e. g. in nom. acc. sing. O.H.G. *mūs*, nom. pl. A.S. *mȳs* O.Icel. *mȳs-s*; beside which we find new formations following the vowel declension. O.C.Sl. *myšь* follows the *i*-declension. A by-form Idg. **mus-* (the accentless form of the weak grade) is seen in Skr. *muṣ-ká-s* Lat. *mus-culu-s* (should we assume a parallel form *mūsculu-s*?) § 88 p. 262 f.

Skr. *díś-* f. 'direction, region of the sky', Lat. gen. *dic-is* in *dicis causa* 'only in appearance, for form's sake', √ *deiḳ-* 'point out, show'.

Gr. *νίφ-α* acc. 'snow', Lat. *nix niv-is*, go back to a common ground-form **snigh-* (I § 423 p. 309, § 433 p. 322 f.), √ *sneigh-*.

Gr. *χήν χην-ός* Dor. *χᾶν χᾱν-ός* 'goose' for **χανσ-*; the nom. *χήν* is a new formation which has replaced **χᾶς* as *μήν* replaced *μείς* (stem pr. Gr. **μηνσ-*). In Germanic the same stem occurs in a few forms, as in A.S. loc. sing. *ḡēs* = Gr. *χην-ί*, and also in the Lith. gen. pl. *žąs-ū*, which elsewhere conforms to the vowel-declension. The *-s-* of the word however, may perhaps be an element of the nature of a suffix, cp. O.H.G. *ganazzo* 'gander'.

Gr. *ἅλ-ς ἁλ-ός* m. Lat. *sāl sal-is* m. n. 'salt', Umbr. salu 'salem'; Lat. *sāl* instead of **sal* follows forms like *pēs*. Armen. *ałi* gen. *ałi-i* and O.C.Sl. *sol-ь* are *i*-stems.

4. There is a special group of forms in which are found *-ū -ī- -ū̯- -ī̯- -i̯-* before case-endings which begin with a con-

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sonant, and *-uu̯- -ii̯- -n̥n- -r̥r- -l̥l-* before those which begin with a vowel. See I § 253 p. 207, § 306 p. 243, § 312 p. 250.

**bhrū́-s* f. 'eyebrow' dat. sing. **bhruu̯-ái̯.* Skr. *bhrū́-ṣ* loc. pl. *bhrū-ṣú* acc. sing. *bhrū́v-am* dat. sing. *bhruv-ḗ.* Gr. *ὀφρῦ-ς* acc. *ὀφρῦ-ν* gen. *ὀφρύ-ος*; loc. pl. *ὀφρύσι* instead of **ὀφρῦσι.* A.S. *brū.* The O.C.Sl. *brŭv-ĭ* belongs to the *i*-decl. Compare the parallel forms Gall. *brīva* 'bridge' O.H.G. *brāwa* 'brow' whose common ground-form is **bhrēu̯-ā̯-.*

**sū́-s* 'sow' dat. sing. **snu̯-ái̯.* Gr. *ὗ-ς ὗ-ν ὑ-ός.* Lat. *sū-s sū-bus su-em su-is*, Umbr. s i m̥ 'suem' (I § 57 p. 46). O.H.G. *sū* O.Icel. *sȳ-r*; **suu̯-* is perhaps represented by A.S. *suȝu* f. 'sow', see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f. Cp. the dimin. *sŭ-qo-* § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *ἰχθῦ-ς ἰχθῦν ἰχθύ-ος* m. 'fish'. Lith. gen. pl. dial. *žuv-ū*; elsewhere it follows the *i*-decl., *žuv-ì-s.* Cp. Armen. *ju-k-n* etc. § 88 p. 263.

Gr. *ἶ-ς* f. 'power, might' instr. *ἶ-φι.* Lat. *vī-s vim* for **vī-m* (I § 612 p. 463, § 655, 4 p. 503). *ðu̯ii̯-* before sonants seems to have disappeared.

The other instances belong only to single groups of languages: e. g. Skr. *gō-ṣā-s* gen. *-ṣaṇ-as* 'gaining cattle' (*-n̥-*), *pūr* gen. *pur-ás* 'fortress' (*-l̥-*).

5. Skr. *jyā- jiyā-* f. Gr. *βίᾱ* f. 'might'. Compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāu* subst. neut. *jyāna-m* and perf. *ji-gā́y-a* pres. *jáy-a-ti.* Cp. § 8 Rem. 1. p. 20, and Morph. Unt. I 6.

§ 161. Examples from single groups of languages. The largest numbers are found in Aryan, Greek, and Italic.

Aryan. When they denote an action these root-nouns are always feminine.

Skr. *drúh-* f. 'injury, enmity', concrete 'injurer, enemy', Avest. *druj-* f. 'lie', concrete 'fiend (f.)'. Skr. *kŕ̥p-* f. 'figure, appearance', Avest. *kehrp-* f. 'figure, body': cp. Lat. *corp-us.* Skr. *kṣáp-* f. Avest. *xšap-* f. 'night'. Skr. Avest. *ap-* f. 'water': acc. Skr. *ā́p-am* Avest. *āp-em*, instr. Skr. *ap-ā́* Avest. *ap-a* Skr. acc. *khā-m* f. 'source', finds its complement in Avest. *xå* f. 'source',

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both from pr. Ar. **khə̄-s *khə̄-m*, beside Ar. *khan-* 'dig'. Skr. *spáś-* Avest. *spas-* m. 'spy, inspector', cp. Lat. *au-spex*, Gr. σκώψ 'owl'. Skr. *hṛ́d-* n. Avest. *zard-* n. 'heart'. Skr. *máh-* Avest. *maz-* 'great'.

Skr. *vṛ́dh-* f. 'help. prosperity', adj. 'helping, strengthening'. *vṛ́t-* f. 'host of foes, foe', adj. 'turned against anyone'. *nṛ́t-* f. 'bearing, gesture'. *yúj-* 'yoked with, companion', cp. Gr. σύ-ζυξ Lat. *con-jux*. *tíś-* 'lord'. *bhú-* f. 'world', nom. sing. *bhū́-ś* pl. *bhúv-as*. *dhī-* f. 'thought'. *bhī́-* f. 'fear'. *gír-* f. 'praise, laud', adj. 'praising', nom. sing. *gír* ground-form **gṝ-s* pl. *gír-as* ground-form **gṛr-es*. *já-* f. 'being, creature' adj. 'born, formed', nom. sing. *já-s* acc. sing. *já-m* loc. pl. *já-su*, ground-form **gə̄-*. *sthá-* 'standing', nom. sing. *sthá-s* acc. *sthá-m*. *psā-* f. 'food' *ni-drā-* f. 'sleep' *vrā-* f. 'host, troop' like *jyā-* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 18. 43).

Avest. *var^{e}z-* *ver^{e}z-* 'work'. *mas-* 'great, wide', cp. Gr. μαχ-ρό-ς.

Armenian. The old root-nouns have passed into other declensions. See the examples in § 160. It is however possible that certain case-forms, such as *ot-k'* 'pedes' *sirt-k'* 'corda', still belong to the old consonantal inflexion.

Greek. στύ̓ξ στυγ-ός f. 'hatred, awe', cp. ψευσί-στυξ 'hating lies'. πρώ̓ξ πρωκ-ός f. 'drop, dew', ground-form **pṝk-*, see I § 306 p. 242. ἀλκ-ί loc. sing. beside ἀλκ-ή 'strength of body'. κρόκ-α acc. sing. beside κρόκ-η 'woof', compared with κρέκειν, which was also used of the noise caused by the striking of the web. φρῖ́ξ φρῖκ-ός f. beside φρῖ́κ-η 'the shiver of the surface of the water'. Thus no doubt δίκ-η has replaced an older **δίξ* = Skr. *díś-*. λύγξ λυγγ-ός f. 'hiccough' beside λυγγάνομαι λύζω λύγ-δην (O.H.G. *sluccho* n. 'devourer'); for the nasal in the root-syllable cp. I § 221 p. 187 and Skr. *yúñj-* beside *yúj-* (acc. *yúñj-am* and *yúj-am*) Lat. *con-junx* beside *-jux*. θρῖ́ξ τριχ-ός f. 'hair' (cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.). αὖλαξ f. 'furrow' for **ἀ-ϝλακ-*, with the by-forms ὦλξ ἄλοξ ὦλακ-, seems to have sprung from an old doublet **ϝλακ-*: **ϝολκ-* with ablaut, from *(s)uelq-* 'draw, pull' (cp. Darbishire, Notes on the spir. asper in Greek, Cambridge 1888,

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p. 29). *ῥώξ ῥωγ-ός* f. 'rift, cleft, split', beside *ῥήγ-νῡ-μι*. *ὤψ* 'countenance' acc. *ὦπ-α*; compare *κύκλ-ωψ ἐλίκ-ωπ-ες* and *οἶν-οψ αἶθ-οψ*, which probably shew an old gradation *ὤψ ὦπ-α *ὀπ-ός* etc. *κρῖ* n. 'barley' no doubt for **κρῑϑ*, cp. *κρῑθή*. *θώς*, gen. *θωός*, 'jackal' beside *θεϝ-* 'run'. *χρή* 'necessity' (cp. also *ὁμοκλή* 'joint cry, loud cry', *μεσό-δμη* 'intermediate structure, cross-beam'), like *βίᾱ* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 49. 64). *κρέξ κρεκ-ός* m. a bird, and also 'braggart', beside *κρέκω*, cp. *κρόκ-α* above. *τρώξ τρωγ-ός* m. 'gnawer, worm' beside *τρώγω*. *κῑ-ς κι-ός* m. 'a worm in the corn', like Skr. *dhī-ṣ dhiy-ás*. *κλώψ* m. 'thief' beside *κλέπ-τω*. Further examples are given by Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 7 ff.

Italic. Lat. *lēx lēg-is* f. 'law', Osc. *ligud* 'lege' *ligis* 'legibus' Marruc. *lixs* 'lex' or 'leges' Pelign. *lex-e* 'in leges'. Lat. *vās vās-is* n. 'vessel', Umbr. vas-us 'vasis' (the preservation of the voiceless *s* in all the cases is perhaps due to the analogy of the nom. acc. sing.). *man-* 'hand', Umbr. manf acc. pl., Lat. *man-ceps malluviae* for **man-luviae*, with other exx. (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 189 f., Duvau, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 226 f.). The connexion between Lat. *frūx frūg-is* f. 'produce' and Umbr. *frif* acc. 'fruges, frumenta' (I § 57 p. 46) is doubtful, see Pauli Altital. Stud. V 114 f.

Lat. *lūx lūc-is* f. 'light'. *nux nuc-is* f. 'nut'. *pix pic-is* f. 'pitch'. *vic-* gen. *vic-is* f. 'change' (beside *vincō*, see Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 272). *nex nec-is* f. 'death'. *prex prec-is* f. 'prayer'. *op-s op-is* f. 'might, means, power'. *pāx pāc-is* f. peace'. *dap-s dap-is* f. 'feast', beside Gr. *δαπ-άνη* 'expenditure'. *arx arc-is* f. 'citadel'. *faex faec-is* f. 'dregs'. *faux fauc-is* f. 'throat'. *spē-s*, acc. *spe-m*, f. 'hope'. *re-quiē-s*, gen. *-quiēī*, f. like Skr. *jyā-* § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 10). *strix strig-is* f. 'horned owl'. *dux duc-is* m. 'leader'. *vas vad-is* m. 'surety'.

Osc. far n. 'far' and Umbr. *far* n. 'far' *farer* 'farris' appears to be a root-noun; *far-*: Lat. *farr-* (for **far(e)s-*, see § 132 p. 413 and p. 420) = Skr. *kṛṣ-*: Lat. *corpus*.

Old Irish. *bri* 'mountain', *rī* 'king', *bō* 'cow', see § 160. This method of forming noun-stems seems to have died out in

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Irish. Cp. further the Gall. *brog-* 'district, neighbourhood, land' in *allo-brox* pl. *allo-broges*, parallel to which we find *brogi-* in *Brogi-mārus* O.Ir. *bruig* and other exx. (Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. I 117 f. Thurneysen, Keltoroman. 50).

Germanic. The original root-nouns (§ 160) were all more or less completely transferred to the vowel declensions; e. g. out of the Goth. paradigm, sing. nom. *baúrgs* gen. *baúrgs* dat. (loc.) *baúrg* acc. *baúrg* pl. nom. *baúrgs* gen. *baúrgē* dat. *baúrgim* acc. *baúrgs* only the gen. dat. sing. and the nom.-acc. pl. belong to the original consonantal declension.

Even amongst the few root-nouns which do not recur in other languages there are none in which the simple root is used for the stem in all the cases. Examples of forms whose stems contain no suffix are: O.H.G. dat. sing. *gi-nōz* nom. pl. *gi-nōz* beside nom. sing. *gi-nōz* 'companion' (i. e. 'one who enjoys *(geniesst)* with another'), A.S. dat. (loc.) sing. *bēc* beside nom. sing. *bōc* 'book', O.Icel. nom. pl. *hend-r* beside nom. sing. *hǫnd* (Goth. *handu-s*) 'hand'; see Kahle's essay cited on p. 478 footnote 2. As regards some of these nouns it is probable that they had at first a vocalic formative suffix, and that it was a secondary process, affecting even then only a certain number of their cases, which put them on a level with the root-nouns.

Balto-Slavonic. The root-nouns as a class have almost entirely disappeared, giving place to new formations on the model of the vocalic declensions; e. g. Lith. *nós-i-s* f. 'nose', O.C.Sl. *vĭs-ĭ* f. 'village', see § 160. Besides these there are only a few traces preserved in the forms of the gen. pl. in Lithuanian: O.Lith. *szird-u*, Mod.Lith. *žąs-ū žuv-ū*; we should add Slav. *krŭv-* f. 'blood' gen. sing. *krŭv-e*, beside which we have nom. sing. *krŭv-ĭ* instead of **kry*.

§ 162. *Nomina actionis* used as Infinitives. Cp. § 156 p. 470 ff.

This usage is found in Aryan, Greek and Italic. In all three the dative is used as an infinitive; in Sanskrit other cases are used as well.

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In Sanskrit the case-suffix had the accent, if the verb had no prefix; otherwise the accent fell on the root-syllable. *dṛś-é* 'to see' *bhuj-é* 'to enjoy', *nir-ájē* 'to drive forth' (Lat. *ag-ī*) *ni--námē* 'to bend down'. Avest. *sav-ōi* 'to use' *dar^{e}s-ōi* 'to see'.

Lat. *ag-ī* (: Skr. *-ájē*), *dīc-ī*, *sequ-i ūt-ī*, hence also *tund-ī posc-ī mi-nu-ī* etc. in imitation of these forms. A difference in meaning was established between these and the locative forms *agere* etc. (§ 132 p. 418), the latter being distinguished as active, the former as deponent or passive forms; the origin of this process was probably an accidental preponderance of the use of the dative of root-nouns to serve as infinitives in deponent verbs.

-s- sometimes appears between the root-syllable and the dative termination. This is rare in Aryan: Skr. *ji-ṣ-é* 'to conquer' *-prák-ṣ-ē* 'to fill, satisfy', Avest. *ā nāšē* 'to bring near', root Avest. *nas-* Gr. *ἐνεγκ-*. Gr. *γράψαι* 'to write' *δεῖξαι* 'to show'. The *-s-* is identical with the element which is frequently found in the verb finite after the root-syllable, particularly in the sigmatic aorist, to which it gave its name (it is very possible that it is etymologically identical with the *-s-* which is used in the formation of noun-stems, § 134 p. 424 ff.; cp. Morph. Unt. III 42 f.); hence in Greek this kind of infinitive was confined to the sigmatic aorist. In Latin we may compare such forms as *da-rī fer-rī*.

Remark 1. There are difficulties in determining the relation of the Latin forms in *-se -re* to those in **-sī -rī*; several different views are almost equally tenable. If we start by assuming that Latin inherited from an earlier period only forms in **-es-i (vīvere amāre) *-aį (agī) *-s-aį (darī)*, we must suppose that the following are new formations: *dare ferre* on the model of *vīvere amāre*, and on the other hand *amārī* following *darī*, *fierī* also instead of *fiere*. But perhaps even in the pre-Italic period there were parallel forms in **-s-i (da-re)*, cp. *dīxe scrīpse* and Skr. infinitives like *dṛś-i* (see below). Lastly it is also possible that on the analogy of indic. **aget*: infin. **agesi (agit : agere)* the infinitives **es-si *fer-si* (*esse* and *ferre* respectively) were first formed to correspond to *es-t fer-t* and that then and not before *ferrī* was formed on the model of *agī*.

Remark 2. In Old Latin and even later in poetic diction beside the forms in *-ī* and *-rī* we find equivalent forms in *-ier* and *-rier*, as *agier darier*. It has often been assumed that *agier* should be analysed into *agie-r*, *-r* being the sign of the passive as in *agitu-r*, and **agie* being the

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ground-form of *agī*. This every one would admit if **agie* could be explained as an infinitive form[1]), and if the change from *-ie* to *-ī* could be shewn to be regular (it is not shewn by the voc. *fīlī*, for the *-ī* of this form may be the original weak-grade of *-iḭo- -iḭe-*, cp. § 63 p. 122). Other explanations of *-ier -rier* are equally unsatisfactory; see e. g. J. Stadelmann, De quantitate vocalium Latinas voces terminantium, Lucerne 1884, p. 73, V. Henry Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 62 ff. I conjecture that *-er* represents the preposition *ar (ar-biter ar-vorsus)*, which appears to be of dialectic origin (I § 369 Rem. 1 p. 280). For the change of *-ar* to *-er* see I § 97, 3 p. 91, cp. *in-ers arti-fex im-pertiō*; and for the position of the word cp: *quem ad* beside *ad quem* and Umbr. asam-aŕ 'ad aram'. It need not surprise us to find at so early a stage of Latin the combination of the infinitive with a preposition which is established in the Romance languages (cp. *ad* before the infinitive, as Ital. *ho a scrivere*, Diez Gramm III[4] 231 ff.), since even in Latin the infinitive had again approximated to the noun, and at least *inter* and *praeter* were used with it (see p. 471 ff.). Nor is there any difficulty in the assumption that *agi-er*, after the origin of the *-er* had been forgotten, had the same meaning as *agī*: the assimilation in usage was caused by the association of the final *r* of *agier* with the *r* of *agor agitur* etc. This entire class of infinitive formations, being like *ar* of dialectic origin, were allowed to drop out of use in classical prose, like so many other idioms that came from the same source.

In Sanskrit we find, besides the dative, the acc. in *-am*, the loc. in *-i* and the gen.-abl. in *-as* used as infinitives, e. g. *ā-nám-am* (*ā-nam-* 'incline or bend towards one'), *dṛś-í sạ-dṛś-i* (cp. *dṛś-é* p. 490), *abhi-śríṣ-as* (*abhi-śriṣ-* 'make fast to').

§ 163. Root-nouns appearing as the second member of compound words.

In the Indo-Germanic and later periods we find compounds in which a root is the second member, and serves as a noun to denote the agent, as in the Skr. *puru-drúh-* 'injuring many'. There is no need to assume that the root was first used in the compound as a *nomen actionis* and that the whole word was subsequently epithetised (i. e. converted into an adjective, see § 50 p. 92), since in proethnic Indo-Germanic the root could be used alone to denote the agent; cp. Skr. *rāj-* p. 484, Skr. *drúh-* Avest. *druj-* etc. p. 486 ff. More rarely the compound has a passive sense, as Skr. *sạ-yuj* 'joined by bonds of friend-

1) Thurneysen's explanation seems to me improbable (Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io*, p. 46).

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ship or kinship', cp. *yúj-* 'yoked with, companion'. Compound words of this type were formed in Aryan, Greek and Italic.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. *sạ-yuj-*, see above, *manō-yúj-* 'yoked by thought, by mere will', Gr. σύ-ζυξ ὁμό-ζυξ 'yoked together, united', especially 'joined in marriage', Lat. *con-jux*. Skr. *višva-vid-* 'knowing everything', Gr. νῆ-ις acc. νή-ιδα 'not knowing, ignorant'. Skr. *tri-bhúj-* 'threefold, triple' Avest. *ązō--būj-* 'freeing from distress', Gr. πρόσ-φυξ 'fugitive, client'. Skr. *pṛtanáj-* (*pṛtanā-aj-*) 'running in or to battle', Lat. *rēm-ex*. Skr. *muhur-gir-* 'devouring suddenly', cp. Gr. ὠμο-βρώς 'devouring raw' gen. -βρω̃-τ-ος etc., see I § 306 p. 242, § 312 p. 250, II § 123 p. 391.

I may add a few examples taken from the separate groups of languages.

Aryan. Skr. *vṛtra-hán-* Avest. *vereθra-jan-* 'slaying Vritra': acc. Skr. *-háṇ-am* Avest. *-jan-em* dat. Skr. *-ghn-é* Avest. *γn-ē* loc. pl. Skr. *-há-su*. Skr. *upastha-sád-* 'sitting in the lap', Avest. *armaę-šāδ-* sitting quiet'. Skr. *úd-añc-* 'turned or directed upwards' acc. sing. *úd-añc-am* loc. pl. *úd-ak-ṣu*, *ny-àñc-* Avest. *ny-anc-* 'turned or directed downwards', cp. Gr. ποδ-απ-ός 'coming whence?' Lat. *prop-inqu-o-s long-inqu-o-s* (cp. I § 228 p. 195); the Sanskrit and Avestic declension of words containing *-añc--anc-* (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 407 ff., Bartholomae Handb. § 192, J. Darmesteter, Le suffixe *-ac-* en Iranien, Mém. de la Soc. de de lingu. III 302 ff.) shows many new formations, partly caused by a confusion with forms which had the suffix *-qo-* (see § 86 p. 256). Skr. *satya-yáj-* 'duly honouring, duly offering' Avest. *daęva-yāz-* 'honouring the demons, offering to them'. Avest. *na-zd-* Skr. *nēd-*, only in compar. and superl., see § 135 p. 431.

In Sanskrit, compounds of this kind are very common. Any root could be used in this way. We may add as further examples *su-dṛś-* 'seeing well', *sahō-vṛdh-* 'increasing strength', *purō-yúdh-* 'fighting before', *purō-bhú-* 'being in front, surpassing'. In Iranian too this kind of formation remained in active use, cp. *vohu-vereθz-* 'working good', *ahūm-mereθc-* 'slaying, injuring the world' (also *-mereθnc-*, cp. Skr. *yuñj-* Gr. λύγξ p. 487).

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